

~~THE~~
~~UNIVERSITY~~
MIDDLE AGES
300-1500

By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON

*Professor of Medieval History
University of Chicago*

VOLUME ONE

LONDON
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH,
TRUBNER & CO., LTD.
MCMXXXI

*Printed in the United States of America
By The Plimpton Press*

PREFACE

There are vogues in the writing of history as in other forms of literature. In the early nineteenth century when national sentiment, awakened by the spread of the French Revolution, was strong, history was largely written along national lines. But with the development of historical studies, chiefly owing to the influence of the great German historian Leopold von Ranke, it came to be perceived that great peoples and great states have a double character: one national, the other pertaining to the destinies of the world; that the unity of history was lost in severalty when history was written exclusively along national lines.

With this new perception history began to be written according to periods, and the history of each nation related to the whole history of the epoch concerned. But "period" history has its inconveniences or disabilities, one of which is that the area under focus of observation is usually small, the period too short, so that a reader sees only a segment of the whole field. Hence several volumes, each devoted to a period, need to be read if a reader wishes to have a rounded body of information. For a period is a portion of an epoch.

Moreover, the progress made in historical studies during the nineteenth century resulted in an enormous increase of the volume and variety of historical information. The tendency of historical research during the past fifty years has been towards minute specialization. The large treatment of history today rests upon the integration of an immense amount of monographic literature, ranging from doctoral dissertations to whole books. The effort to synthesize this accumulating mass of material resulted, about 1890, in the composition of great collaborative works in which every separate period, sometimes even every separate chapter, has been written by a specialist. The earliest notable example of this sort is Lavissee and Rambaud's *Histoire générale*, the first volume of which appeared in 1894. Since then several similar series have appeared, the best known to English readers being the triple series: *The Cambridge Ancient History*, the *Cambridge Medieval History*, and the *Cambridge Modern History*, each of which extends to many large volumes.

Such works may satisfy the scholar, but they are too ponderous for the general reader — the man or woman of culture who wishes for information of a more substantial sort than that found in a mere text book, yet who has neither time nor inclination to acquire an encyclopaedic learning. This book has been written for such readers. The results of my own study of the Middle Ages, derived from long and close contact with the

sources, have been fused — how well it is for the reader to judge — with the researches of many other scholars. If the work seem too long to some, let Cardinal Newman's maxim be remembered, that a great subject requires spacious treatment to do it justice.

My thanks are due the University of Chicago Press for permission to reprint the introduction to my *Reference Studies in Medieval History* as an introduction to this book, and to those authors and their publishers who have courteously permitted me to make citation from their works. These are: Professor C. W. Previté Orton, *Outlines of Medieval History* and *History of the House of Savoy*; Professor Edwyn Bevan, *Later Greek Religion*; the late Professor J. B. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, *The Barbarian Invasions* (by permission of The Macmillan Company); the late Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, and *Roman Society in Merovingian Gaul* (by the same publishers); the right honorable Herbert Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*; Professor George L. Burr for leave to cite from his chapter in the second volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History*; Mr. G. M. Trevelyan, regius professor of history in Cambridge University, *History of England*; Professor Ephraim Emerton, *Medieval Europe* and *Beginnings of Modern Europe*; Professor C. Raymond Beazeley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*; Mr. Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*; Mr. O. M. Dalton, *Gregory of Tours: History of the Franks*; Mrs. G. R. Galbraith, *The Dominican Order*; Miss Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*; Professor E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages*; the late F. C. Lowell, *Joan of Arc* (by permission of Houghton, Mifflin & Company); Professor Preserved Smith, *Erasmus*. If there be any from whom the author has borrowed light without acknowledgment, he craves pardon. Finally I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Helen Robbins Bittermann for putting her knowledge of medieval music at my disposal, and for her generous labor in compiling the index.

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INTRODUCTION¹

What is medieval history? — Medieval history is that period of the history of Europe and the Mediterranean countries — Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Africa — which is included between the decline of the Roman Empire and the period of the Renaissance in the fifteenth century.

Origin of the term "Middle Ages." — The terms *media tempestas*, *medium aevum*, *media antiquitas*, *media tempora*, and *media aetas* — all expressing the same idea, however varying the phrase, have been traced back to the Italian humanism of the Renaissance. Indeed, the first of these phrases occurs in 1469. But the term has nothing but popular usage to support it, for its implication is unscientific.² "It originated . . . when men of letters had drawn deeper and deeper of the charmed draught of classical literature. They felt themselves, so they imagined, at one with the master minds of Greece and Rome. And all that filled the interval from the downfall of the Roman world to their own time, the whole previous history of their own people, seemed to them as a chaotic chaos, a mass, a 'middle age' of darkness and barbarity. Nothing could be more ahistorical. There never has been such a middle age. The whole history of modern nations presents one continuity from the first appearance of the Germanic peoples on the historic stage. . . . The alleged middle age, therefore, is neither marked off by a clear line, or any kind of a line from modern history, nor does it constitute in any sense a unity in itself."³

Essential elements in medieval history. — The period of medieval history was pre-eminently an institutional epoch when forms and customs were in the making. In consequence, the church, administrative and political powers, social structure, town life, war, trade, agriculture, arts and letters — all constitute important elements in medieval history.

Medieval civilization was formed of three elements: Greek and Roman, Christian, and German. There were other but more incidental factors.

¹ Reprinted from the author's *Reference Studies in Medieval History*, University of Chicago Press, 1923, by permission of the publishers. (This is a syllabus of studies in medieval history. The variety of topics and the fullness of the reference material make possible use of the syllabus possible, either for special classroom reports or for term papers.)

² Cf. G. L. Burr, "Anent the Middle Ages," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XX, 813.

³ Cf. Keutgen, "On the Necessity in America of the Study of the Early German European Nations," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1897. Cf. also Emerton, E., "The Periodization of History," *Proceedings of the American Historical Society*, October-December (1918), p. 57.

such as the Celtic, Mohammedan, Jewish, Slavonic; but these are the essential ingredients of medieval life. In a sense the Middle Ages are a tumultuous laboratory in which these elements in a greater or lesser degree were melted and fused together to form the civilization of the present. The proportion of the elements or the degree of fusion was never equal. In Southern Europe, among the Romance nations, Roman influences predominated. In Northern Europe, on the other hand, Germanic influences predominated. There is infinite variety in the mass and to some extent in the form of medieval institutions, and part of the charm and value of studying medieval history is to determine the relative proportions of the various elements which formed the complex whole.

Educational value of medieval history.—The educational value of medieval history is very great. The culture and the civilization of Europe and America today are largely a heritage from the past. Every nation of today in Europe traces its history for ages back. It finds in its very origins the proofs of its right to be and sees in its past history the promise and security of its future. It is literally true that the history of Europe and the Mohammedan Orient as it is today cannot be understood unless one knows the history, not only of their immediate, but of their remote, past.

In the preface to the first volume of his *Institutions politiques de la France*, M. Paul Viollet has written: "We issue from the Middle Ages. . . . The roots of our modern society lie deep in them. . . . What we are, we are in large measure because of the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages live in us; they are alive all around us." In the preface to the second volume he repeated this thought even more forcibly: "Whatever is most enduring in national character is inherited."

Even when no organic connection can be traced between things of the present and things in the past, nevertheless the study of medieval history may be of profit. For, although as Professor Tout has written: "A medievalist cannot but recognize the profound differences between the age which he studies and the age in which he lives, . . . he knows that human beings are much the same in all ages, and that history still has a curious way of repeating itself. He knows, too, that contrasts are often instructive, and that analogies illustrate even when they do not prove."

The greatest thinkers, not merely among historians, but among philosophers and poets, have perceived the value and the unity of history—Goethe, Carlyle, Browning. "The Past's enormous disarray" is apparent, not real. In *Faust*, Goethe has said:

What you the spirit of the ages call
Is nothing but the spirit of you all
Wherein the ages are reflected.

owning in *Fra Lippo Lippi* says:

This world's no blot to us.

No blank. . . .

To find its meaning is my meat and drink.

Truth in medieval history.—Perhaps there is no body of human knowledge that has been more overlaid with falsehood, more distorted from the truth, more perverted by sentiment, or more wrenched by prejudice than medieval history, and none about which more credulous and erroneous beliefs obtain. In spite of the labors of accomplished scholars for over a century, since the rise of critical historical method, each succeeding generation perpetuates the errors of its predecessor. Every teacher of history knows how persistent and broadcast is the spread of false historical ideas. A considerable portion of the time of every teacher has to be spent in uprooting mistaken notions, and the discouraging feature is that generation after generation of college students come to their classes with these errors in their minds and the ground has to be cleared anew each year.

Modern scholarship has revolutionized the history of the persecution of Christianity by the Roman government and exploded the old idea as to the origin and use of the catacombs; it has revolutionized the interpretation of the history of the barbarian invasions; destroyed the legend of the burning of the Alexandrian Library by Omar, and the legend of the terrors of the year 1000; stripped the romance from Richard Lion Heart's captivity; written the story of the Crusades in terms of history and not of fiction; made medieval history natural and human instead of being "dark" or sentimentally romantic. "Human affairs," said Richter, "are neither to be laughed at nor wept over, but to be understood." It were well for every student to bear this in mind.

Point of view.—In order to understand the history of the Middle Ages it is essential that the student free his mind of present-day conceptions and prejudiced interpretation—that he put himself as far as possible, by the exercise of historical imagination, into the time and place of the events about which he is reading.

If any scholar could offer the world reasonable assurance of a method by which he could form a true picture of life on the planet Mars, he could immediately procure any amount of money necessary to carry out his project. But the inner lives and much even of the external history of the men and women who lived before us on this earth are unknown to us, or only partly understood. Indolence has caused us to think of them as precisely like ourselves; prejudices—partly religious and partly due to an unwarranted pride developed during the so-called Renaissance—have

caused us to distort the motives and undervalue the achievements of the first fifteen Christian centuries. Only now is the uncolored white light of tireless and unprejudiced investigation being turned upon the past. The science, the art, the literature, and the economic and social life of the past are being studied as never before.

Value and content of medieval history.—Professor Harold Höffding, the distinguished Danish philosopher, has justly written:

“ . . . The Middle Ages has rendered important contributions to intellectual development, and was by no means the wilderness or the world of darkness which it is so often depicted as being. It deepened intellectual life, and sharpened and exercised its powers in no inconsiderable degree, and it certainly yields to no other period in the energy with which it used the means of culture which lay at its disposal, limited as these were by the historical circumstances of the time. In later and more favored periods, commanding a rich wealth of content, we shall look in vain for as great a power in elaborating and closely appropriating these riches as was dedicated by the Middle Ages to its scanty material. . . . For the carrying out of its ideas in detail the Middle Ages . . . had at its disposal a miserably inadequate material. All the greater was the labor which it applied to the task. . . . Thought developed a formal acuteness, a skill in drawing distinctions and building up arguments, which is altogether without parallel. . . . It was bound in the long run to lead to the critical investigation of precisely those suppositions which had long been regarded as a fixed foundation, and on the examination of which no one had been bold enough to venture.”¹

Medieval Latin literature, in its own way, is as interesting and valuable as that of the classical period. Yet there are people who think that the position of Latin in the world is due solely to Cicero, Horace, and Vergil, having seemingly never heard of the *Code*, the *Vulgate* or the *Mass-Book*.

In vernacular literature the Middle Ages witnessed the evolution of new languages which flowered in forms of literature as rich and varied as those of Greek and Latin literature. In science and the mechanical arts it is to the Middle Ages that we owe the modern system of notation, algebra, the compass, the magnifying glass, gunpowder, the process of distillation, the use of the chief acids, the discovery of gas, the invention of printing, the windmill, and the organ. To material welfare the Middle Ages contributed the use of silk, sugar, linen paper; and, largely through the influence of the Arabs, many new vegetable products were made serviceable to mankind.

As the mental and moral horizon was broadened, so also was the physical horizon widened far beyond the limits known to the ancient world. No ancient navigator had rounded the African continent as Vasco

¹ *History of Modern Philosophy*, I, 4, 5.

da Gama did in 1498, or discovered new lands like the Norse discovery of Iceland and Greenland and Columbus' finding of America. No Greek or Roman adventurer, so far as we know, ever crossed Asia as did Marco Polo. In aesthetics the Middle Ages gave birth to Romanesque and the exquisite Gothic architecture, to painting in oils, to line engraving, and to a music far in advance of that which antiquity knew. The weakest points in medieval civilization are precisely the weakest points in antiquity and in modern times, and they are inseparable from human nature.

Relation of medieval history to ancient and modern history. — The early history of the Middle Ages — the period before 800 A.D. — in a certain sense may be regarded as the epilogue of ancient history. In like manner the later Middle Ages, roughly from 1300 to 1500, may be looked upon as a prologue to modern times. At the end of the fifth century, the history of the Roman Empire almost imperceptibly merged into the period of German ascendancy. By a process as slow as the "weathering" of a great building the Roman Empire disappeared. The migrating Germanic nations replaced the political sovereignty of Rome. Visigoths established themselves in Spain, Vandals in Africa, Lombards in Italy, Franks in Gaul, the English and Saxons in Britain. Their institutions modified or supplanted those of Rome. There was a transfusion of blood, a change in the nature and content of European civilization. This period of transition, roughly embraced by the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, is one of darkness and struggle. But gradually out of the dust cloud raised by the horse of the Hun and the confused movement of half-barbarian peoples, the form of the Frank Empire emerges. Simultaneously with this reorganization of Europe by Charlemagne, the Far East rises into newness of life. The Arabs, welded into a single people by Mohammed, conquered Western Asia, Egypt, the African seaboard, the isles of the Mediterranean, and even part of Spain.

But fate dealt hardly with these vast creations. Feudalism destroyed the empire of Charlemagne; the khalifate fell apart of its own weight; yet in each state a unity of faith partially overcame this political disintegration. In Western Europe the unity of the church saved society from entire dissolution, and gradually the Holy Roman Empire, the French and Spanish monarchies, and the English kingship acquired strength and form. But the nascent states were soon called upon to justify their position by another authority — that of the church. The confusion of church and state in the Middle Ages would have made antagonism between them inevitable, even if the papacy had not been centered at Rome. The strength of Roman imperial tradition, unity of faith and of church government, the power of ecclesiastical authority, combined with subtler political and personal causes, made the church a vast ecclesiastical empire. Pope and emperor came into collision, and as a result the fate of Germany and Italy, the two

component parts of the medieval empire, was conditioned for centuries by the issue. This conflict coincided in time with the Crusades, in which the whole of Christian Europe was involved with the Mohammedan Orient and the Byzantine Empire. France was little concerned in the struggle of empire and papacy during these centuries — the central historic fact of the history of Germany and Italy at this time — but she was the chief participant in the conflict of the West and the East; i.e., the Crusades. The history of Spain during this epoch was that of a five centuries' warfare against the Mohammedan in the peninsula. English history in its constitutional aspects was throughout this period largely a thing apart from the main line of European development, although owing to the Norman Conquest, English political history became intimately related to that of feudal Europe.

These are the main facts of the history of Central and Western Europe between 814 — the death of Charlemagne — and 1291 — the end of the Crusades. But another history remains to be noticed, that of the Roman Empire of the East. Byzantine history was not German at all, nor yet wholly Roman. Nevertheless it is very important.

It must not be forgotten that Constantinople was the immediate and direct heir of antiquity. Constantinople was a New Rome and was the repository of the civilization and culture, the learning and the art, of the ancient world. Her material civilization was brilliant when London and Paris were obscure, squalid towns. She possessed libraries and museums in which had been garnered the lore of the Graeco-Roman world. Her government was great and strong when Western Europe was a chaos of jarring feudal groups. Much of our inheritance from ancient Greece we owe to its preservation by Constantinople. Moreover, for centuries Constantinople was the great bastion of Europe, protecting it from the Mohammedan East.

The period extending from the death of Charlemagne in 814 to the loss of Acre in 1291, the last Christian holding in Palestine whose capture by the Mongols marks the end of the Crusades, is the heart of the Middle Ages, the core and pith of medieval history. It has been sometimes called the "Age of Faith" because of the great authority of the church during this epoch. The church and feudalism were the all-pervading and all-dominant influences in it. Feudalism was not merely a form of government and a structure of society; it was a civilization, a culture, a psychology. Even the idea of God was feudal in this time. Hence the period may with right be called the "Feudal Age."

It was an epoch fecund with great movements, prolific of important events, and fertile in the production of leaders of humanity.¹ If in the first portion of the period, the ninth and tenth centuries, Western Europe

¹ Cf. *History of All Nations*, VIII, chap. i, especially pp. 19-23.

seems given over to the forces of violence and disruption, the impression is apparent, not real. For the break-up of Carolingian government and society actually was as the breaking of the clods above the growth of man. Out of the soil made by the decay of the old order of things sprang a far richer and greater life. The inchoate beginnings of the France, Germany, Italy, and Spain of Europe today are to be found in the ninth and tenth centuries. The rise of the towns in the eleventh and twelfth centuries gave birth to that important middle class which has ever since been the bone and sinew of European life. The Crusades were procreant of new things to Europe, and may almost be said to have revolutionized all Europe politically, materially, and morally. By the twelfth century the uncouth vernacular speech of the masses had become a fluent and pliable instrument for expression of thought. And what thoughts the new Europe dreamed, and what thinkers she produced! The intellectual and spiritual awakening between 1100 and 1300 makes these two centuries one of the noblest periods in the history of the progress of the human spirit. The thirteenth century has been compared to that of Greece in the time of Pericles. It is the peer of any age, and, in some particulars, the greatest age in the history of the race. The mere list of the great achievements of the thirteenth century sounds like a roll of guns. The names of the men and women who lived in it, the memory of whom shall not perish from off the earth, form a shining nebula.

If there was much warfare and much violence within the feudal epoch there was also much of "sweetness and light." All history is not made by kings, nor all wars fought on battlefields. Abelard fought for the liberation of reason; St. Francis for the spiritual liberation of man from the worldliness which encompassed him. If military genius found expression in building frowning and formidable castles, spiritual genius divined and devised those marvellous cathedrals which still charm the eye of the tourist. If the scholastic philosophy seems dry and arid to us, nevertheless it was once a great system of thought; and the lays of Marie de France, the songs of the troubadours, the Grail romances, and that exquisite love story, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, still are read and still charm or thrill their readers. The Feudal Age, however far we may seem to be removed from it, still is potent in the world. It is not alien; its majesty is not lost. The high-water mark of medieval history was reached in the thirteenth century, whose history one may dip into as a foretaste of what these feudal ages had the power to bring forth.¹

The vicious teaching that the Middle Ages were "dark," an epoch of

¹ F. Harrison, *The Meaning of History*, chap. v (same in *Fortnightly Review*, LVI, 325). Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, pp. 458-73. Sedgwick, H. D., *Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, I, preface. Cunningham, W., *English Industry and Commerce*, I, secs. 95, 96, 97.

brutal violence and blind turmoil, saturated with bigotry and stained with blood, is due to the humanists of the Italian Renaissance, notably to Petrarch, who in their ardent admiration for the literature and the art of antiquity could not forgive the men of the ages of faith and feudalism for being more interested in creating a new culture than in worshipping an old. With the spread of the Italian Renaissance over all Europe, this false idea was adopted and believed by the thinkers and teachers in every nation. Even so great a man as John Milton regarded the history of medieval Britain as a mere "battle of kites and crows," and as late as the middle of the nineteenth century Taine could still dismiss the whole history of medieval England *en bloc*. Yet it may be that the thirtieth century will dismiss the nineteenth as summarily, and perhaps with more justice. To Winckelmann and Hegel, art ended with the Greeks. To the eighteenth century there was no literature worthy of the name before Dante and Petrarch except that of the ancient Greeks and Romans. D'Alembert said of the Middle Ages, that during them "reason was arrested for a thousand years."

As late as 1877 an otherwise accomplished English writer, James Cotter Morrison, still viewed the Middle Ages as a dreary void, a "mighty concave." This is what he wrote in *The Service of Man* (p. 177):

"The Graeco-Roman world had descended into the great hollow which is roughly called the 'Middle Ages,' extending from the fifth to the fifteenth century, a hollow in which many great, beautiful, and heroic things were done and created, but in which knowledge, as we understand it, and as Aristotle understood it, had no place. The revival of learning, and the Renaissance are memorable as the first sturdy breasting by humanity of the hither slope of the great hollow which lies between us and the ancient world. The modern man, reformed and regenerated by knowledge, looks across it and recognizes on the opposite ridge, in the far-shining cities and stately porticoes, in the art, politics, and science of antiquity, many more ties of kinship and sympathy than in the mighty concave between, wherein dwell his Christian ancestry in the dim light of scholasticism and theology."

Unfortunately such narrowness still prevails. Principal Mahaffy, a modern humanist, sees in Gothic architecture only "the ideal gloom in which to worship a relentless and a tortured Christ."

Now and then it is true that one comes upon protests against this false or narrow view of medieval history, especially in Catholic and Romance countries. And even in Protestant England, in the time of Shakespeare, a Daniel came to judgment, one literally of that name, who in his *Defence of Ryme* (1607) threw scorn on those who contemned the Middle Ages. His is an eloquent and noble utterance:

"Methinks we should not so soon yield our consents captive to the

authority of antiquity, unless we saw more reason; all our understandings are not to be built by the square of Greece and Italy. We are the children of nature as well as they; we are not so placed out of the way of judgment, but that the same sun of discretion shineth upon us. . . . Time and the turn of things bring about these faculties according to the present estimation; and *res temporibus non tempora rebus servire oportet*. . . . It is not books but only the great books of the world and the all overspreading grace of heaven that makes men truly judicial. Nor can it but touch of arrogant ignorance to hold this or that nation barbarous, these or those times gross, considering how this manifold creature man, wheresoever he stand in the world, hath always some disposition of worth, entertains the order of society, affects that which is most in use, and is eminent in some one thing or other that fits his humour and the times. . . . The Goths, Vandals, and Longobards, whose coming down like an inundation, overwhelmed, *as they say*, all the glory of learning in Europe, have yet left us still their laws and customs as the originals of most of the provincial constitutions of Christendom, which being well considered with their other courses of government, may seem to clear them from this imputation of ignorance. And though the vanquished never speak well of the conqueror, yet even through the unsound coverings of maledictions appear those monuments of truth as argue well their worth, and proves them not without judgment, though without Greek and Latin."

The primary business of study and of teaching is not to acquire or to impart information, but to discover and reveal values. And the Middle Ages found and possessed values which antiquity never knew, and which we of today have lost, so that the paradox is true that in order for us to go forward it is necessary to look back. A wise Oxford teacher some years ago said that, "If there is one thing the study of history shows to be certain, it is that an ignorant democracy cannot last long." It behooves us then to study medieval history. For in order to go forward it is necessary also to look back. The rational man wishes to know as much of whence he came as of whither he is going.

"So far as men are unduly enslaved by the past," Sir Gilbert Murray has written in his *Religio grammatici*, "it is by understanding the past that they may hope to be freed. But . . . it is never really the past — the true past — that enslaves us; it is always the present. . . . The thing that enslaves us most, narrows the range of our thought, cramps our capacities, and lowers our standards is the mere present. . . . There has been hardly any great forward movement of humanity which did not draw its inspiration from the knowledge, or the idealization, of the past. . . . To search the past is not to go into prison. It is to escape out of prison, because it compels us to compare the ways of our own age with other ways. . . . Progress . . . is only a name for the mass of accumulated human effort,

successful here, baffled there, misdirected and driven astray in a third region, but on the whole and in the main producing some cumulative result."

Elsewhere in this remarkable scholar's creed Sir Gilbert Murray warns us not to be deceived by superficial differences between past and present civilization:

"Try to compare our inventions, our material civilization, and our stores of accumulated knowledge with those of the age of Aeschylus or Aristotle or St. Francis and the comparison is absurd. Our superiority is beyond question and beyond measure. But compare any chosen poet of our age with Aeschylus, any philosopher with Aristotle, any saintly preacher with St. Francis, and the result is totally different. . . . The things of the spirit depend on will, on effort, on aspiration, on the quality of the individual soul, and not on discoveries and material advances which can be accumulated and added up. . . . We live, since the opening of the great epoch of scientific invention in the nineteenth century, in a world utterly transformed from any that existed before. Yet we know that behind all changes the main web of life is permanent."

The enormous development in the nineteenth century of invention and the mechanical arts must not blind our eyes. Mechanical and material things are not institutions; they may condition living, but they do not constitute life.

"It dawned upon men (in the Middle Ages) that the spiritual world is just as much a reality as the material world, and that in the former is man's true home. . . . A sphere of experience was won for human life which was, in the strictest sense, its own property, into which no external powers could penetrate. And this involved the possibility of a still deeper spiritual deliverance. . . . It would be erroneous to regard the Middle Ages as an age of utter darkness. Not only did there unfold within as well as without the official rule of the church a cheerful and natural national life which has left a memorial behind it in the revivification of national literatures, but within the world of learning itself it would be extremely difficult to draw any clear line of demarcation between the Middle Ages and the time of the Renaissance."¹

The modern world is held together by political and economic solidarity. The medieval world was held together by the cohesive forces (and they were not of a material nature) inherent in feudalism and the pervasive influence and authority of the church. Both forces were universal in their penetration and their application. Since the loss of these unifying agencies which were so vivid in medieval society, Europe has been ever since endeavoring to discover new elements of unity in the discord — national,

¹ Hoffding, *History of Modern Philosophy*, I, 4, 5, 7.

religious, and economic—which divides it, to acquire stability amid universal instability, to establish justice and liberty under new conditions, to devise a new public law that shall embody the new society, the new economy, and the new ideas and forms of government. Has Europe succeeded? Is social injustice less or less powerful now than in the Middle Ages? Is modern art superior to medieval art? Are skyscrapers and dreadnoughts better manifestations of culture than cathedrals and minsters? In the Middle Ages surplus wealth was spent for the benefit of the community. Today it is expended for increased material production and in speculative enterprises to enrich the possessor, not to benefit society.

The violence prevailing in the Middle Ages has been grossly exaggerated by those who mistake the exceptional and picturesque for the usual and customary. One can cite whole provinces free from warfare for a generation. The quiet, studious life of scholarship in cloisters, the journeyings of pilgrims, wandering scholars, and merchants indicate that the routine of daily life was less interrupted and less menaced than we have been led to think. After the Norse and Magyar invasions were over and after the turmoil due to the evolution and revolution of feudalism, a constructive, progressive era in medieval history began. For, fundamentally, feudalism manifested the phenomena not of social decay but of social progress; it was formative.¹

✓It is false and unscientific to regard the Middle Ages as a lapse into utter barbarism. Whatever humanity lost because of the decline of ancient culture was amply compensated for by what it gained ultimately in the new order of things. It is improbable that much of essential worth developed in antiquity was ever destroyed. On the other hand, what humanity gained in the way of progress during the Middle Ages is of enormous value. In addition to the heritage from antiquity, which is larger than is sometimes appreciated, the gifts of Christianity and the church, despite much in them that has been reactionary or suppressive, mark a very great advance upon antiquity, both socially and ethically.

A great American scholar, Henry Charles Lea, has truthfully said: "The history of mankind may be vainly searched for another institution . . . such as that of the Latin Church, which has exercised so vast an influence on human destinies."² Aside from being the repository of ancient culture and the transmitter of the literature and the learning of antiquity, the Church in the Middle Ages was the teacher of Europe and the mother of the arts.

“The great work of the universities was the consecration of learning,

¹ Cf. W. Stubbs, *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 241–53; Warren, F. M. A., *Plea for the Study of Medieval Latin*, Pub. of the Modern Language Association (1909), appendix, li. f.

² *Confession and Indulgence*, I, preface.

and it is not easy to exaggerate the importance of that work upon the moral, intellectual, and religious progress of Europe. . . . In the north of Europe the church was simply a synonym for the professions. Nearly all the civil servants of the crown, the diplomatists, the secretaries or advisers of great nobles, the physicians, the architects, at one time the secular lawyers—all through the Middle Ages the then large tribe of ecclesiastical lawyers—were ecclesiastics. . . . Our intellectual advance since the medieval period has less to do with the improvement in the substance or the method of education than the academic world has complacently imagined. . . . The value of education is independent either of the intrinsic value or of the practical usefulness of what is taught. The intelligent modern artisan . . . or the half-educated man of the world possesses at the present day a great deal more true and useful knowledge than a medieval doctor of divinity. But it can on no account be admitted that this puts the uneducated man of modern times on a level with the educated man of the Middle Ages.”¹

There is a story told of St. Thomas Aquinas which shows that the keenest minds of the Middle Ages were no whit inferior to the minds of modern men of science. It is related, after St. Thomas had resigned the chair of theology in Paris to his pupil Romanus, and returned to Italy, that Romanus appeared to him and told him that he was dead and now in heaven. Aquinas immediately asked: “Do acquired characteristics remain to us in heaven?” Romanus replied that God absorbed all his thoughts. Aquinas then asked: “Do you see him immediately or by means of some similitude?”²

The scientific mind of one of the world’s greatest thinkers was true to its ideal, to the spirit of real research, even in what must have been a moment of stupendous surprise and surmise.

What the medieval men of science lacked was technique. The scholars of that time possessed the mind and the spirit, and were far less ignorant than is commonly supposed. No great scientific scholar of the high Middle Ages believed that the earth was flat. Its rotundity was perfectly well known, the reason of eclipses was understood, and attempts were even made to calculate them. The true scholar of today is likely to have mingled sentiments of admiration and humility when he reads the story of how Adelard of Bath, in the first half of the twelfth century, spent a whole summer on the coasts of Wales and Ireland studying the flux and reflux of the tides, and patiently worked out a theory of the phenomenon. We do not know all about the tides yet.

This same man of genius, living in England in the reign of the son

¹ H. Rashdall, *Rise of the Universities*, II, 693 and 706-7.

² Cited in O'Neill, *Things New and Old in St. Thomas Aquinas*. Also in Hearnshaw, *Medieval Contributions*, p. 95.

of William the Conqueror, contended that matter was indestructible, though he could not demonstrate it by practical experiment, for he had no laboratory as a modern physicist. The same proposition was also argued by Hugh of St. Victor. The principle of optics was well understood in the twelfth century, and the lens was in use in the thirteenth.

And what shall we think of Duns Scotus (the first of all "dunces") working a whole winter in a monastery in Paris, with charcoal on a white-washed wall, calculating the precession of the equinoxes, in which he employed both Greek and Arabic mathematics? Albertus Magnus, the great naturalist, at the beginning of his book on minerals, acutely discusses the different ways in which minerals may be classified, and weighs the qualifications of each method. Is not such spirit scientific? He had no modern chemical or physical laboratory to assist his researches; but he had the spirit of research. Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus* has been truly called "at once the Encyclopedia and the Organon of the thirteenth century," and his famous indictment of the science and the scientists of his time is not what it seems; it is really the complaint of a great soul impatient as genius ever is with the slowness with which truth is discovered, discontented with the smug content of the ignorant, and sometimes disheartened by the limitations under which he worked and the indifference which he met from those who had no perception of the value and the nature of pure research. For, as now, there were Philistines and Fundamentalists in those days, too.

The true intellectuality of the Middle Ages is to be found in scholars such as these and not in the superstitious beliefs of the credulous masses. "Rejoicing not in the many, but in the probity of the few, we toil for truth alone," wrote William of Conches. One of the paradoxes today is the ignorance of even men of science of what they owe to medieval and renaissance scientific scholarship. The continuity can easily be proved. Germany excelled in mathematical studies in the later Middle Ages. The line begins with Albertus Magnus, and runs through John of Saxony, Conrad of Meginburg, Regiomontanus and Georg Peurbach to Copernicus without a break. Columbus when he discovered America, Vasco da Gama when he rounded the Cape of Good Hope, Magellan when he penetrated the straits which bear his name and circumnavigated the globe for the first time—all these carried Regiomontanus's astronomical tables in their chart houses. Who will say that the modern age does not owe much to medieval science?

The medieval church was the mother of the arts. Medieval architecture was different in form, and no whit inferior to ancient architecture; and in spirit it was immeasurably superior. For "the art of the Middle Ages comes between an art resting on slavery and an art resting on exploitation, which has been the art of recent centuries. . . . Romanesque architecture

(and therefore of course Gothic, its derivative) as Choisy and Enlart have shown, was due to the abolition of slavery — briefly because in the absence of slave labor, smaller stones had to be used.”¹

Gothic architecture, it has splendidly been said, “died of its love of light.” But while it lived it was a light that lighted almost all Europe. Yet although the central enterprise of architectural aspiration in the Middle Ages was the building of those exquisite Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals and abbeys which enrapture the observer today, it must not be forgotten that an immense amount of activity and artistic feeling was also expended in the erection of secular edifices such as cloth halls, guild houses, and law courts. These structures, at least numbers of them, were more modern and more comfortable in their appointments than we are accustomed to believe. Lead-pipe plumbing was used in the Middle Ages, and running water in great houses was common.²

Another form of emotional expression for which we are indebted to the Middle Ages is music. The music of antiquity has utterly perished. We know nothing of it except in an antiquarian way. But medieval music and medieval instruments are still living influences among us. The organ and the bell are each medieval inventions. The former has become secularized and commonplace. But the church bell yet survives as “that peculiar creation of medieval age, which falls upon the ear like the echo of a vanished world.”³ The great French scholar Rénan, in a notable protest against the aridity of German rationalism (his particular object of criticism was Feurbach) penned these noble and beautiful words in laudation of the bell:

“Ah, if seated in the ruins of the Palatine or the Coelian Mount, he had heard the sound of the eternal bells lingering and dying over the deserted hills where Rome once was; or, if, from the solitary shore of the Lido he had heard the chimes of St. Mark’s expiring across the lagoons; if he had seen Assisi and its mystic marvels, its double basilica and the great legend of the second Christ of the Middle Ages traced by the brush of Cimabue and Giotto; if he had gazed his fill on the sweet far-away look of the

¹ *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilization*, p. 165. Too little attention is usually paid by historians to the changes silently made by the slow and obscure working of economic and social forces in the great body of the people. The ancient world rested upon slave labor. The Middle Ages first ameliorated and then abolished slavery in Europe and reduced serfdom almost to the vanishing point. They created the free agriculturist, the free merchant, the free craftsman.

² L. Thorndike, *Magic and Experimental Science in Middle Ages*, II, 392. In the precincts of Kirkstall have been found the twelfth-century arrangements for the periodical flushing of the drains. In the Lewes priory each of the 120 monks had his private and separate convenience. At Westminster the filtering cistern of the monastery has lately been found. Cf. Willis, *Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of Christ Church Monastery*. E. S. Prior, *Gothic Art in England*, 44, note 2.

³ Froude, *History of England*, I, 62, ed., 1875.

Virgins of Perugino, or if in San Domenico at Siena he had seen Saint Catherine in ecstasy — no, M. Feurbach would not thus cast reproach on one-half of human poetry.”¹

A similar high valuation may be put upon the contribution of the Germanic race.

“Vulgarly described as barbarians though you find them, they possessed cultural conceptions of their own and institutions of the strongest vitality, allowing of the richest further evolution. They implanted in the Roman soil political institutions which were their very own. They brought with them primitive but elastic systems of civil and criminal law and of legal procedure, and likewise an economic system and novel methods of land tenure and agriculture. Their constitutional and legal systems, moreover, were based on conceptions or convictions fundamentally distinct from anything Roman, but furnishing the main root out of which the most modern democratic institutions have sprung. Their German blood mingled with that of the older inhabitants of Gaul, of Italy, of Spain, and of Britain, and out of this new nations sprang. These, with the people that had remained at home in the old Germanic lands, henceforth formed one group of nations closely allied, not only by blood, but sharing in the main the same institutions and the same mental culture. It was a new world, whatever its debts to an older one that had passed away, and a world that is still in full vigor.”²

In government and law, in social conditions, in culture, the Middle Ages developed institutions and ideas that would have astonished the Greeks and Romans. The state of antiquity was a “city state”; even the Roman Empire was a vast aggregation of cities. Medieval Europe developed nations and national monarchy. Rome solved the problem of an efficient centralized government. But government which gave simultaneous and due expression to both central and local interests is the inheritance of modern times through the achievement of the Middle Ages.

The principle and the practice of representation was the greatest political invention of the Middle Ages. This inventive faculty of the Germanic mind also made notable contribution to the history of private institutions. It was, as Josef Kohler has written, “a stroke of genius in Germanic law to provide for a commerce in risks, to treat dangers as objects to be dealt with in business. . . . Insurance (a Germanic device) is one of the corner stones of modern culture.”³ The same observation is true of the joint-stock company, which is a medieval business invention, “an institution” to quote Kohler again, “whose rise throws everything else into the shade,

¹ Rénan, *Études d'histoire religieuse*, 8th ed. (1894) p. 408 f.

³ *Philosophy of Law*, p. 175.

² Keutgen, *op cit.*, p. 95.

and with whose financial power the world, one might say, can be conquered.”¹

In a very wonderful paragraph in that chapter at the opening of his *Short History of England* in which he is tracing the stream-life of the English race, the English historian, John Richard Green, has written: “It is with a reverence such as is stirred by the sight of the headwaters of some mighty river that we look back.” So it is of all past history to the thoughtful student.

That is the spirit in which we should regard mediæval history. The Middle Ages are the source whence have flowed many of the waters of our modern life. They have bequeathed unto us a splendid heritage. The earliest stream came from Greece and Rome; next, that which flowed out of Palestine, and, finally, that shining flood which emerged out of the dark forests east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, the rich Germanic *traditio*. Lesser affluents to this magnificent stream of history have been those derived from Celtic, especially Irish, and from Mohammedan sources. It is for us to honor our ancestry that posterity may do justice unto us. Every race has its own mission, its own tasks, its own standards, its own delights. Happy shall be the student who has the imagination and the spirit to think, to feel, to understand the past. For all human development comprehends the past, the present, and the future.

Termini and subdivisions. — What is called the “Middle Ages” is only an intellectual convenience. There is a unity of history which prevails over all dividing lines we may draw, or epochs we may distinguish. All periodization is more or less arbitrary. With the understanding, then, that every period is one of transition and that every event must be related both to what preceded and what succeeded, it is convenient to distinguish certain dates of more than usual importance as milestones along the road of the past. For the early Middle Ages some of these dates are:

313, recognition of Christianity by Constantine.

378, battle of Adrianople.

395, division between the East and West.

Each of these dates may be taken as a starting point, yet none is wholly satisfactory. The important fact to notice is that they all fall within the fourth century and that the fourth century is *the* century — the transitional century between the ancient world and the Middle Ages. Nevertheless the student must understand that these division points are more or less arbitrary.

If we are perplexed in the selection of an initial date for the Middle Ages, the difficulty is even greater in choosing a concluding date. The

¹ *Philosophy of Law*, p. 183.

change from medieval to modern history is so subtle, so gradual, as to be almost imperceptible. To look for it is like watching for the dawn or the twilight. Nevertheless in spite of this element of doubt and uncertainty, and keeping in mind that all dates have significance only in proportion to the relevance attached to them, in the fifteenth century we encounter a combination of events which are climacteric, such as:

- 1453, capture of Constantinople by the Turks.
- 1453, end of the Hundred Years' War between England and France.
- 1492, expulsion of the Moors from Spain (observe how the map of Europe "evens up," for, as Mohammedanism is expelled in the West, it enters Europe in the East).
- 1492, discovery of America.
- 1494, French invasion of Italy.
- 1498, discovery of the southwest passage to India around the Cape of Good Hope, which revolutionized commerce and changed the front of Europe to the westward.

As to the subdivisions of the broad stretch of time between the fourth century and the end of the fifteenth century, again there is great latitude. Lavissee and Rambaud (*Histoire générale*) distinguish three periods:

- 395-1095, from the division of the Roman Empire to the Crusades.
- 1095-1270, from the beginning of the Crusades to the death of St. Louis, "the last Crusader."
- 1270-1492, from the end of the Crusades to the discovery of America.

But one may quite as reasonably distinguish three periods as follows:

- 313-814, from the recognition of Christianity by Constantine to the death of Charlemagne.
- 814-1291, from the death of Charlemagne to the loss of Acre, the last Christian holding in the Holy Land.
- 1291- { 1453. Capture of Constantinople by the Turks.
- { 1494. French invasion of Italy.
- 1498. Discovery of the southwest passage to India.

The selection of any particular date will largely depend upon the interest and interpretation of the teacher. The unity and the complexity of history alike preclude the choice of any particular date to the exclusion of another which may be equally important.

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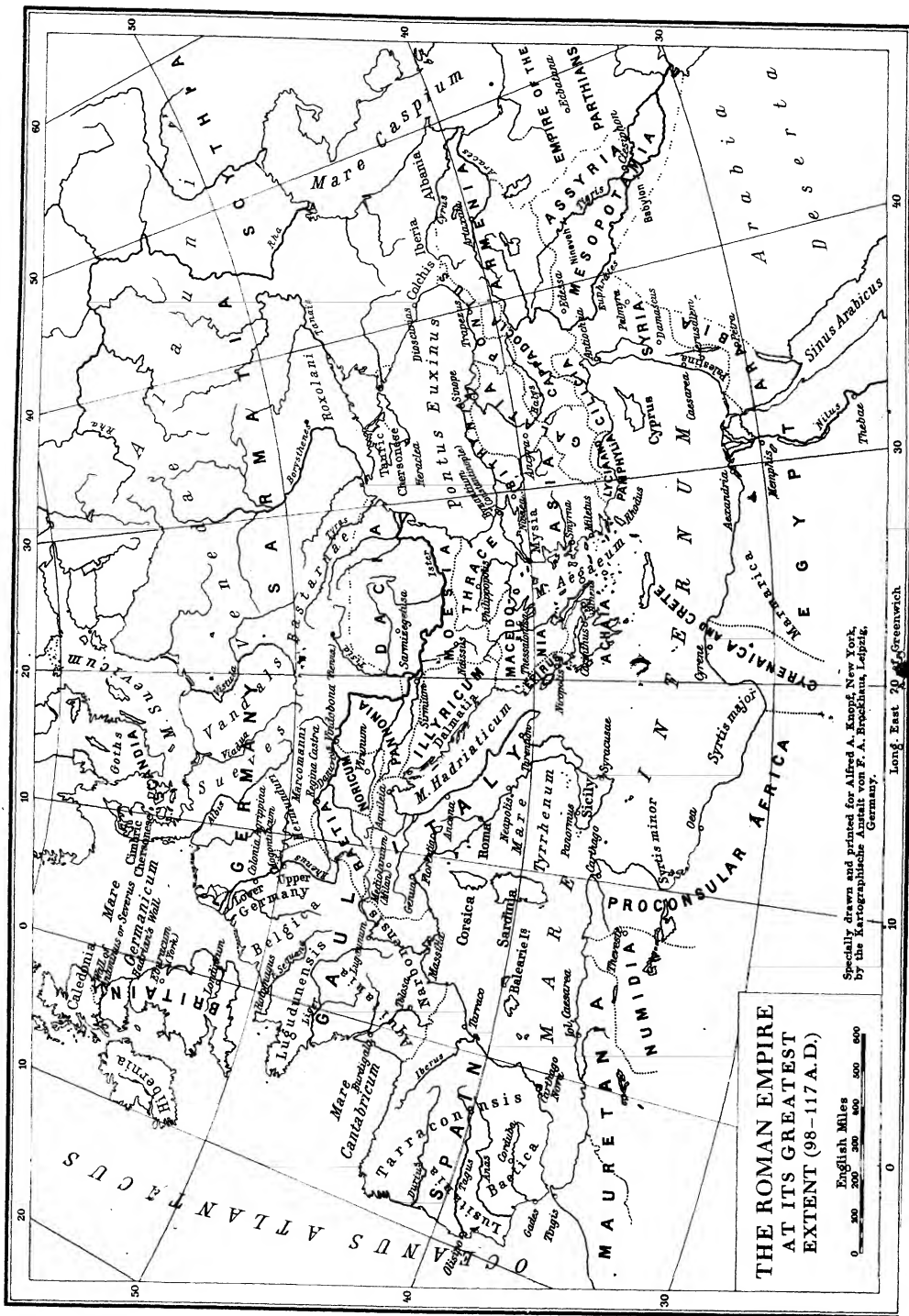
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THE
MIDDLE AGES
300-1500



CHAPTER I

~~THE~~ ROMAN EMPIRE

THE history of the Roman Empire is the groundwork of modern history. Antiquity terminated in the Roman Empire. The modern period began with it. The Roman Empire was the link between ancient and modern European politics, institutions, and culture.

*Roman
pire the
ground of
modern
history*

The Roman Empire was the greatest civil institution ever created by the brain and energy of man. None of the great empires of antiquity which preceded it equaled it in power or extent or possessed comparable genius to organize society and to govern men. No later empire has rivaled it in temporal duration or surpassed it in quality of rule. With due allowance for the difference between modern empires—the British Empire, for example—and the Roman Empire, a comparison of Roman imperialism with modern imperialism must be adverse to the latter. This is the judgment of the late Lord Bryce and the late Lord Cromer, better known as Sir Evelyn Baring, the former a profound student of politics and a distinguished publicist, the latter the greatest “proconsul” that British imperialism has produced. In his *Ancient and Modern Imperialism* Lord Cromer has written:

*Comparison
between Ro-
man and
modern im-
perialism*

“If we turn to the comparative results obtained by ancient and modern imperialists; if we ask ourselves whether the Romans, with their imperfect means of locomotion and communication, their relatively low standard of public morality, and their ignorance of many economic and political truths which have now become axiomatic, succeeded as well as any modern people in assimilating the nations which the prowess of their arms had brought under their sway, the answer cannot be doubtful. They succeeded far better. . . . There has been no thorough fusion, no real assimilation between the British and their alien subjects, and, so far as we can now predict, the future will in this respect be but a repetition of the past.”

The Roman Empire was the rock from which was hewn a vast body of ideas and institutions of the Middle Ages, much of the compelling power of which is still felt. Every nation of Romance stock in Europe today is directly the offspring of Rome; and in those which are not—like the Teutonic and the Slavonic nations—the effect of Roman influence in molding their ideas and shaping their institutions falls little short of the authority of direct Latin tradition.

Physically every civilized country known to antiquity, except Persia and India, was comprehended within the orbit of the Roman Empire;

and, in addition, Rome extended her sway over barbarian lands and peoples in Europe and northern Africa which were civilized by her magic wand. Modern Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Britain, Belgium, Greece, Jugoslavia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco were wholly embodied within the Roman Empire at its widest extent, A.D. 117, besides nearly half of Germany, southern Holland, most of Austria and Hungary, southern and isthmian Russia, Iraq (Mesopotamia), and even a portion of present Persia. Like the corona of the sun, moreover, Rome's lambent influence radiated far beyond the official compass of her political body. It reached Persia and India, penetrated Nubia and the present Sudan, stretched far into the desert of the Sahara and the fastnesses of the Atlas and the Mugreb, filled with dread the painted Picts in Caledonia, and overawed the German nations in the dark woodlands east of the Rhine and north of the Danube.

The geographical grandeur of the Roman Empire is an impressive fact, all the more so when one reflects that the rate of travel of the swiftest imperial courier was limited by the speed of fresh relays of horses procurable at each courier station. Legions were marched on foot from the cataracts of the Nile to the Rhine, from the glare of the African desert to the cold heaths of Scotland. Like the rods of steel in a mass of concrete, the Roman roads radiated from the Roman Forum to the remotest confines of the Empire, held the vast fabric together, and supplemented the governing genius that dominated and energized the whole organism. It remains one of the wonders of history that Imperial Rome was able so long and so efficiently to hold together these vast geographical areas and mighty masses of men of various races and nations; to establish government and to give laws to millions of people differing in historic tradition, in culture, language, and religion; to fuse together older nations, some of decrepit civilization, such as Greece and Egypt, and younger new nations of barbarians, such as the Gauls and the Germans, who were no more than standing upon the threshold of civilization.

It is a narrow if not a false historical view to think that the extension of this gigantic sway was due solely to Roman lust for power, to abuse of military force—that Rome “merely took possession of the booty ready for the hand of a strong power to seize.” Rome possessed the promise and the potency of a vigorous state, of a virile society. It was as natural that the reversion of the decayed states of Greece and the Near East should become her heritage, as it was manifest destiny that the barbarian neighbor lands in the West should enter into her possession. In its best period, from the accession of Augustus in B.C. 27 to the death of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 180, the Roman Empire was an intelligent, effective, and healthy social organism, which succeeded better than most governments in combining two great appeals: it appealed to the upper classes as an intelligent sys-

tem of administration, and to the lower classes as an assured protector of life and property, of justice in the courts, of honest and not onerous taxation, and of the sacred principle of non-interference in their intimate daily life, their language, their local social institutions, their religion.

With the establishment of the Empire Rome's wars of conquest, for the most part, ceased. The aim of Augustus was, so far as possible, to fix the Empire within natural frontiers of river, mountain range, and desert. In his political testament he enjoined his successors not to seek to extend them. Italy was doubly protected against the barbarians of the North by the great wall of the Alps and by the organization of the barrier provinces of Rhætia, Noricum, and Pannonia between the Alps and the Danube, which thereby made this great river an outside line of defense. Military colonies were established in the bend of the Danube and in the valleys of the Save and the Drave to cover the vulnerable side of Italy.

Augustus also endeavored to give Gaul a similar double barrier of protection by conquering the territory between the Rhine and the Elbe, but the defeat of Varus in the Teutoberger Wald, A.D. 9, prevented the consummation of this design, and the Rhine became the boundary. In Asia, Roman sway was extended over the Caucasus, but Armenia, designed to be a buffer state, was sometimes independent, sometimes a vassal either of Persia or of Rome. The eastern limit of Syria was the desert. In Egypt the cataracts of the Nile formed the barrier. In Africa the southern frontier was formed by the desert.

The first extension beyond the frontier established by Augustus was the conquest of Britain (A.D. 45), in the reign of Claudius, by Agricola, who fortified the northern boundary by a wall extending from the Forth to the Clyde. Later Hadrian erected an inside wall between the Tyne and the Solway, and the farther wall was abandoned. In Germany experience showed that the angle between the upper Rhine and the upper Danube (modern Baden and Württemberg) formed a dangerous salient. Consequently in Domitian's reign (A.D. 81-96) the territory was annexed to the Empire, and a gigantic wall of earth was erected, surmounted by a palisade and protected by a fosse. It began near Regensburg (Roman *Juvavium*), ran westward to Lorch, then turned north, crossed the lower Main at Freudenberg, and extended onward until it was fused with the Taunus, the range of steep hills between the Main, the Lahn, and the Rhine. This was the famous *limes*, not completed until the reign of Hadrian. Its remains may still be traced for leagues and constitute an impressive monument of Rome's imperial sway in Germany. This territory was settled chiefly by retired veterans who received allotments of land subject to tithe, whence the name *Agri Decumates* or "Tithe Lands." An immense number of Roman archaeological remains have been found in this region — baths, mosaics, inscriptions, coins, pottery.

Trajan (98-117), whose genius perceived that the most intense barbarian pressure was, or was to be, upon the lower Danube, sought to forestall that danger by conquering and annexing the immense territory enclosed between the lower Danube, the Carpathians, and the Theiss and Dniester rivers. This was Dacia, comprising former Transylvanian Hungary and almost all of modern Roumania. The native population was almost completely exterminated, and the territory peopled with Roman incomers—perhaps the most extraordinary example of Roman colonization. It was Trajan also who grappled with the difficult frontier problem in Asia, where Persia was so formidable. Dissatisfied with the security afforded by the line of the Euphrates, he sought to establish in this region also a double barrier of defense by extending Rome's sway unto the Tigris and organizing the three Far Eastern provinces of Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Babylonia (115-17). But events soon proved that possession of the two latter provinces was more a liability than a security, and Hadrian renounced them. Mesopotamia, however, was held until the defeat of Emperor Julian in 363. Aurelian in 273 also doubly secured Syria by conquering the little kingdom of Palmyra, situated on the oasis of Tadmor in the desert between Syria and Persia. The northern coast of the Black Sea around the Sea of Azov and the Tauric Chersonese, although never organized into provinces, was also within the orbit of Rome's sway. Here the ancient Greek commercial colonies of Theodosia, Tanais, Panticapæum, and Phanagoria became Roman outposts, trading with the Sarmatians, Roxolani, and other so-called Scythian peoples for raw materials such as hides, furs, wax, tallow, tar—and slaves. In Asia and Africa Roman influence, though not complete Roman sway, penetrated among uncivilized tribes peopling the border, just as today the influence of British India is exerted among the semi-civilized peoples that fringe the Indian frontier. Such were the Ethiopians of Meroë, the Arabs or Saracens of Arabia Petræa and the desert edge of Syria, the Lazi of the Caucasus, the Sanni or Tzani on the confines of Armenia and Pontus, and the Abasgi, northern neighbors of the Lazi on the Black Sea.

The immense outward circuit of Rome's dominions thus described was protected by military colonies, garrison posts, and patrols. Frontier regulation was strict. On the Rhine and Danube no barbarian boat was suffered to move; a river fleet patrolled the whole course, which was divided into "reaches." Many stations of the river fleet have been identified; some of them grew into important towns, such as Utrecht, originally the *Trajectus* or "crossing"; Cologne (Colonia Augusta); Mainz, where was a bridge; Strassburg, which originally was called Argentoratum, but which the Germans, when they occupied the territory (modern Alsace), called Strassburg or "Street-burg," so named from the great highway which ran through it and down the Rhine to Utrecht; Basçl, or Urbs Basileia, a curi-

ous Greek appellative to be found in Germany; Augsburg, again named from Augustus; Juvavium (Regensburg); Vindobona (Vienna); Sirmium, modern Belgrade; Ulpia Serdica in Mœsia, founded by Trajan and named after him, today called Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria. At these points along the frontier were located markets where Roman traders exchanged wares with the barbarian peoples of the border. More adventurous Roman merchants, however, penetrated far beyond the frontiers in every direction except into the deserts of Africa.

In form of government the early Roman Empire — that is to say, until the great changes made by Diocletian after 284 — was a monarchy which preserved many outward evidences of the former republican government. It would be untrue to regard it as wholly a military monarchy, more so to regard it as a despotism. It was not a constitutional monarchy, for that is a development of modern times; yet in the early Roman Empire there was a body of law and traditions and institutions and a division of authority which gave it a not unconstitutional aspect.

The political organization instituted by Augustus (27 B.C.—A.D. 14) was a compromise. It put aside the autocracy of Cæsar and at the same time vested in the new Emperor the authority of the most important offices of the former Republic, like that of tribune, censor, pontifex maximus. It took military command away from the consuls, though preserving the office as a sinecure for uses of imperial patronage, and lodged it permanently in the emperor (*imperator*). It left to the senate its ancient dignity, but reduced its legislative, judicial, and administrative power. This famous body was now made up of representatives chosen by the emperor from the Empire at large, and was no longer the close oligarchy of republican times. The emperor's *edicta*, *decreta*, *rescripta*, *mandata*, *epistolæ*, were of more important and wider legislative application than the laws passed by the senate, which were limited in scope and largely of a routine nature. Again, the court of the prætorian prefect (chief justice, as it were) became the final court of appeal in both civil and criminal cases. Augustus warily avoided assuming the title *imperator* as a dignity and devised the title of Prince of the Senate (*princeps senatus*), which mollified the senators and unreconciled republicans without in any wise abating his authority. In modern parlance he might be called the chief magistrate of the Roman Empire. It was an imperial authority tending more and more towards absolutism, masked under republican forms.

*Administrative
system*

The most striking example of this policy of taking the substance of power unto the emperor and leaving the outward shell of authority as it had been, is Augustus' division of the provinces into imperial and senatorial. In A.D. 117 there were thirty-four imperial provinces and but twelve under senatorial control, and these included provinces of inferior political importance, whose administration was a mere routine. Every frontier

province, where history was still in the making, where conditions were active and not passive, where constructive problems of government were to be found, was in the imperial category. But the adverse position of the senate's provincial prerogatives was worse than this; for in the senatorial provinces certain departments of administration pertained to the emperor, such as the public roads, the post, and the finances, which were under an imperial procurator. Moreover, in every province were private domains (collectively known as the *fisc*) of the emperor, often as large as our counties, which were wholly outside the senate's jurisdiction.

The care of the public administration was intrusted largely to members of the knights' order, for whom Hadrian reserved the more important offices, and to the imperial consistory, which he reorganized by dividing its duties and introducing into it a lawyer class, the *jurisconsults*. From this date, in fact, the importance of the *jurisconsults* is notable. In 131 *Salvius Julianus* codified the edicts of the *prætors*, which were given public authority under the title of *Edictum Perpetuum*. The laws in the formation of which these celebrated men had a hand are strongly marked by the philosophic ideas of the Antonines, pre-eminently by the influence of the Stoic philosophy.

Political weakness in absence of a law of succession

The chief weakness in the imperial organism was the absence of any constitutional provision to determine the succession, as had been the case with the higher magistracies in the time of the Republic, though it was "unwritten law" that the emperor must be a patrician and a senator. When this tradition was impossible, as when the purple was seized by a usurper or gained by a mutiny of the *prætorian guard*, decorum was saved by the senate's making the successful aspirant a patrician or a senator, as the case might be; for in theory the senate was the ultimate source of authority. Actually, however, theory and practice were wide apart. As long as the Julian house survived — that is, until Nero's death, A.D. 68, the magic of Cæsar's name was strong enough always to insure prompt recognition of a Julian prince. *Vespasian* (69–81) was the first emperor of plebeian lineage to secure the throne through support of his army. His house, the *Flavian*, lasted till *Domitian's* assassination, A.D. 96. Then for the first time the senate stepped in and nominated an emperor from its own midst, *Nerva*, who began the practice of co-regency, by which the reigning emperor associated a younger co-emperor with himself — a practice invariable in the second century, when the so-called "Antonine" emperors — *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Aurelius* — ruled. Such a course was easy for a reigning emperor, for by making his associate the heir to his private fortune (i.e., the imperial domains) and conferring upon him tribunician authority and the proconsular *imperium*, so much power and wealth were thrown into his hands that the senate invariably ratified the nomination.

Both the strength and the weakness of this selective system became apparent during this century. Each of these emperors, except the last, selected the ablest man he could find and carefully trained him for the office; and probably no succession of rulers in the history of the world matches these four emperors for ability and integrity. Unfortunately, however, Marcus Aurelius, though a philosopher upon a throne, was weak enough to secure the succession of his vicious son Commodus (180-92) after him. His murder by court intriguers opened the door of opportunity to the soldiery of the imperial guard and inaugurated the era of the "barrack emperors" (193-284).

This absence of a law of succession in the early Roman Empire has sometimes been designated by shallow historians as an evidence of Rome's political incapacity. The weakness is undeniable; but the remedy was not so easy as one might think. The very fact that the early Roman Empire was not only an empire under republican forms, but professedly a continuation and extension of the former Republic, made it impossible to establish a positive law of succession without dropping this mask. It was politically advisable, even necessary, for the early Empire to preserve this appearance, since the party of stiff, unreconciled, and unreconstructed old-fashioned republicans was very influential and commanded a majority in the senate. The strength of this opposition may be measured by the fact that the historical tradition which has been handed down to us, chiefly through the writings of Tacitus, is of this pro-senatorial nature.

The co-regency was the result of the failure of the Roman people to devise and sanction a frank and practicable means of transmitting the imperial power, of the emperors' need of co-operation in the work of the government, of the general insecurity of their position, and of attempts on the part of the senate to establish collegiality as a means of weakening the imperial power. The failure to devise a satisfactory system of succession was itself the result of the extra-constitutional (if not unconstitutional) character of the imperial power and the pre-existence of the republican tradition among the Roman aristocracy. Under the Flavians and Antonines the Stoic political philosophy, which in Rome stood for succession by adoption, was opposed to the hereditary principle. In the third century the disorders incident to the supremacy of the army and the growth of racial and cultural particularism made orderly succession equally impossible of attainment and caused the emperors to use the co-regency chiefly as a means of discouraging conspiracies and rebellions. To these changes must be added the growth in the military and economic importance of the provinces and a new juridical development broader than the traditional Roman law.

When Commodus was murdered, the senate tried to recover its power and appointed one of its members, Pertinax, to be emperor. But within

three months his strict and parsimonious policy — a parsimony made necessary by the prodigality of Commodus — angered the prætorians, who began that disastrous practice of trafficking with the crown and promised their support to him among all competitors who offered them the largest donative. For the next ninety years the disposal of the imperial crown was in the hands of the army, and it was either auctioned off to the highest bidder or seized by some popular army commander. Both the emperors and the senate became victims of army control.

The third century the age of the barracks emperors

This is not to say, however, that all of the emperors of the third century were inefficient or bad. The first of these "barrack emperors," Septimius Severus (193–211), was an able, though despotic, ruler, whose reign marks a turning-point in the history of the Roman Empire and of Roman institutions. The senate fared ill at his hands and became a perfunctory and almost obsolete organ of administration. Septimius Severus successfully campaigned in Britain and in Mesopotamia and improved the administration of justice through the great jurisconsult Papinian. Indeed, it is one of the anomalies of history that this otherwise decadent period should have been the golden age of Roman law.

An eccentric interval in the long succession of barrack emperors was the rule of the two Syrian emperors, Elagabalus (218–22) and his cousin Alexander Severus (222–35), when the Roman world was really governed by two clever women. The former was Elagabalus' grandmother, Julia Mæsa; the latter her daughter, Julia Mamæa. When Elagabalus chafed under the control of Julia Mæsa and sought to kill her, the prætorians murdered him and made his cousin, Alexander Severus, emperor; but the real ruler was the Emperor's mother, Julia Mamæa. She was a benign and intelligent ruler. The office of prætorian prefect was filled by no less a man than Ulpian, who, like his patron, was a Syrian jurisconsult from the law school in Beirut. Taxation was reformed and an effort was made to introduce stricter discipline in the army. In the history of culture this Syrian period was characterized by a great influx of Oriental religions, and the spread of Syro-Oriental literature, art, and fashions — a subject to which we shall revert later. The young Emperor was a mild, studious person who made the Palatine the center of sentimental religious and literary pursuits.

But the prætorians resented the effort to restore discipline among them and murdered Ulpian, whom they rightly held responsible for Alexander's progressive reforms. Alexander soon shared the fate of his minister. In 235 there was war with the Franks upon the lower Rhine. When Alexander arrived in the camp, attired in flowing Oriental robes, red-leather shoes, his hair dusted with gold powder, and a book depending from his girdle, the exasperated soldiery ridiculed his effeminate appearance, slew him, and set up as emperor a huge and popular Thracian

soldier, Maximus Thrax, distinguished as the best wrestler and prize-fighter in the army. He crossed the Rhine and laid waste the land of the Franks.

There were many armies, however, in the Roman Empire. In 237 the army in Africa put up the eighty-year-old proconsular governor Gordianus. He was of patrician lineage, with the blood of the Gracchi and of Trajan in his veins, a poet who had written an epic upon the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. The mildness of his government had endeared him to the Africans, but his great wealth was the lure of the soldiers' suffrages. The complacent senate ratified the choice; but Capilianus, the governor of the adjacent province of Numidia, marched upon Carthage with the determination to make himself emperor. Gordian died by his own hand after a reign of less than five weeks. His son, Gordian II, whom he had associated with him, perished in defending Carthage. Thereupon the African legions put up a third Gordian, a boy of twelve, filching the fortune of the family with every change. Meanwhile the senate in Rome, deeming the moment favorable for attempting to recover its power, defied Maximus Thrax and appointed two senators as co-emperors. Maximus, who was in Pannonia, advanced upon Italy, but was killed by his own soldiery at Aquileia. Thereupon the prætorians in Rome mutinied, slew the two senatorial "emperors," and compelled the senate to recognize Gordian III (238-44). A war with Persia in 241 is the sole event of his reign. In 244 the prætorian prefect Philip "the Arabian" murdered Gordian and made himself emperor. The singular event of his reign was the celebration of the thousandth anniversary (248) of the founding of Rome, with a ruler not of Latin or even of European blood upon the throne! In 249 the Pannonian and Mæsiian legions rebelled, and Decius, who was sent by Philip to suppress the mutiny, instead put himself at the head of the mutineers, invaded Italy, and slew Philip in battle near Verona.

With Decius (249-51) began an unbroken series of outright military emperors, for the most part able and honest men, whose misfortune was that the times were out of joint. There was crying need of drastic reform of provincial administration, taxation, the coinage. Moreover, as if to aggravate these internal problems, German pressure on the Rhine and Danube had now become formidable, while Persia menaced all of the provinces in Asia.

These years between 249 and 284, when Diocletian came to the throne and revolutionized the nature of the Roman government, are among the most important years in imperial history; for practically every problem of the later Roman Empire then presented itself. The roots of every dissolving or destructive force, internal or external, political, economic, social, and religious, the German danger and the Persian menace, then are

found. No mere chronological relation of important events can make this development clear. It must be handled by subjects. One subject must be related to another when necessary, with due consideration of the bearing or influence of the various emperors as they strove to solve problems beyond them. In a word, the causes of the decline of the Roman Empire are implicit in the third century.

*Signs of
decay*

The chief political problem in the third century was to preserve the unity of the Roman Empire. As early as 200 some of the provinces had evinced a disposition to secede. It would be a superficial reading of history to ascribe these provincial revolts wholly to ambitious pretenders. Pescennius Niger in the East and Clodius Albinus in Gaul, in the time of Septimius Severus, were formidable because of popular discontent in those regions—a discontent of which they were in a certain degree the expression and which they capitalized to promote their own ambitious designs. This phenomenon of secession, however, becomes more strikingly evident later, in the reign of Gallienus (260–68), the time of the so-called “Thirty Tyrants.” Spontaneous provincial insurrection then was widely manifest. In Belgic Gaul and the two Germanies the governor Posthumus proclaimed himself emperor and maintained his sway for ten years, at last to be killed by another usurper, Loellianus. In Aquitaine, Tetricus assumed the purple, fixed his capital at Bordeaux, issued his own coinage, and held his own until Aurelian subdued him in 273. In Palmyra the Arabian governor Odenathus proclaimed his independence and extended his sway over Mesopotamia and Syria and threatened Egypt. When he died, his rule was continued by his wife, the brilliant and beautiful Zenobia, until she, too, succumbed to Aurelian in 271. These are the outstanding examples of secession, but other more local and ephemeral instances might be cited.

In all of these cases, if we delve below the surface of things, we discover that there was a widespread spirit of economic discontent, social unrest, racial-national ambition, and local pride, which sustained these pretenders. We are dealing with deep, organic centrifugal forces, the influence of which was later to rend the Roman Empire asunder.

Not a few historians have pointed to the increasing centralization of government in the later Roman Empire as a cause of its decline and have argued that the central authority crushed provincial spirit. But an analysis of these local conditions discloses that the government must be acquitted of the charge of tyranny. Incompetence or untrustworthiness of provincial governors, laxness of provincial assemblies (*conventus*), were general and growing evils in the third century. The government was frequently compelled to intervene in the interest of administrative efficiency. The usual remedy was to reduce the size of the province and sometimes to separate civil from military authority. Britain, Dacia, Mesopotamia, As-

syria, and Babylonia were the only new provinces added to the Roman Empire after the time of Augustus. Yet in spite of the fact that the last two were renounced by Hadrian in 117 as too costly to retain against Persia, and that Aurelian withdrew Roman rule from Dacia in 275 because of the Goths, we find that between A.D. 41 and A.D. 337 the number of provinces increased from forty-six to one hundred and nineteen.

The break-down of municipal government was no less marked than that of the government of the provinces. Many cities were extravagant in municipal improvements and public adornments, building luxurious municipal baths, theaters, circuses. All this entailed heavy local taxation and, moreover, was not infrequently accompanied by corruption. Even as far back as the second century Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius appointed "correctors" to examine the books of municipalities that had got in a bad way. Sometimes municipal liberties were abolished and the government of the town was combined with that of the province.

By the third century the increasing burden of taxation, both of the central government and of local authorities, had become an acute evil. The whole Empire was divided into customs circles, and duties (*portoria*) were imposed upon all articles of commerce, varying from two per cent on ordinary commodities to twelve per cent on luxuries, in addition to which almost every town collected a small tax from all comestibles brought in from the environs by market gardeners and poulterers—a tax which still survives in the Romance countries of Europe as the *octroi*. But the *portoria* tended to increase and by the fourth century were a flat rate of twelve and one-half per cent. The chief tax upon industry was the *chrysargyrum*, or gold-silver tax, so called because it was exacted in actual cash or bullion, while *portoria* and *octroi* might be defrayed by the commodities themselves, just as the old-fashioned miller used to take a proportion of the grain brought to his mill to be ground as the price of his service.

The origin of the *chrysargyrum* is interesting and sheds light upon the organization of labor in the Roman Empire. Even in the states of remote antiquity, such as Egypt and Chaldea, and in ancient Greece, the workers in an industry were grouped together in *collegia* or guilds, and commonly they dwelt in a certain "quarter" of the town. Thus we find the Street of the Bakers, the Street of the Ironmongers, etc. These *collegia*, however, were not like medieval guilds or modern trade-unions. There is no historical connection between the one and the other. Medieval guilds were organized to provide raw material for the workmen of the craft and to improve industrial technique by the system of apprentice labor, while modern trade-unions exist for the purpose of raising wages and shortening hours of labor. The Roman *collegia* were social groups of the same or kindred craftsmen which assisted the ill or out-of-work among them

Chrysargy.

from a common fund and invariably provided a decent burial for a deceased member. They were, in a word, partly fellowship societies and partly benefit associations. Even slaves had such clubs. The government was indifferent to them as long as they did not resort to agitation, which they rarely did. Only in the cities of Asia Minor, where the industrial population was highly skilled and very numerous, do we find any evidence of industrial strikes.

In the third century, when falling revenues worried the government, a radical change in industry took place. Not only were the *collegia* made units of taxation, but all industries were required by law to become gilded. In the next century Constantine went further and made all trades hereditary, with the economic intention of always assuring a plentiful supply of industrial serfs; and the government thus became a large official employer of labor. Moreover, the *chrysargyrum*, like the *portoria*, tended so to increase that by the end of the fourth century it was one of the chief economic grievances.

The greatest burden of taxation, however, fell upon the land (*tributum* or *stipendium*) and its occupants. Grand landed proprietorship was very general throughout the Roman world. In theory the members of the proprietary class were supposed to pay this tax, but in practice the burden was passed on to their tenantry in the form of rent or increased services exacted. As for the small farmer, when he could not pay, he mortgaged his land, saw the mortgage foreclosed by some wealthy neighboring proprietor, and became a serf; or else he abandoned his farm and drifted into some city to become a member of that idle proletariat whose numbers were a canker in Roman urban society. The *munera* or compulsory-service taxes exacted in every province and municipality for the upkeep of roads, bridges, and aqueducts and the maintenance of the courier posts (*cursus*) were also heavy local taxes. Finally, the capitation tax was imposed upon everyone not a slave. Originally this tax had distinguished those who had Roman citizenship, but in 212 Caracalla, taking advantage of the greater taxation that could then be imposed, "conferred" citizenship upon all free provincials. He had no intention of trying to "make the Roman world safe for democracy." It was a mercenary act and degraded the once noble quality of Roman citizenship.

Thus we observe a progressive increase of direct (*tributa*) and indirect (*vectigalia*) taxes within the Roman Empire in the third century. The taxes multiplied in number; the rate steadily increased.

The effect of this accumulated burden upon the social structure was profound. The rich, chiefly the landed aristocracy, grew richer, the poor poorer. The free middle class in town and country was slowly impoverished and reduced to industrial or agricultural serfdom. Capital shrunk because production declined, and excessive taxation consumed profits

and surplus. To add to the distress, prices rose enormously, and conditions were further aggravated by the debasing of the coinage which some emperors did not hesitate to practice. In these conditions are to be found the motivating influences behind the rebellions in the provinces and the popularity of men such as Posthumus and Tetricius. But worse than such movements of insurrection and secession were the widespread brigandage on land and piracy on the sea, especially in the Adriatic and the Ægean, where the multitude of islands afforded shelter to these marauders. In the very year that Diocletian became emperor, many provinces of Gaul were jeopardized by rabble armies of revolted peasants (*Bagaudæ*), with whom runaway slaves, escaped criminals, and the riffraff of the countryside consorted. Towns were invaded, farmsteads burned. It was this desperate state of affairs, and not the sporadic raids of Germanic invaders, that for the first time compelled the cities to fortify themselves with walls. Even Rome itself was walled by Aurelian, and the gigantic circumvallation still stands almost intact, a striking monument of the century of decadence.

The best emperors of the third century, notably Valerian (253-60), Claudius II (268-70), Aurelian (270-75), and Probus (276-82), were by no means indifferent to these serious matters and endeavored to institute reforms. But the problem was too intricate, the conditions too complex, and their power insufficient for them to accomplish much. Aurelian made a tentative effort to revise the system of taxation and to reform the coinage; Probus, to improve agriculture. Realizing that, economically speaking, the Roman Empire was largely an agricultural society, Probus endeavored to redeem the abandoned farms—in some provinces enormous tracts were vacant—by settling broken freemen upon them as *coloni*. These settlers were supplemented by the introduction of thousands of peaceful Germans, among whom tens of thousands of acres of waste lands were distributed. These German settlers were called *læti*, and both classes, *coloni* and *læti*, contributed to the formation of the late Roman and medieval servile classes. Probus tried to promote viticulture in Gaul and Spain by abolishing the tariff upon wine and olives imported into Italy—a tariff that for centuries had protected the rich patrician and Latin landowners from the competition of the provinces. He employed the soldiers in digging a canal to drain the marshes around Sirmium in order to promote wheat-raising; he endeavored to reforest the denuded mountain slopes in Italy and Gaul. But by this time the army was too much out of hand, having been corrupted through donatives and bribes too many times by ambitious upstarts, whether revolted legionary commanders or provincial “tyrants” or rich senators who craved the purple. The result was that the soldiers mutinied and slew Probus, who in 281, the quietest year in the later history of the Roman Empire, had indulged the dream of a day when the Roman army would not be necessary!

*Attempts
at reform*

First barbarian inroads

To these untoward internal conditions must be added occasional barbarian inroads across the frontiers. The history of the German migrations will be considered in detail in chapter iii. At present it is only necessary to notice a few important facts. The Marcomanni and the Quadi, whom Marcus Aurelius resisted in Pannonia for fourteen years (166–80), were cravenly bought off by his infamous son Commodus. Caracalla warred unsuccessfully with the Goths in Dacia. The Franks raided the lower Rhineland in 235; and in 251 Decius was killed in Mœsia, which the Goths, having overrun Dacia, invaded, not to be driven out until the great victory of Claudius over them in 268. In 270 the Alemanni burst through Rætia and flowed through the Alpine passes into northern Italy, but were driven back by Aurelian in a fierce battle on the Metaurus. This Emperor in 275 made a virtue of necessity and renounced Dacia to the Goths, who occupied it. A strange barbarian host, known as the Alani, rounded the Caucasus from savage Asia and invaded Asia Minor. Probus drove back hordes of Franks, Burgundians, Alemanni, and Vandal from Gaul and was compelled to sacrifice the *Agri Decumates* to the Alemanni. In the reign of Valerian foraging bands of nomadic Berbers, Numidians, and Moors dwelling on the desert edge of Roman Africa raided the province time and again and sacked the towns and great rural estates almost with impunity.

Persia

In addition there was the menace of Persia. As Rome grew weaker, Persia grew bolder. The overthrow of the old Parthian monarchy in 226, followed by the foundation of the new Persian monarchy of the Sassanid dynasty, was accompanied by new aggression on the part of Rome's formidable eastern neighbor. From 233 to 249 Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Syria were constantly threatened; in 260 Valerian was defeated and captured at Edessa, to die a prisoner of Artaxerxes. Aurelian partly redressed this disgrace by defeating Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, and fortifying this outpost in the Far East against the Persian peril. But in 283 the Emperor Carus' successful campaign, in which he took Ctesiphon, the Persian capital, was negated when he was killed by lightning, and his troops fled home in consternation.

*Diocletian
(284–305)*

In 284 the Roman Empire seemed not far from dissolution, when suddenly history raised up a man whose tremendous and energetic reforms destined the apparently decrepit Empire to a long lease of new life. This was Diocletian (284–305), the greatest of the Illyrian emperors. He was born at the foot of Montenegro, and his father had been a slave. Like so many of his predecessors, Diocletian was a "barrack emperor," but the army speedily found in him a master. He began by suppressing the Bagaudæ in Gaul (284); later he crushed a rebellion in Egypt and another in Africa, subjugated a pretender in Britain, and checked the barbarians along the Rhine and the Danube. In 297 he launched a strong offensive

against Persia, recovered Mesopotamia (which was not lost again until 363), and extended the Roman frontier once more to the Tigris. Except for the loss of Dacia and the Decuman Fields, the Roman Empire was as large in area as it had been in 117.

These services of Diocletian, however, were as nothing compared with his administrative reforms. He was the first emperor able to grasp the nature and magnitude of the problem in its entirety and possessed of sufficient courage to undertake its solution. So important were these reforms that they must be dealt with in some detail.

*Administrative
reforms*

In the first place, Diocletian had the statesmanship to realize that the true center of gravity of the Roman world was not in the West, but in the East, where the provinces were richer, the population denser and more skilled, whether farmers, merchants, or artisans. He anticipated the founding of Constantinople in 330 by establishing the new capital of the Empire at Nicomedia in Bithynia (Asia Minor). Further, as if to fill the cup of Italian and Latin humiliation, Diocletian also dared to remove the capital of Italy from Rome to Milan. The motive was wholly military; for Milan commanded every important Alpine pass except the Brenner, to which Verona was the key; so that troops could be readily thrown into Gaul or Germany, as the need might be, in event of barbarian invasion or provincial insurrection.

This change of the capital of the Roman world was accompanied by radical administrative reorganization. Perceiving the evil arising from the multiplication of the provinces and the local and centrifugal influences which that condition engendered, Diocletian sought to bind the provinces together. To this end the whole Empire was divided into four prefectures, each under an imperial prefect, who was practically a co-emperor. These prefectures were (1) the Prefecture of Gaul, including Britain, Gaul, the Rhinelands, Spain, and the opposite African coast (modern Morocco), with its capital at Augusta Trevirorum (Trier or Treves), again a strategic place for operations along the Rhine; (2) the Prefecture of Italy (capital, Milan), including the provinces in Africa from the Atlas to the Libyan desert, Italy, the provinces of the Danube above the bend, and Dalmatia; (3) the Prefecture of Illyricum (capital, Sirmium), which included Upper Mœsia, Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessaly (Greece), but did not comprehend Lower Mœsia and Thrace (that is, the tip of the Balkan peninsula), which were included in (4) the prefecture of the Orient (capital, Nicomedia), comprising, besides the provinces in Europe just mentioned, all Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Cyrenaica, and Egypt. The immediate government of this prefecture Diocletian took for himself, a fact of enormous significance, showing as it did that he regarded the Greco-Oriental countries and no longer the Latin West, as the marrow of the Roman Empire. The union of Lower Mœsia and Thrace

with this prefecture is prophetic of the foundation of Constantinople by his successor.

Over each of the prefectures was a prefect, a co-regent with Diocletian. Two of these prefects were entitled *augustus* and two *cæsar*—names oddly significant of the establishment of the Roman Empire and now become princely titles.

These prefectures, in turn, were divided into dioceses, composed of several contiguous provinces under a vicar. The Church later borrowed both of these administrative terms. Thus, provincial governors were responsible to vicars, vicars to prefects, and the prefects themselves to Diocletian, who was both prefect and emperor. By these drastic reforms the great Illyrian undoubtedly intended to make administration speedier and more effective, and at the same time to coerce those baneful local forces which had almost disrupted the Empire in the third century.

Reorganization of the taxes soon followed. A vast cadastral survey of all the landed property of the Empire was instituted, a sort of Roman Domesday Book, upon which a new system of taxation was based. Until then the imperial administrative practice had been to estimate land values in terms of area (*jugerum*, or acre—originally signifying a plowland or as much as a yoke [*jugum*] of oxen could plow in a day), without regard to differences of value due to fertility, surface, or location. That such a crude form of estimation could have obtained for centuries shows that the traditions of earlier Roman agricultural economy prevailed long after Rome had developed a commercial and industrial society. Diocletian now made a new valuation or estimate of real property, which was intelligent and just, though it provoked the rich landed proprietary class to vehement protests. Diocletian also reformed the coinage, but was unable to establish a gold standard. Finally this energetic Emperor issued a maximum law to protect the poor—and even the government—against inflated prices, especially of foodstuffs, hoarding of grain, cornering of wheat, and impositions upon the government by grasping contractors.

At the same time Diocletian repudiated the long-established fiction that the Roman Empire owed anything to republican tradition. Previously it had been an imperial monarchy preserving reminiscences of ancient republicanism, at least in form. He boldly tore off this mask and made the Empire in law and in fact what it had steadily been gravitating towards—an absolute monarchy. The prætorians were reduced to nothing but an urban guard in the city of Rome. The person of the Emperor was protected by two legions of faithful Illyrians, the Jovians and the Herculians, named for the Emperor's favorite divinities. The consuls became mere titular dignitaries. The senate was so far ignored that of some twelve hundred rescripts pertaining to these years not one appears to have emanated from that body. Diocletian's legislative energy rivaled his political

and military activity. The Gregorian Code, a predecessor of the greater Theodosian Code of the fifth century, was due to him; and he probably caused to be written or rewritten the famous historical work known as the *Historiæ Augustæ*, lives of the Roman emperors of the second and third centuries from Hadrian, the first great administrator, of whom Diocletian was an ardent admirer, to his own accession.

The type of government adopted was the great Oriental monarchy of Persia. Ever since Rome had set foot in the countries of the Levant, the penetration and expansion of oriental influences in the Roman Empire had been going on. Thousands of Syrians, orientalized Greeks, and Oriental Jews were spread over the Empire, principally as merchants. There were important colonies of them in Rome, Ravenna, Naples, Massilia, Arles, Orléans, Lyons, Bordeaux, Barcelona, Tarragona, Cartagena, and Cadiz, where they dwelt in quarters of their own and preserved the language, manners, customs, fashions, and religions of the peoples of the East. The worship of the Egyptian Isis, the cult of the Syrian Astarte and of Cybele, the Phrygian Great Mother, Persian Mithraism — each and all had thousands of votaries in the countries of the West. Just as England in the eighteenth century borrowed her literary forms, her ideas, and her fashions from Paris, though England and France were often political enemies, so Rome paid homage to the culture of Persia, hostile though Rome and Persia were to one another. In the third century orientalism flowed steadily into the Roman Empire, especially in the time of the two Syrian emperors Elagabalus and Alexander Severus (218–35), and again during the reign of Aurelian (270–75), whose conquest of Zenobia, the Queen of Palmyra, exerted a profound influence on the spread of Eastern influences. The beautiful and talented prisoner took her captors captive. After gracing the Emperor's triumph she was given a palace and an ample pension in Rome, where her court became the fashionable place of the time. Roman ladies and Roman dandies dressed their hair in rondured form and sprinkled it with gold dust after the Persian fashion, so that their heads looked like globes of gold; they wore Persian dress and red leather Persian shoes with gilded soles; they affected Eastern cosmetics and dyes. Although the soldierly Aurelian did not yield to this effeminacy, he did further homage to the Orient by erecting a gigantic temple to the Sun on the Quirinal, only one stone of which now remains, though it surpassed in magnitude and grandeur any other temple in Rome.

Oriental influences

In the prefectural and diocesan reorganization of the imperial administrative system instituted by Diocletian, we can perceive an analogy with the Persian satrapy system of Darius and Cambyses, described so graphically with reference to Ahasuerus in the Book of Esther. The Sassanid state was "the precedent and in every respect the model of

Diocletian's administrative reforms." But nowhere is this orientalism more evident than in the court that Diocletian established at Nicomedia. Situated upon the Propontis and projecting into the Sea of Marmora opposite the ancient city of Byzantium, which Constantine in 330 converted into Constantinople, Nicomedia had been founded by the ancient kings of Bithynia and had once been one of the richest towns in Asia Minor. Hannibal died there in exile. Pliny the Younger praised its monuments, its senate house, forum, temple of Cybele. Here Diocletian erected a vast palace, reputed to have had a thousand rooms and standing in an immense park or "paradise" (the very word is of Persian origin), like the palaces of the Persian rulers. Like Versailles under Louis XIV, the palace of Nicomedia was the capital of the Roman Empire. The court and the central administration were the obverse and reverse sides of the same thing. In the Book of Dignities (*Notitia Dignitatum*), or Red Book, we may see in detail the hierarchic and bureaucratic structure of the imperial administration, the Oriental pomp and ceremonial, the impressive etiquette, of the new court instituted by Diocletian. A new official nobility of graduated ranks — *illustres*, *clarissimi*, *clariores*, *clari*, and *spectabiles* — here displaced the members of the old Roman aristocracy, who were completely supplanted in office and thenceforth lived in retirement upon their scattered patrimonies. A sharp differentiation of executive responsibility and a clear delegation of executive authority are evident in the carefully defined duties of the chief state officials. Nearest to the person of the emperor stood the grand chamberlain or provost of the sacred bed-chamber, followed by the master of the offices or chancellor, who was chief judicial officer and minister of foreign affairs; the quæstor of the sacred palace, the organ of imperial legislation; the count of the sacred largesses or minister of the treasury; the master of the privy purse, who controlled the management of the imperial crown lands; and two counts of the domestic troops, who commanded the cavalry and infantry body-guards of the emperor. In addition was a swarm of lesser officials, civil and military, each minister having a large and separate staff. The highest rank was composed of the *illustrimi* and grades of that dignity; next were the *clarissimi* and its degrees; lastly, the *spectabiles*. One may perhaps translate these terms by "worshipful," "very worshipful," "most worshipful"; "most honorable," "very honorable," "right honorable," and "eminent." Functions that pertained to the person of the emperor were called "sacred," and his person was alluded to as "the Presence."

Never in world history, not even in that of Persia or China, did greater divinity hedge royalty than in Nicomedia and later in Constantinople. The awful influence of the Presence permeated not only the court and the capital, but the whole Empire. The emperor was a god and moved as an

absolute sovereign reigning by divine right. On state occasions he was attired in silken robes of blue and gold symbolizing the sky and the sun; his hair was dressed to imitate the sun and sprinkled with gold; upon his head rested a jeweled tiara; a collar of pearls was around his neck; over his breast flowed necklaces of rubies and emeralds; his hands were encrusted with rings flashing with precious stones; his finger-nails were gilded; his shoes were of red Persian leather with golden soles. Over all he wore a mantle of such immense length that the train was borne by eight lackeys. In his hand he carried a scepter that terminated in a gold ball typifying the globe and was tipped with a gold eagle in whose talons was a splendid blue sapphire, again symbolic of the blue of heaven. The throne was an exquisite piece of workmanship in carved precious wood, inlaid with mother of pearl and lapis lazuli—again the color of blue—standing upon a dais covered with rare rugs and carpets and having suspended over it a great blue silk canopy representative of heaven. The throne-room befitted in its adornment the magnificence of the imperial Presence. But no person in the audience there assembled on state occasions was suffered to sit down; indeed, there was no furniture in the room except the throne. When the emperor entered, preceded by lackeys perfuming the air with attar of roses and other perfumes, by fan-bearers carrying ostrich- and peacock-feather fans, and the usher of the gold rod, every person in the throne-room sank to the floor in true Oriental obeisance and remained prostrate until the Sacred Presence was seated. One may imagine the tremendously impressive effect of such magnificence. It would be almost true to say that from the Tigris to the Pillars of Hercules and from the cataracts of the Nile to the Wall of Antoninus in Britain, the Roman world trembled at the emperor's nod.

But one would err to think that such pomp and ceremony was mere indulgence of vanity. To Diocletian it must often have been distasteful. In the quiet of the night, when nothing was heard but the half-audible pacing of the sentries in the corridors, the Emperor, remembering his life as a soldier, must frequently have crept from the smother of pillows and cushions and silks upon his imperial bed, donned his old blue army mantle, and with a sigh of relief lain down to sleep on the marble floor, as once he had slept on the ground among his own soldiers. Diocletian was shrewd enough to know that most men are ruled by outward signs of power. Throughout the third century the person of the emperor had continually been exposed to contact with the world, and familiarity had bred contempt. Moreover, many of the emperors had been assassinated. There was need to restore the awe and the majesty of the imperial office and to protect the person of the emperor from licentious soldiery, just as there was need of reforming the administration. Indeed, the

orientalization of the government and of the court was a part of one great system of imperial reorganization.¹

Diocletian's
arrangement
for the
Succession

But we have not yet reached the end of Diocletian's series of reforms. He also planned to establish — and for the first time — a definite law of succession to the imperial authority. To this end it was provided that of the four prefects who formed, as it were, an imperial college, the two *augusti* (in the first instance Diocletian himself and his old comrade-in-arms Maximian) should retire at the end of twenty years, when the two junior prefects, called *cæsars*, were to become *augusti* and, in turn, associate two new *cæsars* with them in office. This was the one reform of Diocletian that proved impracticable from the beginning. True to his word, Diocletian abdicated in 305 and retired to private life at Spalatro in his native Dalmatia, where he built himself a magnificent palace, the dimensions of which we may conjecture when we read that the medieval and modern town of Spalatro is housed within its walls.

There are few gains in history without some loss. So it was with Diocletian's reforms. Excellent and needful and effective as most of them were, nevertheless they had certain adverse effects. The greatest of these was the enormous cost of maintaining such magnificence. The burden of increasing taxation, growing impoverishment, increased social strain, was already a serious condition in the third century. The reforms, while some of them introduced juster and more effective methods, at the same time imposed a new and heavier fiscal burden upon the population of the Roman Empire. Again, the excessive centralization seems to have throttled almost the last vestiges of local political life. The reforms were too much in the nature of mechanical administrative changes. Not one of them went to the root of the organic, political, economic, and social malady from which the Empire was suffering and slowly dying. Yet it would be unjust to depreciate Diocletian's work; for while the western half of the Roman Empire continued slowly to disintegrate and dissolve, the eastern half entered upon a new lease of life, sometimes a vigorous one. In the form of the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire it survived throughout the Middle Ages and was not finally destroyed until the time of the Ottoman Turks in 1453. As much as of any of the great makers of history, it may be said of Diocletian that he remade and refounded the Roman Empire. The fact that the Greco-Oriental portion survived, while the western and Latin portion gradually faded away and at last perished, was due to the great difference between them in historic condition, in social

¹ "Some of these functionaries are evidence for the decay of the Empire. In especial the Chamberlain testifies to the fatal orientalizing of the government. . . . In an evil day for the Empire the chief eunuch became one of its most powerful personages. The secret service throws light on another evil which it exacerbated. . . . Neither the vicars nor the *præfecti pratorio* were able to prevent oppression and the secret service (*agentes in rebus*) was employed as a remedy. It was, however, as corrupt as the regular officialdom." C. W. PREVITÉ ORTON, *Outlines of Medieval History*, p. 18.

and psychological elements, in economic ingredients. Naturally the whole process of orientalization was more effective in the eastern countries of the Roman world, which understood it better and tolerated it more readily.

From his retirement at Spalatro Diocletian watched and perhaps cynically philosophized upon the course of events in the years 305-13. He lived long enough to see Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus, his prefect of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and comrade of his old army days, rend the successory regulation to fragments and officially recognize the Church that he had persecuted. Diocletian died in 313, the very year of the Edict of Milan.

Trouble had broken out as soon as Diocletian retired. When he abdicated, he obliged Maximian, the suppressor of the African rebellion in 296 and prefect of Africa and Italy, to retire with him, much against his wish, while Galerius, the hero of the Persian war in 297, was raised to the rank of *augustus* along with Constantius, who had crushed revolt in Britain. These three were jealous rivals for military and political honors. But rivalry became enmity when Galerius persuaded Diocletian to pass over the claims of Constantine, son of Constantius Chlorus, and of Maxentius, son of Maximian, to be made *cæsars*, and made Severus and Maximinus, a nephew of Galerius, *cæsars*. The first received the prefecture of Italy and Africa; the second, Syria and Egypt, which were cut off from the former prefecture of the Orient and erected into a separate prefecture. The loss to the Orient was compensated for by the annexation of Illyricum, Greece, Thrace, and Macedonia — a change that points still more clearly to the ultimate fixation of the New Rome upon the Bosphorus.

Civil war broke out in the next year (306) and continued for the ensuing seventeen years. Not since the incessant civil strife of the first century B.C. had the Roman world witnessed such a series of conflicts. They had an important influence in disrupting and dissolving the Roman Empire, in spite of the tremendous administrative work of Constantine and Theodosius in the fourth century. The trouble began when the prætorians in Rome, perhaps encouraged by the senate, which thought it might profitably fish in the troubled waters, put up Maxentius as imperator, whereupon his father, Maximian, resumed the dignity that he had been compelled to resign. The Roman Empire thus had three *augusti* and three *cæsars*. The tetrarchy was becoming a hydra. The *cæsar* Severus, who, like most of the contemporary soldiers of fortune, was an Illyrian, threw in his fortune with Galerius and invaded Italy to attack Maxentius, but was deserted by his soldiers and put to death at Ravenna. Galerius thereupon appointed Licinius, a former Dacian peasant who had attracted Galerius' attention in the army, as *augustus* in place of Severus and gave him Illyricum, with the reversion of Italy and Africa if he could get them.

Civil wars
(306-23)

Rise of
Constantine

In the tangled politics and confused fighting of the ensuing years the one important emergence is the looming figure of Constantine. Like so many of his predecessors, Constantine was also of Illyrian birth. His father, Constantius Chlorus, belonged to the family of Claudius II, surnamed "Gothicus" because of his great victory over the Goths at Naissus (modern Nish, in Serbia) in 268. His mother, the famous Helena, was the daughter of an innkeeper in Nish. When his father died, at Eboracum (York) in Britain in 306, Constantine's soldiers acclaimed him emperor, although at the time he was only one of many aspirants to the purple. For nearly five years (306-11) Constantine contented himself with ruling the western prefecture, astutely allowing the other rivals to exhaust themselves in conflict. During this period he efficiently governed the provinces under him, and especially attached the inhabitants of Gaul to him by a politic remission of taxes. A successful campaign against the Franks was followed by victorious celebration at Treves, where the German prisoners were thrown to the lions. In 311, when Galerius died, Constantine, deeming the time favorable, invaded Italy.

The last official act of Galerius had been to revoke the edicts of Diocletian against the Christians. Constantine at once perceived the advantage of this policy and followed it in the famous Edict of Milan (313). Italy was the principal battle-ground between Constantine and Maxentius, while east of the Adriatic Licinius and Maximin were fighting for supremacy. The great victory of Constantine at the Milvian Bridge, where Christian legend says that he saw the sign in the sky ("*In hoc signo vinces*"), and the death of Maxentius by drowning as he attempted to cross the Tiber, made Constantine master of the West. In the face of this event Licinius and Maximin formed an alliance. The death of the latter soon afterwards left Licinius sole master in the East. The East and the West, the Latin and the Greco-Oriental halves of the Roman Empire, were pitted against each other in a gigantic duel. Sure of his control of the provinces of the West Constantine advanced into the Balkan peninsula. Licinius was beaten in battle at Cibalis, located at the confluence of the Save with the Danube, and retreated into Thrace. A second engagement at Mardia was indecisive, and in 315 a treaty was made by which Licinius sacrificed Greece, Macedonia, and the lower Danubian provinces except Mœsia. Constantine spent the next eight years in organizing the government of his widened dominions, which now included almost everything west of the Hellespont. War was resumed in 323. Licinius was beaten at Adrianople in July and at Chalcedon in September and surrendered to Constantine, who first imprisoned him at Thessalonica (or Salonika), but soon afterwards put him to death. By 323 the Roman Empire was once more united, now under the rule of Constantine the Great.

We shall reserve consideration of Constantine's ecclesiastical policy for the next chapter and deal here only with his secular achievements. His administrative work followed closely the lines laid down by Diocletian; indeed, so intimately related are these two emperors in this particular that it is not always possible to distinguish the work of the one from that of the other. Seemingly it was Constantine who completely effected the separation of civil and military power in the government; the reorganization of the army was certainly due to him. The legions were reduced from six thousand to fifteen hundred men, and the troops divided into three classes: palace guards, provincial garrisons, and frontier forces. Ammianus Marcellinus, the last Latin historian, who had been a soldier before he took up the pen, bitterly criticizes Constantine for these changes, especially for the second. He says that the troops cantoned in the interior of the provinces grew lazy and undisciplined. In influence upon future events, however, more important than these changes was the fact that Constantine opened the legions wide to German recruits. A generation later Emperor Julian accused Constantine of having been "an innovator and overthrower of old laws and the order of things anciently established"; but there may have been pagan animus in this criticism. Constantine was an energetic law-maker. The plenary powers now enjoyed by the emperors tempted them to take cognizance of everything and to legislate concerning everything. Eutropius, a Christian historian who wrote an unusually clear and impartial work in the reign of Valens, says that a large part of Constantine's legislation was superfluous and that some of his laws were cruel. There is much in his character and conduct to sustain this accusation. He once exclaimed in reply to such criticism: "Do you think this is an age of gold? Well, it is not. It is a new Neronian epoch." The intrigues and murders in his own family give that impression. By his first wife the Emperor had a son named Crispus, who took a brilliant part in his German wars and against Licinius, and whom his father made a *cæsar*. But Fausta, his second wife, was jealous for her children. It is impossible to ascertain the truth of the suspicions and accusations alleged by contemporary writers, for the history of the reign abounds with flattery and adulation or else is filled with detraction. But Crispus and some of his friends were put to death by Constantine, and further tragedy followed. The Empress-mother Helena hated Fausta and accused her of infidelity, and Fausta was smothered to death in a bath. Even Eusebius, the first great church historian, whose praise of Constantine is transparent flattery, says that he was violent and avaricious and that hypocrisy reigned in his court. Christian and pagan writers agree that he was wasteful of public moneys and that peculation and graft were rife in the offices of government.

*Reforms of
Constantine*

It is questionable whether Constantine was a constructive ruler. He

increased the *sordida munera* (corvées or forced services) exacted for the upkeep of roads, maintenance of the post, and construction of public improvements; he raised the *portoria* or interprovincial tolls collected from commercial commodities to a flat rate of twelve and a half per cent, whereas previously these had ranged from two and a half to five per cent, except for luxuries imported from the Far East; he reduced the industrial class of the population to serfdom by making manual arts and crafts hereditary; he penalized municipal tax-collectors who were unable to collect the amount of taxes imposed by the government upon towns; he drastically legislated to restrain small farmers who had fallen into debt owing to excessive taxes and high prices from removing to other provinces, where economic conditions, perhaps, might have been less severe, and in this wise he accelerated the reduction of the rural free class to serfdom.

But there can be no doubt that Constantine had statesmanlike ideas. The founding of Constantinople, though long foreshadowed by events, was his act. The resolution to remove the capital of the Roman Empire from the Tiber to the Bosphorus (330) showed that he had a clear understanding of the condition of the Roman world, and the courage to execute his determination. Nothing was spared to make the New Rome rival the old Rome. Without Constantinople the history of Europe for the next thousand years and more would have been very different and might have been more adverse. The papacy would not have risen to the height that it reached in the Middle Ages, and eastern Europe would have had no bulwark against the Mohammedans. Without Constantinople to preserve Hellenic civilization and to become the repository of Greek learning and literature, probably the later invasions of the Slavs into the Balkan peninsula would have swamped Hellenic culture and left us today with far more fragmentary evidences of Hellenism than we have.

*The sons of
Constantine*

Violence and tragedy continued to dog the history of Constantine's descendants after his death in 337. His three sons, Constantine II, Constantius, and Constans, divided the Empire into three prefectures between them. The first received the West: Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain, and the western part of Africa; the second took the Orient; the third, the Balkans, Greece, and Africa west of Egypt. Constantine tried to wrest Italy from his brother and was killed in battle at Aquileia; Constantius warred long and ineffectively against the Persians. In 350 Constans died and Constantius united the whole Empire. But the western Latin provinces chafed under his rule, and in 361 the Gallic legions set up his cousin Julian as emperor. Julian's espousal of paganism must not prejudice us against his merits; for in ability and, above all, in integrity he was the ablest of all the princes of the house of Constantine. His government of Gaul was singularly honest and intelligent, and in spite of his studious ways and his pas-

sion for Greek culture he was a good soldier. As prefect, he signally defeated the Franks and Alemanni on the Rhine. But his reign was writ in water; for in 363 he was killed by a Persian arrow before Ctesiphon. Jovian (363-4), the ranking general of the Roman army, succeeded, and promptly purchased peace from the Persians by the cession of Mesopotamia and restored to the Church the privileges of which Julian had deprived it.

When Jovian died, within a year, the Asian legions stationed at Nicæa set up Valentinian I (364-75) as emperor. He was a Pannonian by birth, a rough but energetic soldier, a former tribune of the *scutarii*, whom Julian had deposed for his obdurate Christianity. He left the government of the East to his brother Valens and established himself in Milan, whence he could watch the Rhine and Danube frontiers, which were now strongly beset by the Franks, the Alemanni, and the Quadi. But there were other points of danger also in the West. In Britain the Picts and Scots of Caledonia had surmounted the wall and were harrying the North. The Emperor sent thither his best general, the Spaniard Theodosius, who drove out the Picts and Scots in a three years' campaign (367-70), which Kipling has immortalized in *Puck of Pook's Hill*. Immediately afterwards the half-Romanized Moorish chieftain Firmus rebelled in Mauretania, and Theodosius spent three more strenuous years in Africa (370-3). Meanwhile Valentinian himself saw hard fighting on the Rhine. The Franks and Saxons were pressing hard upon the lower course of the river. But the greatest danger was from the Alemanni, who had overrun the Decuman Fields and invaded Alsace. In 368 the Emperor defeated them at Sulz, near Strassburg, the very locus of the headquarters of the Crown Prince of Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, drove them across the Rhine, and recovered the Decuman Fields, which he protected by new fortifications (374). He was then called to his native province of Pannonia, which the Quadi had invaded. It was at the culmination of this campaign that the choleric Emperor died of apoplexy in the midst of a violent tirade against a deputation of the Quadi who came to sue for peace.

Valentinian
(364-75)

Valentinian I's death, in 375, may be regarded as a turning-point in history. From that year events moved rapidly in a new direction. The Huns emerged from Asia and fell upon the Gothic kingdom in Dacia and destroyed it; the Goths entered the Roman Empire to seek its protection, and they and other barbarians soon became masters of it. Simultaneously under Theodosius (378-95) the Church was enormously increased in political power and wealth, all pagan cults were proscribed, and Christianity was made the state religion of the Roman Empire. The Germans and the Catholic clergy held in their hands the fate of the coming years.

*Serious
evidences
of decay*

At the same time the whole complex body of internal adverse and subversive conditions — administrative incapacity and corruption, burdensome taxation, social stress, growth of rural and industrial serfdom, decay of civic spirit and town life, increasing impoverishment of the poor and enrichment of the rich, abandonment of agriculture, decline of population — which the drastic reforms of Diocletian and Constantine had but temporarily remedied and which in some degree they had aggravated — reached a high pitch in the fourth century. The Roman Empire was slowly perishing. "There was not that kind of distress which is caused by a great famine or a great pestilence: but there was that terrible tension of the fibres of the social organism which many of us can see in our own society."

In Symmachus' *Letters* of the middle of the fourth century we see evidences of the decline of the Empire. The fisc is nearly exhausted, the rich are living beyond their resources, the poor are succumbing to their poverty, farming has ceased to be profitable, commerce and trade are diminishing, society is reverting to primitive conditions, husbandry is yielding to pastoralism and in some regions almost to nomadism, taxes tend more and more to be paid in produce instead of money. Yet Rome persisted in living in spite of the many reasons why she should have perished. Ever since the second century at least — some historians think ever since the time of Augustus — Rome could no longer sustain its grandeur. But was it the constant effort to sustain its grandeur which destroyed the Roman Empire?

*Causes of de-
cline of the
Roman Em-
pire*

At the end of the fourth century one is standing on the threshold of the Middle Ages. Yet no Roman writer, pagan or Christian, discerned the fact that the Roman Empire was verging on ruin. On the contrary, they hailed the race mixture and fusion of bloods within the Empire, the result of which had been to efface the old Latin element in society (which was largely replaced by half-orientalized Greeks and wholly Oriental peoples such as Syrians and Phrygians), as evidence of new grandeur. "Who does not know," exclaimed St. Augustine, "that all the nations within the Roman Empire, whatever they once were, are now all Romans and are called Romans?" Poets and orators exalted the new *Orbis Romanus*, blind to the historical fact that the Roman Empire of which they boasted was dissolving around them, and that the disappearance of the distinction between Romans and barbarians, far from auguring a new golden age in which the superiority of the first prevailed over the second, had instead an inverse meaning. "A dying organism was held together only by an oppressive shell of administration."

Volumes have been written and will continue to be written on the decline of the Roman Empire. The problem defies all social calculus. In the intricate equation factors cancel factors or elude accurate determina-

tion of their value. One historian thinks that "the failure of the Roman Empire was, in the long run, a failure to solve the problem of the relations of the individual to the state" (H. Stuart Jones). But this is a problem which almost everywhere still presses for solution. A second writer finds the chief root of the evil in the break-down of "the self-governing city system," to which a third rejoins that responsibility lies with "excessive urbanization," which broke down the integrity of the provincial administration and engendered antagonism between urban and rural classes, and urban and rural economic and social conditions. "Citizens from the cities began to seek opportunity of changing into peasants on the land." A fourth says that "the existence of two castes, one ever more oppressed, the other ever more idle . . . lay like an incubus on the Empire." A fifth discovers the most detrimental factor in the "rise of an aristocracy of great landholders, who were at the same time high officials in the administrative bureaucracy"—which is another way of saying that the free middle class in the towns and small free farmers were slowly reduced to servile tenantry on the immense patrimonial estates of these lordly proprietors. Was excessive taxation the cause of gradual impoverishment? Or was growing impoverishment the reason why the taxation seemed excessive? Was "the root malady of the Roman Empire want of population"? Or was this more apparent than real? Some historians look to slavery as the main cause of the decline of the Empire, while others think that the growth of serfdom diluted the slave class and ameliorated its condition.

At every turn we are baffled by facts susceptible of divergent interpretation, by the difficulty of distinguishing between causes and effects; and we seek consolation in the reflection that no government has ever succeeded in mastering either organic growth or organic decay in human society. Civilizations change and pass, and usually we are not even aware of the passing. But they pass. The pagans called it Destiny or Fate; Christians called it Providence or the will of God. The historian frankly says that he does not understand everything in history; he can establish the facts, but the how and the why of things elude his analysis.

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CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THE word "church" occurs in only two passages in the Gospels, both times in Matthew. In the first it signifies a spiritual edifice; in the second, a local body of Christian believers. In the Acts, in the Epistles, and in the Apocalypse the word is used in three different significances. Sometimes it designates a local Christian group, sometimes the whole body of Christians in a given place, usually a city, for early Christianity was an urban, not a rural, movement. The evangelization of the country areas did not begin before the fourth century, at least in the West. Finally the word "church" was sometimes used in a mystical sense to signify the whole body of Christians in a spiritual capacity. The symbol of this union was the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper.

Parallel with the development of the priestly office in the Church, the idea of catholicity also spread, stimulated by the conflict with heresy. As various heretical groups were formed, which sought to alter either the faith or the practice of Christianity, the orthodox communities tended to fuse and to harden and opposed to the attacks made upon them the unity of an imposing entity which was called the Catholic Church. This catholicity ordained creed and fixed dogma; it initiated discipline; it framed ecclesiastical institutions; it created church government. In the midst of a world that was pagan in religion, manners, and morals and threatened by the secession of schismatics and heretics, the Church found assurance of safety under a monarchical episcopate. The bishops became the authoritative leaders both in matters of belief and in matters of policy. In a word, the bishops constituted *the* Church. It was they who formulated dogma, who determined ecclesiastical polity.

Early church organization

A religion cannot exist without a definite expression in society. Thought tends, through all ages, to embody itself in organization. History testifies to it in the Catholic Church. "If Christianity had been a philosophy or a literature or an aristocratic religion, a religion for a select few raised above their fellows by power of intellect and thought, its great ideas might have been left to wander about the world seeking and finding their homes in individual minds."¹ But Christianity became the religion, the Church became the spiritual home, of millions of mankind of all races and sorts and conditions. It became a great historical institution, in fact the greatest.

¹ R. W. CHURCH, *Letters*.

*The Church
in the Roman
Empire*

Historically the Church had become a power in the Roman Empire before the German nations established themselves within it, and it is to the history of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries that we now turn our attention. Christianity had spread with remarkable rapidity over the Roman world. By the year 100 probably every province that bordered the Mediterranean had a Christian community within it, and in many provinces there were several congregations. The vertical expansion upward from the lowly classes who had been its first votaries into the upper strata of Roman society seems also to have been rapid. Paul's words — and the Pauline Epistles are the earliest texts — “not many wise, not many mighty, not many of noble birth” are the depreciation of humility and to some extent are contradicted by his own evidence elsewhere. In Romans xvi, 23, he records that Erastus, the city treasurer of Corinth, was a believer; so was Sergius Paulus, proconsular governor of Cyprus. In Thessalonica “not a few women of good position” (Acts xiii, 7-12; xvii, 4) were Christians. It is almost certain that by the end of the first century Christianity had acquired a loose foothold among the Roman aristocracy. Flavia Domatilla, a granddaughter of the Emperor Vespasian, became a Christian, and probably her husband, Flavius Clemens, consul A.D. 95, as well. Pliny Minor, governor of Bithynia under Trajan (98-117), informed the Emperor that “many of all ranks” in the province were Christian, and Tacitus, writing at the same time, relates the conversion of Pomponia Græcina, “a distinguished lady.” There was vast rejoicing in the Christian community over the conversion of one of high social position.

In the second century many members of the middle class were Christian, and in the third century many of the upper classes entered the fold. The rescript of Valerian in the second persecution (258) was directed wholly against Christians of high social rank. Nevertheless, as a body the early Christians were drawn from the workaday industrial world. The upper classes in large numbers did not become Christian until the peace of the Church was established by Constantine in 313. The very emphasis on labor in patristic writings, if there were no other evidence, would indicate that this was so.

*Christianity an
urban religion
at first*

Christianity in the first three centuries of its history was almost entirely an urban religion. The last stand of paganism was made in the remote rural districts. As the Roman Empire was a consolidation of city-states, so Christianity was a federation of urban congregations. Roman municipal life very early in the history of Christianity put its stamp upon the organization of the Church and influenced its polity. The primacy of the chief cities is an important fact. The *civitas* — the chief city in each province — was the seat of a bishop, and the first dioceses were identical with the provinces. The cult of the emperor, which was the official religion of the State, in like manner had its influence upon early church organiza-

tion. Wherever there was a *flamen archiereus*, or chief priest, there arose an archbishop; wherever was a *flamen civitatis*, or civic priest, there arose a bishop. Similarly, as the Church developed its hierarchy, the gradations of the clergy reflected the imperial hierarchy of the Roman government. It was the same with reference to degrees of priestly authority. At the end of the fourth century (392), when Christianity was made the state religion of the Roman Empire, the bishops were regarded with quite as much respect as were the governors of the provinces.

In the first four centuries of Christianity parishes, in the modern meaning of the word, did not exist. The dioceses or bishoprics were first called parishes, from the Greek word *paroikia*, meaning a local district, which ecclesiastical Latin transposed into *parochia*, a parish. It was not until Christianity began to penetrate into the countryside round about the cities and new churches sprang up there, that the word "diocese," meaning the territorial jurisdiction of a bishop, was borrowed from Roman civil usage, and the word "parish" assumed an inferior and more local significance. At first, when country congregations were few and far between, the priest officiating in them journeyed from place to place; hence he was denominated a *chorepiscopus*, or itinerant rural priest. Ultimately the parish system was extended to these areas also, as Christianity spread and paganism declined. The lineaments of rural parishes may be discerned in the East in the third century; in the West late in the fourth. The difference in time registers the important historical fact that Christianity in the Latin West naturally, since it was remoter from its place of origin, was about a century later in diffusion than in the East. In the fourth and fifth centuries country priests received the charge, hitherto reserved for bishops, of administering baptism and hearing confession. These duties at that time seem to have been more important than preaching; for it is not until the Council of Vaizon, in 527, that we find rural priests expressly instructed to preach. They were then under the immediate jurisdiction of a rural dean, who was the bishop's representative in country parts.

Town and
country
parishes

The failure of the last great persecution under Diocletian (303) made religious toleration inevitable. It was merely a question of time and circumstance, and both of these factors favored Christianity. The initiative was taken by Galerius, who shortly before his death, in 311, revoked the edict of persecution in the provinces under his sway, in the throes of the civil war which followed the abdication of Diocletian. The suggestion was not lost upon Constantine. Until that time, like his father before him, he had been only negatively tolerant, in that he had refused to enforce the edict of persecution in his dominions; but after his victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, Constantine issued the famous Edict of Milan (313). Like that of Galerius, it was at first nothing but

Failure of the
persecutions

a military measure; for it was not general and could not be made general until Constantine became master of the whole Roman world. Licinius shortly followed suit in his provinces, and Maximin Daza, who had succeeded his uncle Galerius, did not dare refuse to do so, although secretly he encouraged the municipalities against the Christians in their midst. An inscription of this nature having reference to towns in Pamphylia and Lycia confirms the statement of Eusebius, the first church historian, in this particular.

Policy of Constantine

Whether it was conscience or policy that most influenced Constantine in the eventually momentous step he took is a much debated question, and one which seems insoluble. The Christians at this time probably did not number more than one-tenth of the population of the whole Roman Empire, from which it has been rashly argued that Constantine must have been moved by conscience. But a little reflection would seem to indicate that policy was not a stranger to Constantine's course. The Christian population was much denser in the eastern provinces of the Empire than in the western, and, having beaten Maxentius in Italy and thereby made himself master of the whole West, Constantine was on the point of carrying the war into the East. He may already have learned that Galerius' revocation of the edict of persecution two years before had not offended the pagan population there and, on the other hand, had rallied Christian support to him in the strife with his rivals. What would have been more natural for him, then, than to extend the Edict of Milan into the East with the advance of his armies, until with the fall of Licinius he was undisputed ruler of the Roman Empire?

Legally speaking, the Edict of Milan simply put Christianity upon a par with the other religions in the Roman Empire. In a word, it made Christianity a *religio licita*, or lawful religion, and the government assured protection of life and property to Christians as to all other worshippers, of whatever religion they might be. This was a reversion to the practice of the imperial government from the founding of the Roman Empire, which had always tolerated any and all religions in its midst and utilized its police power only when necessary to suppress grave abuses or immorality practiced under the guise of religion. When Rome abandoned this policy of religious toleration and inaugurated its persecutions of the Christians, it was due to the wholly special and peculiar nature of the teachings of Christianity. Until the appearance of Christianity the universal tradition among all nations was that every nation had its own peculiar gods and its own particular religion. Consequently no collision had ever arisen between the Roman government and the peoples under its sway, for they were unmolested in their religion and in turn recognized as valid the cult of the emperor, the state religion of the Roman Empire. But Christianity from its inception

was a missionary, a proselyting religion, which claimed that it was the only true religion, that all other religions were superstitions, that it would become universal and was divinely destined to destroy all other cults, even that of the Roman Empire itself. It is not surprising that the government pursued the advocates of such radical and anarchic teaching; for, compared with the religious attitude and the social philosophy current in the first centuries of our era, early Christianity was wildly radical and subversive. It is this fact that accounts for the seeming anomaly that the best emperors—Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Valerian, and Diocletian—were the greatest persecutors; and also explains why the Church was unmolested under weak emperors such as Alexander Severus and Gallienus, or under bad or negligent emperors such as Caracalla and Elagabalus.

*Rapid growth
of Christian-
ity in fourth
century*

The policy of Constantine, it would seem, was less a change of heart than a change in mental attitude. He recognized the futility of persecution and the expediency of toleration. If he could attach the Christians to him and at the same time not alienate the pagans, he had the game in his hands. "Our information is exceptionally bad," the greatest historian of the early Church, living or dead, has written, "*and not from accident*, as to the internal state of the Church when Constantine chose it to be the support of the Empire."¹ The currents of politics and religion were devious and turbid at this time. The pagans and both Christian parties, Arians and Athanasians, were playing each to win as much as possible from, and to concede as little as possible to, its rivals. In these circumstances Constantine was a magnificent opportunist, aiming to conciliate all and to antagonize none. The Christian doctrine that civil authority emanated from a supreme and omnipotent God accorded with the Emperor's absolutistic inclinations. But at the same time he hesitated to repudiate the state religion and abandon the time-honored worship of the emperor, whose peculiar blend of religion and patriotism had been one of the great sources of imperial power. Yet while the imperial cultus in a measure was an expression of universalism, it fell short of that universalism of which Christianity dreamed. Since the beginning of the third century the Roman Empire had exhibited alarming evidences of sectionalism and separation, of which secession movements in the provinces were recurring symptoms. The great variety of national religions current in the Empire—worship of the Egyptian Isis, the Syrian Astarte, and the Phrygian Cybele, Persian Mithraism, Greek mysteries, and many other cults—accentuated this sectionalism. Even Christianity was divided into many sects, most of which were of local significance. But at least two of these, the Athanasian and the Arian, were widespread, and each was actuated by the aspiration of becoming universal.

*Was Constan-
tine a Chris-
tian?*

Constantine seems to have resolved to build his power on the triangle

¹ HARNACK, *History of Dogma*, III, 131.

of forces represented by the imperial cultus and the two chief forms of Christianity and to have regarded lesser sects of Christians and other pagan religions as of secondary importance — or, in other words, to maintain the parity of these three both as religious and as political forces. An analysis of his policy confirms this interpretation. The ancient cult preserved its official position, its temples, its ceremonies; like his predecessors, Constantine retained the title of *pontifex maximus*. At his court bishops and priests of the rival Christian sects commingled with pagan priests and pagan philosophers; the high offices of state were recruited impartially from pagans and Christians; divine honors were accorded him as *Divus Imperator*; his coinage and insignia associated pagan and Christian symbols; Constantine venerated the Star of Bethlehem and also the Sun; the words "*sol invictus*" were stamped on his coins; a temple was dedicated to "the divinity of Constantine." If in 319 he prohibited private divination, this was because the celebration of public haruspicy was an institution of the State; in like manner in 321 he forbade sacrifices in private houses, on the ground that it was the office of priests to offer sacrifices. The question is much open to doubt whether Constantine was ever more than a "political" Christian. As for his private life, the execution — not to say murder — of his own son and his wife indicates that he was untouched by any spiritual influence in Christianity. To the end of his life he was a pagan to the pagans, a Christian of one stripe or the other to the Christians. He never broke with the tradition of the Roman religion. He built a temple to Castor and Pollux in Constantinople and another at Tyche. For the cult of his own family, the *gens Flavia*, he founded temples in Italy and other provinces and to them attached priests. We have the record of pagan service celebrated in one of those in Africa as late as 368. He caused statues of gods and goddesses in profusion and ornaments of pagan temples to be transported to Constantinople and there set up in fora, baths, circus, and library. As he recognized the unifying principle in the cult of the emperor, so Constantine perceived the unifying principle in Christian universalism and did his best, without offending either, to reconcile Athanasians and Arians. The former were strong in the West, the latter in the East. Constantine strove to compose the difference between them in the interest of imperial unity.

Doctrinal controversies

Doctrinal controversy bulks large in the early history of the Church. For the most part these controversies are fortunately too remote from the ordinary course of historical events to require treatment. But when doctrine involved polity, as it did in the fourth and fifth centuries, some historical explanation becomes necessary. When the ideas and teachings of early Christianity spread into the Hellenized eastern provinces of the Roman world, Greek philosophic and speculative thought eagerly seized upon them, with the result that a new type of the human mind, the ecclesiastical

mind, came into being, and a new type of philosophic literature was born — namely, theology. The decay of general literature and the dearth or denial of interest in political affairs gave this new species of thought enormous popularity. The average human mind is bound to think of something, and persons incapable of constructive thought yet like to think that they think. Consequently in the fourth century theology was a universal object of discussion. Sometimes the situation approached the ridiculous. Gregory of Nyssa (one wonders if he was possessed of a sense of humor when he wrote the words) in one of his letters says of Constantinople:

“This city is full of mechanics and slaves who are all of them profound theologians and preach in the shops and the streets. If you want a man to change a piece of silver, he tells you in what way the Son differs from the Father; if you ask the price of a loaf of bread, you are told by way of reply that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is that the Son was made of nothing.”

The Montanists of Phrygia and the Donatists of Africa were powerful local Christian sects, but their influence had little extension beyond the provinces from which they emanated. Two groups, however, were of such wide influence that practically Christianity was split by them into two camps, which waged a theological and political rivalry for two centuries. These were the “orthodox” group led by Athanasius, an archdeacon of the church in Alexandria, and the Arians, so called from Arius, a deacon in the same church. Both were profoundly versed in speculative theology, and typical exponents of the Alexandrian school. The followers of the first were trinitarians; those of the second may be called unitarians. The Greek words “*homoousios*,” meaning of the same substance, and “*homoi-ousios*,” meaning of similar substance, became the watchwords of these two ecclesiastical parties, the issue being whether Christ was of the *same* substance with the Father or of *similar* substance with the Father. Linguistically the difference was of but a single letter (iota) in the spelling of a word, but the theological difference was enormous. The cultural cleavage was of historical significance. The Latin West was solidly Athanasian, the Hellenized East largely Arian, in belief. Moreover, the *literati* and philosophical class were chiefly advocates of Arianism, while the middle and lower classes, from which most of the bishops were drawn, were trinitarian in sentiment. According to orthodox historians, local church politics in Alexandria were at the root of Arius’ opposition, in that he was a disappointed aspirant for the office of bishop. In 322 he was expelled from Alexandria by Alexander, his successful competitor, but found powerful support from Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia. In all of the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire the controversy grew so acute that

Constantine became alarmed lest it superinduce new secession movements in the East. Accordingly he sent Bishop Hosius of Cordova to Alexandria armed with an imperial letter, with a view to abating the conflict. Hosius had dwelt for a long time at the court of the Emperor and was his intimate counselor in matters of the Christian religion. He was prejudiced in advance against a presbyter who dared to oppose his bishop, and a strong advocate of a monarchical episcopate. Instead of acting in a conciliatory way Hosius authorized acts that culminated in a riot of the Arians in Alexandria.

*Council of
Nicæa, 325*

It was then that Constantine openly intervened and summoned the First Ecumenical Council of Nicæa (325), which convened in the oratory of the imperial palace. The Emperor himself presided over it although he was still unbaptized. The council was of various opinions, but amid the floating mass three groups, important less for their numbers than for the personalities composing them, may be detached. In the first was Alexander of Alexandria, Athanasius, Hosius, Marcel of Ancyra, and the Emperor, who pronounced the opening address and frequently intervened in the debates. The second was made up of the partisans of Arius. Conspicuous among them was Eusebius of Nicomedia, between whom and Constantine there was feud. In the center was a compromise group, whose leader was no less a person than Eusebius of Cæsarea, the first great historian of the Church. In the issue trinitarianism or "consubstantialism" won the day and was declared to be the orthodox belief in the Nicene Creed, the redaction of which is attributed to Hosius. Seventeen of the bishops present refused to sign it and, upon the advice of Hosius, were deposed from their sees and banished. Constantia, the Emperor's sister, widow of Licinius, and a devoted Arian, used her influence to persuade fifteen of these to yield. Eusebius of Nicomedia, Maris of Chalcedon, and Theognis of Nicæa signed the symbolic formula, but refused to give assent to the anathema pronounced against the Arians. They, too, were deposed and sent into banishment. Arius was exiled to Illyria, his writings were seized by the magistrates and burned, and the death penalty was decreed against anyone who secretly possessed any of his books. All Arian "heretics" were declared excluded from privileges enjoyed by the Christian clergy. Arianism seemed a lost cause. Orthodoxy, ecclesiastical and imperial, seemed triumphant.

But the face of events changed within the next five years. The influence of Hosius over Constantine was replaced by that of a presbyter devoted to Arianism, whom Constantia on her death-bed had recommended to her brother and who at once advised amnesty for the exiled bishops. In 328 Arius and his friend the deacon Euzoius were recalled from exile in Illyria and traveled at the expense of the Emperor by the imperial post. Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis were also soon recalled. But Athana-

sius, who had become bishop of Alexandria, refused, in defiance of an imperial missive, to reinstate Arius. The motives behind this change of attitude on the part of Constantine, we must look for in the removal of the capital of the Roman Empire in 330 from Rome to Constantinople. The eastern provinces, as already said, were more Arian than Athanasian in religious opinion. Constantine, ever politic, was resolved to identify his government with the prevailing religious sect. As long as he had reposed his power upon the Latin West, he had been orthodox. When the seat of that power was transferred to the Greek and orientalized East, politics took on a new complexion. The time of Arian reprisal had come. In the Council of Tyre (334) Eusebius of Nicæa and Theognis took the offensive against their late enemies. At the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which Constantine and his mother Helena had built, the excommunication of Arius and his adherents was dissolved and an imperial letter made public which undid the work of the Council of Nicæa. In the next year (335) Athanasius was deposed and exiled to Treves in Gaul. In 336 Arius died suddenly in Constantinople on the eve of the day on which he was to be restored to holy orders. His enemies looked upon the event as an act of God; his partisans declared that he was poisoned. History sees in it a curious accident. In 337 Constantine passed away, after having been baptized by his quondam enemy Eusebius of Nicæa, in the Arian faith.

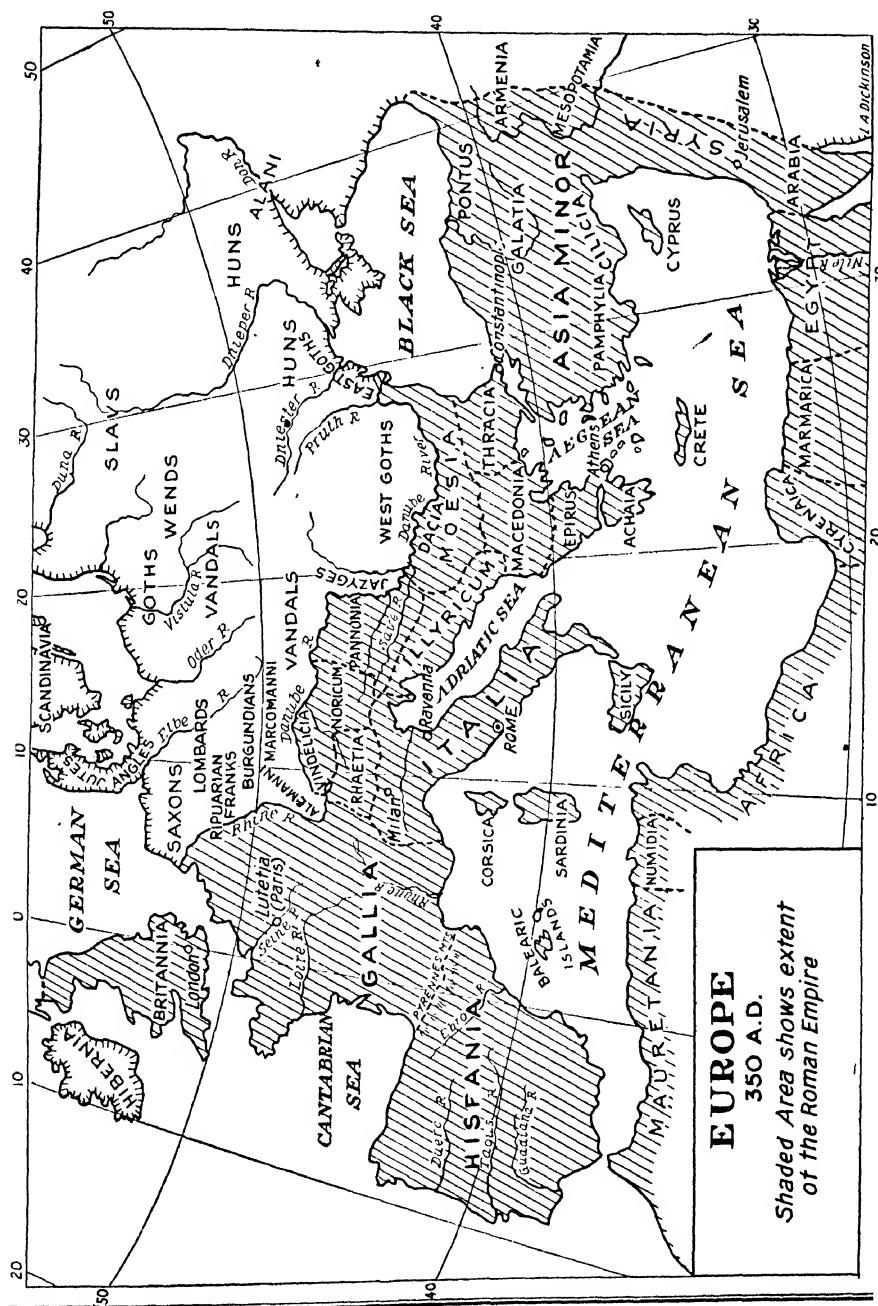
Arian heresy

Perhaps—even probably (unless one believes that an overruling Providence governs the disposition of historical events)—if Constantine had lived longer, he would have persevered in the religious preference that he at the last expressed, and the “orthodoxy” of the future would have become Arianism instead of Athanasianism. The history of the Church would thus have been very different. “Orthodoxy” would have become heresy, and “heresy” orthodoxy.

As we have seen, Constantine divided the Empire among his three sons. Constantine II was given the West, Constantius received the East, and Constans was given the prefecture of Illyricum, with that part of Africa lying between Egypt and Morocco. Constantius, who got the best portion, gave his confidence to Eusebius of Nicomedia and favored the Arians; accordingly his two brothers, who were envious of him, found partisans among the orthodox clergy in the East and in 338 obtained the recall of the exiled orthodox bishops, whereupon the Arians squared things up by deposing Paul, Patriarch of Constantinople, and putting Eusebius of Nicomedia in his place. In 341 the Council of Antioch refused to reinstate Athanasius and Marcel of Ancyra and adopted a confession of faith in which all mention of consubstantialism was carefully avoided, a formula which Pope Julius I repudiated in a council at Rome in the next year. The papacy now, and the Latin Church of the West,

became the champions of orthodoxy. This is the moment of practical cleavage of the Church into its two great medieval and modern parts, the Latin West and the Greek East, though the break was not made formal until 1054, and the moment when doctrine involved the polity of the papacy and was to involve it permanently thenceforth. Until this time the West had not taken part in the controversy over Arianism. But the death of Constantine II, in 340, narrowed down the political rivalry to Constans and Constantius, the latter of whom was hostile to the Arians. In order to effect a conciliation, this Emperor in 343 convoked another council at Antioch, which formulated a new confession of faith. But Rome rejected this doctrine as it had rejected the previous one, and the relations of the Eastern and Western churches became more strained. Four years later, in 347, in the hope of ending controversy and settling the question of the deposed bishops, the Council of Sardica was called, where a hundred bishops from the West were present, against seventy from the East. A furious political battle was waged because the Latins were determined to permit the exiled bishops to be seated and to deliberate in the debates, notwithstanding the fact that they were up for trial before the council. This move of the papacy looked too much like "packing" the council to be tolerated by the eastern bishops, who withdrew. Accordingly the council naturally approved the Nicene Creed, proclaimed the innocence and restoration of the exiled bishops, and anathematized the leaders of the Arian cause. It is incontestable that the Western Church scored a victory at Sardica. Part of its success must be attributed to ineffective leadership of the Arians; for their two former ablest representatives were now dead — Eusebius of Cæsarea, the historian, in 340, and Eusebius of Nicomedia in 342. Meanwhile the seceded bishops convened at Philipopolis, approved the findings of Antioch in 341, and anathematized all those having fellowship with the deposed bishops, notably the old Hosius and the Pope. Political and ecclesiastical maneuvering continued. Profiting by the war with the Persians, in which his brother Constantius was involved, Constans, who wanted to enlarge his dominion, recalled Athanasius from Treves and he was triumphantly reinstated in Alexandria, the Emperor Constantius being compelled to yield to pressure of circumstances. Soon afterwards Constantius attacked Constans, who was killed before Aquileia.

Thus in 350 the Roman Empire was again united in the hands of one emperor and that ruler devoted to Arianism, now the most widespread and most recognized faith throughout the Greco-Oriental East. Constantius now determined to force Arianism upon the western provinces and to that end in 353 convoked a council at Arles in which eastern and western bishops were again mingled as at Sardica. Athanasius again was condemned, a condemnation that was aggravated by an imperial edict



banning his supporters. Measures for suppression of the Nicene Creed followed. In 357 a council at Sirmium declared that "since the words 'substance,' 'consubstantiality,' 'resemblance or similarity of substance' shook the faithful and are unscriptural, they ought not to be mentioned." Even Pope Liberius and Hosius, who had been exiled by the Emperor, are said on good historical evidence (though Catholic teaching denies it) to have signed this formula of Sirmium. But revolt of the western bishops soon manifested itself. In 359 the Synod of Rimini rejected the formula and reaffirmed the Nicene Creed. Thereupon the incensed Emperor brought pressure and intimidation to bear and compelled the synod to retract. In 360 the victory of Arianism in the whole Roman Empire seemed almost complete.

But events soon belied this aspect. In 361 Constantius died and was succeeded by the pagan reactionary Julian (361-3). In the face of this menace the warring factions partially forgot their grievances and abated their hostility. The brief reign of seven months of Jovian restored to the clergy the privileges of which Julian had deprived them. When he died, in 364, the rough, orthodox soldier Valentinian I (364-75) ruled the West, while his weaker and Arian brother held sway in the East. The West always had been solidly orthodox and was now ruled by an emperor of unimpeachable and active orthodoxy. As for the East, while Arianism seemed to be triumphant, that aspect was a superficial one. Two forces were destined to turn the scale even in the East against it. One of these was the entrance of the Goths, who were Arian Christians, into the Empire. In face of the German invasion Arianism could not withstand the charge made against it that it was unpatriotic and an undermining political factor. The other force was monasticism, a movement never tainted with heresy. The antipathy of the monks towards Arianism, united with their zeal for orthodoxy, which sometimes culminated in violent popular agitation, ultimately ruined Arianism and compelled the emperors of the East to advocate the orthodox theology.

From this long but necessary consideration of Christian doctrine and polity we may now return to the institutional history of the Church and trace its progressive development to its complete triumph when Theodosius I proscribed paganism and every form of heretical belief, made orthodox Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire, and created the dual organism Church and State.

In the first years of its struggle against paganism, after its legalization in 313, the Church had found it necessary (or at least politic) to move cautiously in order to acquire the favor of the rich and influential aristocracy. This prudential and time-serving course was especially adopted in the West, for the Roman noble class was more homogeneous in the West than in the East, and a greater proportion of the population was pagan.

The society of the eastern Mediterranean provinces, deeply imbued with Hellenism and orientalism, was more differentiated than that in the West, and the combination of Greek rationalism with a multitude of Oriental cults had created a spirit of skepticism or indifference or toleration of any and all religions. Under such conditions Christianity met with more negative and less positive opposition in the East than in the West. Rapid and energetic propaganda in the West would have hardened occidental feeling into bitter hostility to Christianity. To attempt a revolution would have been to invite defeat. Pagan society, influential and entrenched in its vested interests, had to be conciliated, to be wheedled and cajoled. Coercion and intimidation would not yet do. So the Church set out to make converts among the rich, among the high landed aristocracy and the official class. The sharp change, however, came with Constantine's death, in 337. Until then, whatever his own private conviction, Constantine had maintained the parity of paganism and Christianity. Not so his sons, who began a policy of persecution of paganism. "Thereafter it is paganism, not Christianity, that must uphold the flag of a desperate fidelity in the face of a hostile world."¹ The pagan cults were now put upon the defensive, and Christianity became the persecutor, advocating confiscation of the landed endowments of the temples, spoliation of their rich adornments, the melting down of the gold figures of gods and goddesses within them. In 341 the three emperors prohibited pagan sacrifices. Five years later all temples were ordered to be closed and sacrifices were forbidden on the pain of death. If fanaticism and intolerance had not gained the ascendancy, probably the rival religions would have become accustomed to one another, in which event paganism would have slowly faded away from a world which it had lost the power to influence, and Christianity then, without violence and force, would have entered into religious possession. But it was not so to be.

*Decline of
paganism*

The fall of paganism was inevitable, but no less tragic for that. From the growing domination of Christianity two important deductions have to be made:

"One is the promulgation of the doctrine that the great majority of the human race were doomed to eternal torment: the pagan Greeks had imagined many horrors, but they had never dreamed of that; the Christians replaced tedium by terror. . . . God was capable of looking with complacency at a world in which such a fate awaited the majority of His human creatures. The Christians called their message a gospel, but even if it told of a way by which those who chose would escape the general doom, such a disclosure could only in a very qualified sense be called 'good news.' And just as the pagan Greek's conception of his deities had tended to make his own character sensual, so the Christian's conception of his God tended to make him cruel in his judgment

¹ Gilbert Murray, *Four stages of Greek religion*, p. 179.

of misbelievers. . . . The other deduction which has to be made is that the governing powers now compelled men by pains and penalties to profess the belief of the Church. Even if the theory of the universe maintained by the Church was in itself a more reasonable one than that of any pagan Greek philosophy, the fact that men were compelled by force to profess it put a new unwarrantable constraint upon the human mind.”¹

Emperor Julian (361-3) and the attempted pagan restoration

These considerations give dignity to the policy of Julian. For fortunately for historical truth, the character of this philosophic scholar-emperor has been rescued from the obloquy with which intolerance has pursued his memory for centuries. While a sincere pagan, Julian believed in toleration and sought only to restore that parity between paganism and Christianity which the Edict of Milan had established. He frankly admitted some of the Christian virtues, as, for instance, its charity, its relief and care of the poor and the sick. In a sharp letter to Arsacius, a pagan priest in Galatia, he pointed out this deficiency among the pagan priesthood. He was justified in depriving the clergy of the right to travel free and at government expense by the imperial post; for the burden of the *cursus* was a heavy one upon the municipalities, and the bishops were the only kind of priests who largely used the post. The fact is that paganism had not that solidarity and universalism which Christianity possessed, and there was little communication even between pagan priests of the same cult. Similarly, one may sympathize with, even if one does not approve, Julian's edict prohibiting Christian professors of philosophy and classical literature in the universities; for to Julian the philosophy of antiquity was as much a revelation as the Bible was to Christians. As for the classics, they, too, were works to be revered, not ridiculed. That the Emperor was right and the Christians wrong is manifested by the fact that the Church in the Middle Ages became the great repository of classical manuscripts. Even in the fourth century Jerome declared his devotion to Vergil. The extreme to which Christian prejudice against classical literature went at this time, while yet admitting the value of classical tradition, is shown by the fantastic efforts to provide a Christo-classical literature by turning the Old Testament into epic and drama, and the New Testament into Platonic dialogues.²

After the death of Julian in 363, the proscription of the pagan cults was a matter of short time. In 375 Gratian refused to assume the title of pontifex maximus, which all previous emperors had borne, and removed from the senate chamber in Rome the Altar of Victory, which Constantius had first removed and Julian later restored. Finally, in 382, Gratian, whose teacher had been St. Ambrose, began the confiscation of the property of the temples. In the East in the same year an edict ordered protection of the

¹ BEVAN, *Later Greek Religion*, xxxvii-xxxviii.

² GIBBS, *Confessions of St. Augustine*, 212, note; Socrates, *H. E.*, iii, 16.

temples and the works of art within them from damage by popular violence; but a few years later the temples were closed. Paganism was stronger in the West than in the East. In Rome itself it was so strong that pagan worship, even after it was proscribed, publicly continued until 394. A few new temples were built, though no longer at government expense, but by private means. The last flurry of paganism was in 392-4, when the pagan element in Rome rallied around Eugenius, who sought to oppose Theodosius the Great. The last lustrum was then celebrated and a temple erected to Flora.

Theodosius I was the first emperor to employ force in the suppression of paganism. He had become ruler in the East after Valens had perished in the battle of Adrianople (378); and in 394, after having crushed Eugenius, who had been put up by pagan partisans after the death of Valentinian II, he became sole ruler of the Roman world. In 387 the systematic destruction of the ancient sanctuaries in Syria and Egypt was begun; in 389 the Serapeum in Alexandria, which housed a library second only to the great Alexandrian library, was demolished, the manuscripts scattered or destroyed, and the precious metal in it given to the churches of Alexandria. Some of the most famous temples were converted into churches. In 391, even in the West, entrance into a temple was forbidden. In 392 the celebration of any pagan cult in private houses was interdicted. The Olympian games took place for the last time in 394. At Rome all state and private benefaction of temples was prohibited, although most of the members of the senate were still pagan. Priests were driven out and the temples closed. The conflict endured for about thirty years, and new edicts of persecution from time to time were issued. Paganism died hard, but its death was certain. Driven out of the cities, it found refuge in remote regions of Italy and Gaul. In 529 the last temple of Apollo on Monte Cassino was transformed into a cloister by St. Benedict. In the same year Justinian suppressed the schools of philosophy in Athens.

*Proscription of
paganism*

But in its expiring moments paganism revenged itself upon its enemies. The rigor of the compulsory legislation, by forcing the people to embrace the Christian faith, did not inspire conviction or make sincere converts. The intolerance of the bishops, manifested in the dragooning of converts, brought numbers into the Church whose influence was not calculated to benefit it. Moreover, the society and the culture out of which Christianity sprang impregnated it with pagan ideas, symbols, and rituals. The cults of the ancient world had borrowed from one another and assimilated elements of other cults for centuries; and Christianity was no exception to the tendency. There is much in Christianity that is not merely analogous to much in one or another pagan cult, but is identical and has a generic relation. Theology was profoundly affected by Greek philosophy; the Oriental mystery religions find reflection in Christian belief and

*Influence of
paganism on
Christianity*

Christian worship. The veneration of the Virgin is akin to the worship of Isis, Astarte, the Great Mother of the Phrygians. The symbolic colors of the Church were borrowed from the Egyptian priesthood; early Christian art was saturated with pagan motifs and pagan symbolism; many a "saint" and many a saint's day has a direct predecessor in pagan mythology; Cosmo and Damienus are foreshadowed in Castor and Pollux, as are also Florus and Laurus, who are still "the horses' saints" in Russia. The Jewish and early Christian Sabbath was changed to Sun-day to accommodate it to the most sacred day of the pagan world. Christmas Day was once the day of the celebration of the nativity of Mithras, "the invincible one," and was celebrated with great pomp in Rome long before the Church adopted the day. The Lupercalia in Rome were converted by Pope Gelasius I in 494 into the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin.

The triumph of the Church in 392 wrought a profound revolution in history. A new idea and a new practice in the relation of religion to the State and society were introduced.

The pagan Roman Empire had possessed a state religion and a government-supported priesthood. But this priest class had never trespassed upon the civil power. In the first place, the number of priests was not great; and, secondly, the office was open, like civil magistracies, to all citizens. Indeed, priests and public magistrates were drawn from the same class of society and were equally responsible to the State. The two groups did not form rival authorities. An entirely new relation was now established between religion and the secular power. The Church possessed an ecclesiastical system the practices of which, in the government of its own members, constituted a serious invasion of the prerogatives of the State. It is true that it functioned under control of the State (or at least was supposed so to do), but actually the Church operated in competition with the imperial government. The Church more and more inclined to supplant the State. Christianity brought into the Roman world a new idea and profoundly altered the principles upon which the family and society had reposed in antiquity. The creation of an institution essentially moral in its nature and purpose established a new authority. Men escaped in part from the power of the State and became the subjects, as it were, of a new power, the Church. The Church created the distinction between temporal and spiritual authority and marked out a domain upon which the State might not trespass.

*Church and
State in the
Roman Em-
pire*

An example will be in point. No society can exist without some sort of judicial organization. The Christians in the Roman world in the second and third centuries, who were unwilling to entrust their litigation to the imperial courts, fell into the way of carrying it to the bishop for adjudication. The bishop thus came to have a curia. These episcopal courts were continued after the legal recognition of Christianity, so that

the Roman Empire had two kinds of civil courts running simultaneously and on a parity in authority. Criminal cases, however, for a long time remained subject only to the jurisdiction of the state courts. But here also the Church gradually trespassed upon the prerogative of the State by exercise of the right of asylum. In fact, the whole tendency of the Church was to trespass upon the domain of state prerogatives and subordinate secular to ecclesiastical authority.

The spiritual authority of the Church was coeval with its origin and early organization. Its temporal sway began with the powers and exemptions granted it by the Roman imperial government in the fourth century, which made it, according to the degree of the privileges accorded, a state within a state. This was rapidly followed by the adoption of Christianity as the state religion of the Roman Empire (392), by which Empire and Church were united into a joint organism, the State being the obverse, the Church being the reverse side of the same thing. But as the Roman Empire declined, the Church more and more insinuated itself into secular administration until, with the lapse of all imperial power and authority, the Church not only absorbed the Roman Empire, but very largely also supplanted it. Its form of administration was modeled after that of Rome, and when there were no more prefects, vicars, provincial governors, the bishops stepped in and administered secular matters simultaneously with ecclesiastical matters. During the same time the Church had also become a great proprietary institution, owing to the lavish grants of land — huge patrimonies on which dwelt hundreds and sometimes thousands of serfs and slaves — which it had received from the emperors and from rich Roman nobles. The origin of the Church's temporal and feudal power is to be found in this double process.

In 392 Church and State became the obverse and the reverse sides of a single coin. Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire. The ecclesiastical system became a part of, was even fused with, the secular government. To be sure, strictly speaking, the Church was subordinate to the authority of the State, but the theory and the fact did not coincide. The Church first evaded and then was exempted from the requirement to make tax returns; the clergy was exempted from taxes that other classes and professions had to pay; the Church connived with rich men, permitting them to enter holy orders in order to evade taxes, and, we may be sure, profited by the evasion. In 439 Valentinian III vainly endeavored to prevent this abuse by ordaining that no man of wealth might enter the priesthood. The bishops insinuated themselves into secular control by imposing their authority upon municipal magistrates, exercising the prerogatives of the *defensores*, superintending public improvements, laying municipal taxes, etc. The double fact that the emperors were the final seat of authority in questions having to do with the state Church,

but at the same time could not exercise the plenitude of that authority without risk of losing it, explains all of the politico-religious conflicts of the later Roman and Byzantine Empire, a complication from which the West was relieved by the fall of the Western Empire. The inverse of this proposition was also true. The clergy was the final authority in matters of faith, but it could not use compulsion or coercion without the assistance of the secular power. And, singularly enough, in the enforcement of religious authority the clergy showed more moderation than some emperors in exercise of their political authority. No Roman emperor was ever excommunicated, not even Julian.

While there is no doubt that Theodosius I and his successors (unlike Constantine) were actuated by religious conviction in their espousal of Christianity and the proscription of paganism, policy also influenced their conduct. The ideal of universal dominion cherished by orthodox Christianity reflected the imperial Roman ideal of universality. Again, the energy and efficiency of the Church's government commended itself to the emperors, who were worried over the increasing weakness of their own administrative system and so more and more inclined to lean upon that of the Church.

The sectional tendency of the many heresies, which were often identified with local and provincial movements of separation, induced the emperors in self-defense to be rigidly orthodox. It is an important historical fact to be observed that most of the heresies were current in countries outside of Europe, such as Syria, Egypt, and Africa — that is, in countries imperfectly or incompletely Romanized, where national aspirations found expression as the power of the government was relaxed. Economic grievance was frequently at the root of such manifestations. The popularity of Nestorianism in Syria, of Arianism in Egypt, of Donatism in Africa, was not a little due to the fact that they constituted protests of the population against heavy taxation, administrative abuses, official corruption, and the like. Orthodoxy was, as it were, a cement that helped to keep the Roman Empire from falling apart; the heresies tended to act like acids and to dissolve it. No emperor could afford to be anything but strictly orthodox. He might be coercive or he might be conciliatory, but he was never compromising in matters of faith.

*Influence of
the heresies on
sectionalism in
the Roman
Empire*

The transformation of the Church in the fourth century, both materially and morally, was one of the profoundest and swiftest revolutions in history. From a formerly simple, democratic polity with a simple creed, it became a vast and complex hierarchic and bureaucratic institution. Its clerical ranks reflected the hierarchy of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Its creed was a triumph of Greek intellectual subtlety cast in a marvelous mold of words. But the Christian religion paid dearly for its victory in the spirit of intolerance which it adopted, in the compromise it made

*Corruption
of the Church*

with the world, in the invasion of the Church by office-seekers — when the clergy was exempted from the *sordida munera*, “there was an ungodly rush for holy orders” — in the nepotism and bribery (simony) that crept in; in the enormous wealth that was heaped upon it; in the crowd of unworthy poor, the idle lazzaroni of the cities, impostors, charlatans, who imposed upon the Church and took bread and pence away from the really destitute and afflicted. St. Ambrose did not spare words with reference to this class. “They come in full vigor,” he wrote. “They come with no reason but that they are on the tramp.” So, too, St. Basil complained of the difficulty of distinguishing between the honest poor and the professional mendicant.

At the same time the bishop became more and more separated from his flock. He sat upon his episcopal throne like a Roman judge of old, imposing ecclesiastical penalties, trying processes, and executing judgments. His palace rivaled and soon outshone that of the governor of the province. He maintained the state of a prince, with a whole retinue of officials and servants. St. Jerome, who was old-fashioned and censorious, has satirized in a notable letter the worldliness of many bishops of the fourth century.

Worldly character of the bishops

But more than the things of this world were metamorphosed by these new conditions. The Church's vision of the upper and nether worlds, of heaven and hell, was also changed. Christ became a celestial emperor surrounded by a hierarchy of archangels, angels, seraphim, cherubim, legions of winged soldiery. The City of God was a sublimated Rome or Constantinople. Like the great officials with grandiose titles who flanked the throne of Constantine, Raphael was the master of the offices of heaven, Azrael count of the sacred largesses, Michael illustrious master of the heavenly cohorts surrounding the Presence. On the other hand, the greater and lesser gods of paganism became greater and lesser members of the infernal hierarchy of hell.

As a landowner the Church soon surpassed the great patrimonial aristocracy in wealth. It, too, had its “*patrimonia sparsa per orbem*” — its patrimonies scattered all over the world — peopled by slaves and serfs, whose labor contributed to its ever increasing riches. The emperors were lavish in making donations to the Church from the imperial fisc. Private endowments poured in upon it. While some of this wealth was employed in care of the poor and the sick, and another part of it justly expended for maintenance of the clergy and for erection of new churches, the effect of this was to a certain degree neutralized by the widening of the gap between clergy and people, by a loss of that brotherly spirit which had once actuated the Church, by a certain inhumanitarianism and hardness of heart, which comes out especially in the changed attitude of the Church towards serfdom and slavery.

The Church as a landed proprietor

The Church, having adopted the Roman imperial form of government for its own, in a long but natural process ultimately evolved an ecclesiastical emperor also. This was the pope, and it is to the rise of the papacy that we must now turn our attention.

The earliest document that mentions a church in Rome is Paul's Epistle to the Romans, about A.D. 58. These Christians in Rome were probably converted Jews, who yet were hostile to Paul's gentile policy of evangelizing all peoples of the Roman world. When Paul was a prisoner in Rome, they seem to have left him alone, for he tells us that he would have suffered privation if it had not been for the alms sent to him by the Christians in Philippi. We have no certain information as to the origin of the Church in Rome. According to Catholic tradition — and a very early one — it was founded by St. Peter about A.D. 42-43. But there is no evidence on this head in the Four Gospels or the Pauline Epistles, which are the oldest historical documents of Christianity, and it is difficult to reconcile the tradition with Paul's words in Romans. The silence of the Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, which relate the arrival of Paul at Rome, with reference to Peter's alleged presence in Rome at any time, is difficult to explain. History fails us in this important matter. We have to rely upon legend or tradition only. Our knowledge, indeed, of the history of the Church in Rome is very incomplete and very fragmentary for the first and second centuries, consisting of little more than a list of bishops, many of whose names are Greek or Syrian. For a long time the language of the bishops of Rome and of church services was Greek, and until the third century the body of the membership must have been very largely Greeks, Orientals, and converted Jews. Latin Christianity first appears in Africa, for to the end of the second century the Church was still Greek at Rome and in the valley of the Rhone.

The Latin group of the Roman Church had as yet few natives in it, but consisted to a large degree of African immigrants or descendants of African stock dwelling in Rome. At the end of the second century the ascendancy of African influence in both the Roman Empire and the Church is a remarkable coincidence. When Septimius Severus, born of an equestrian family at Leptis, entered Rome as emperor, the Church in Rome was governed by a native of his same Roman Africa.

Among the many causes that conspired to extend and to elevate the authority of the bishop of Rome, not the least was the fact that the importance of the bishops generally was proportioned by the importance, political and economic, of the city in which they were seated. In the East the most influential sees were Alexandria, Cæsarea, Antioch, and Constantinople; in the West, Rome and Carthage. This natural superiority of some sees over others was made more formal by the recognition of certain sees as metropolitan sees. Thus the bishop of Cæsarea was metro-

politan of Palestine and Syria; Cæsarea was the headquarters of the Roman procurators and naturally became the ecclesiastical capital. The bishop of Alexandria had analogous power over Egypt and Libya. But no metropolitan bishop possessed the extended sway of the bishop of Rome. Most of the Italian Christian communities were regarded as members of the Roman community. In the fourth century the authority of the bishop of Rome extended over all central and southern Italy, besides Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Only Aquileia, Ravenna, and Milan were outside his jurisdiction.

In spite of this obscurity which veils the early history of the Church in Rome, by the second century we find in the West recognition of the superiority of the bishop of Rome. But this recognition was one of superior dignity, *primacy*, not *supremacy* of authority. The bishops of Rome, however, labored to convert this metropolitan dignity, according to which they were only equals of other metropolitans, first into *primacy* and then into *supremacy*. Even in the second half of the third century Cyprian of Carthage asserted the complete equality of all bishops, and this principle was incorporated in the findings of the Council of Carthage in 256. St. Augustine had no doubt that a council ranked above the Roman bishop.¹ The supremacy of Rome obtained slowly. Much of the Church persisted in Cyprian's doctrine of the equality of bishops. Africa especially resisted the innovation. Not until 381 (Third Council of Constantinople) was the primacy of Rome recognized, and supremacy was yet nearly a century away.

*Primacy
versus su-
premacy*

Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria were keen competitors for the honor of primacy. Since the time of Athanasius it had been the traditional policy of the Roman see to support the independence of the Alexandrian patriarch against the patriarch of Constantinople. But by the middle of the fifth century the power of Alexandria had become so great that it excited the alarm of both the Roman and the Constantinopolitan bishops, as of the Emperor also. He bade fair to become the ecclesiastical ruler of the East. In consequence the Emperor and the bishops of Rome and Constantinople united against the pretensions of the Bishop of Alexandria. At the same time the Emperor took care not to let the pretensions of Rome be recognized as exceeding those of Constantinople. The Council of Chalcedon (451) asserted that "the very Holy See of New Rome shall enjoy the same privileges as that of Ancient Rome." Against this declaration the legate of Leo I protested, and cited an article of the canons of the Council of Nicæa in support of the contention. The Greek text of the sixth canon of the Council of Nicæa does not mention the primacy of Rome, but a Latin copy bears the addition: "The Church of Rome always has possessed primacy." This interpolation first appeared at the Council

¹ Ep., 43, 19; cf. Ep., 36; HARNACK, *History of Dogma*, V, 150 and note 2.

of Chalcedon, where the reading of it by the legate of Pope Leo I precipitated a violent protest.

Leo I
(440-61)

*Doctrine of
the Petrine su-
premacy*

Within the next four years the claim to the primacy of the Roman bishop, thus boldly made, was transformed into supremacy by Leo I, who triumphantly asserted the doctrine of the Petrine supremacy and the power of the keys. The papal argument in support of this contention was as simple as it was effective. The Church had established the principle of apostolic succession; that is to say, the doctrine that the teachings and the authority of Christ had descended from Him through the twelve apostles and their disciples to the bishops of each succeeding generation. Hence divine authority was vested in the episcopate and the bishops as a body legally constituted the Church. This doctrine had originally been devised to suppress heresy and to impose discipline. But it was to have portentous consequences; for the bishops of Rome eagerly seized upon the tradition that St. Peter was the founder of the Church in Rome, to whom Christ had delegated unique and supreme authority in those impressive words recorded in Matthew xvi, 18-19:

“Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.”

Obviously, if the tradition that Peter founded the Church in Rome was an historical fact, and the doctrine of apostolic succession was valid, then by history and ecclesiastical law the bishops of Rome, as successors of St. Peter, possessed supreme authority over the Church. Peter was the Prince of the Apostles. The popes were princes over the Church. It was in vain that opponents of the Petrine supremacy either ignored or contested the papal claims to supremacy. In the fifth century the doctrine swept the West, although always denied by the Church in the East. The Council of Chalcedon (451) refused to recognize more than the primacy of the bishop of Rome. Leo I declared this canon null and void. Thenceforth, although the unity of the Church was theoretically supposed still to exist, in actual practice the Greek and Latin Churches in 451 reached the parting of the ways. But six hundred years were yet to elapse before the rupture was made formal and final in 1054.

Leo I lost no time in obtaining imperial sanction of the papal claim to ecclesiastical supremacy. In 455 Valentinian III, the Emperor in the West, issued an edict that made all of the western bishops subject to the pope. It commanded all imperial officials to compel the bishops to this obedience. It is true that at this time the edict was more an imperial gesture than an effective command, for the Western Empire was in a state of dissolution. The Vandals were in Africa, the West Goths in Spain and

southern Gaul, the Burgundians in eastern Gaul; the Franks had reached the Somme; Britain had been abandoned by Roman arms. All of these peoples were Arians except the Franks and English, who were pagans. Nevertheless, as Arianism declined and ultimately perished when the Roman and catholic population of the German kingdoms were released from Arian political domination, or when, like the West Goths in Spain, the pagan Franks, and the pagan English, they were converted to Catholicism, then Latin Christianity and papal authority easily and rapidly was extended over the whole West.

Another factor in the elevation of the bishop of Rome was the increasing tendency to make appeals from the action of provincial synods or lesser bishops to Rome.

Growth of appellate jurisdiction of the papacy

"Thanks to the primacy accorded to that See and the prestige that the Church enjoyed as successor to the vast organization of the Empire . . . she tacitly possessed two prerogatives which in course of time made possible a wider sphere of operations. The first was the Appellate jurisdiction. Under Leo I it assumed special significance and marked an important stage in the advance to spiritual supremacy, although a century before Valentinian I and Gratian had recognized the Roman Court as a court of appeal from other ecclesiastical councils of the western provinces of the Empire. This prerogative, therefore, went back as far as the end of the fourth century."¹

This principle had been recognized by the Council of Sardica (347), but the bishops of the East always protested against the legality of this legislation, which manifestly was in the interest of Rome. Even in the West the African Church in St. Augustine's own time, in the Council of Carthage (419), protested against "appeals across the sea."

In 444 a famous encounter took place between Hilary of Arles and Pope Leo I. The former, in a provincial synod, had deposed one of his suffragan bishops named Celidonius, who promptly appealed to Rome. The Pope saw a chance to humble a powerful prelate and enhance the papal prerogative and commanded that Celidonius be restored, not on the ground that he was not guilty of irregularities of conduct, but on the ground that the metropolitan did not have final authority, and that the appellate jurisdiction of the pope was the ultimate court. In spite of the winter season Hilary made a trip to Rome, to be met with the pontifical scoff that he "seemed to have coveted a reputation for the swiftness of a courier rather than for the sobriety of a priest." We do not know the outcome of this issue. But a short time afterwards, when Hilary retired one of his local bishops on account of illness, and the populace demurred, Hilary did not hesitate to invade the town with an armed band, intimidate the people, and institute a special court of investigation, whose procedure seems to have been more *ex parte* than legal. This time certainly Leo

¹ BURY, *St. Patrick*, 62.

successfully intervened and Hilary was humbled exceedingly. These incidents are interesting for the light they cast upon the determination of the bishops to control offices under their jurisdiction, even to the point of braving the Lateran, and the extreme methods to which a bishop was willing to resort in order to attain his purposes.

About 510 the appellate jurisdiction of the popes was materially fortified by Dionysius Exiguus, who collected the canons of previous councils and the letters — decretal letters they were called — from Siricius onward (384-498), putting them on about the same level of authority. This Dionysian codification “helped to spread abroad the notion that the Popes can declare, even though they cannot make law for the universal Church, and thus to contract the sphere of secular jurisprudence.”¹

By the sixth century the bishop of Rome was not only a pontiff; he was a politician. The form of papal election strikingly demonstrates it. In the early centuries of Christianity the bishops of Rome were elected by the clergy and lay members of the Church in conference together. From the fifth to the eighth century election was in the hands of an electoral body composed of the clergy and neighboring bishops, the magistrates of the city of Rome, representatives of the Roman nobility, and the officers of the *schola* or city military force.

By the time of Gregory the Great (590-604) the ecclesiastical supremacy of the papacy may be said to have been founded. In his quality of successor of St. Peter the Roman bishop had forced the recognition of his primacy upon all Western Christendom, but not upon the East. While yet theoretically one, the East had an Empire apart and a Church apart from both the rule and the faith of the West.

To these primary causes of the rise of the papacy must be added other auxiliary causes — the wealth of the Roman congregation, the orthodoxy of the Latin West, a succession of great popes like Leo I and Gregory I, the barbaric migrations, and the absence of an emperor in Rome after 476. The restoration of imperial rule in Italy by Justinian partially arrested the growth of the papacy. The emperor exercised his authority over the bishop of Rome as over other bishops. He personally controlled confirmation of the election of the pope. But the critical state of Eastern politics in the seventh century — the epoch of Maurice, Phokas, and Heraclius — and the iconoclastic heresy of the next century, finally emancipated the papacy from control by Constantinople.

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THE BARBARIAN WORLD

German influence one of race

THE culture and institutions — in a word, the civilization — of classical antiquity were the first ingredient of medieval civilization. The second ingredient of that formation was Christianity and the Church. The third and, in point of time, the last great element that entered into the making of medieval Europe was the Germans. Unlike the two preceding influences, the German influence was one of *race*. For the first time within the historic period a people of fresh blood, of novel institutions, of vivid personality, brought a new stream of ideas and institutions into the broad and deep but somewhat stagnant current of old-world civilization.

The Germans were the nearest and most important member of that vast barbarian world which covered all of central and eastern Europe beyond the Rhine and the Danube and extended across the plains of Russia, peopled by other barbarian races, Slavs and "Scythians," into Asia, where roamed hordes of nomadic Huns and other tribes of Tartar extraction. Neither Slav nor Tartar seriously registered in history until the Germanic invasions were long past, and neither ever had a tithe of the influence that the Germans had upon the development of medieval history.

Neither history nor legend nor philology reveals to us whether the Germans were autochthonous in central Europe, or whether they were incomers from some other place. At one time the belief was universal among scholars that the Germans emanated from Asia, the reputed cradle of the Aryan race. But today the Asian origin of the Aryan race is challenged by many scholars, who reject the old hypothesis and believe that "Arya" was somewhere in Europe. The most competent historians now think that the cradle of the German race was in Scandinavia. According to another hypothesis, the prehistoric Germans migrated from the border of the Black Sea, moving up the Dniester and thence descending the Vistula to the Baltic, but a portion of them, like the Bastarnæ, stayed behind in the old territory.

Ancient Germany

In the first and second centuries the Germanic tribes were lying in the rough quadrilateral enclosed between the Rhine, the Danube, the Vistula, the Baltic, and the North Sea. It is true that Denmark and Scandinavia at this time were also peopled by tribes of Teutonic stock. But historically these Nordic nations, the ancestors of the Danes, the Norse, the Swedes,

must be sharply distinguished from the Germans. Their history also is of later development and hardly begins before the ninth century.

In a remoter period, of which no written records remain, but which the evidence of language and topography attests, Germania must have been of less dimension than has been indicated in the preceding paragraph. Perhaps until 1000 B.C. a great Celtic empire¹ was spread over what is now Germany, France, Britain, and Ireland, from the Carpathians to the Atlantic. The Germans in this early time were a lesser people, perhaps tributary to the Celts, and confined to lower Germany. Some historians think that the narrower primitive home of the Germans was situated between the basins of the Vistula and the Oder; others opine that the original seat of the Germans was between the Weser and the Elbe. Be that as it may, the Germans expanded and the Celts retreated. The first evidence of this, when the veil of history rises, is the invasion of Italy in 390 B.C. by the Galli or Gauls (another term for the Celts, who may have been expelled by a German thrust). The leader of the invaders was Brennus, who later seems to have entered Greece, where he killed himself after a repulse at Delphi. His followers crossed over into Asia Minor and settled in Galatia, whose name attests its Celtic origin. Later, in 278 B.C., a second wave of Celts invaded Macedonia and Greece, finally crossing the Hellespont and united with their predecessors in Galatia. These great Celtic raids were due, at least in part, to the propulsive energy of the Germans, who were gradually spreading out and expelling the Celts from Germany. The region west of the Weser (Westphalia), although anciently Celtic, was very early conquered by the Germans. By 58 B.C. the Suevi under Ariovistus had reached the Rhine and were preparing to cross it and carry their racial conflict with the Celts into Gaul, when Cæsar's conquest of Gaul stopped their advance for centuries and brought the Romans and the Germans face to face. But the retreating Celts left imperishable memorials of their vanished domination in Germany in many place-names, notably in that of the Rhine and the Danube rivers and in a few words of German speech which philology discloses were borrowed from the Celts. Some traces of Celtic influence in Germany may also be found in early Germanic culture, showing that the superior civilization of the Celts impressed itself upon the Germans. Although no longer nomads in

¹ "Bohemia was originally a Celtic land: the name Bohemia is Boio-heim, the home of the Boii, a Celtic people. This was the name given by its German neighbors; but about the time of the Christian era it became a German land, being occupied by the Marcomanni. The German period of the history of Bohemia lasted for about five hundred years; then its German folk migrated and it was occupied by Slavs. When the Marcomanni and Quadi appeared in the regions of the river Inn and the upper Danube, they were designated by the people of those regions as Bojuvari or Bojovares, 'people from the land of the Boii,' in fact Bohemians. From this name of the German settlers, indicative of their old home, the land was called Bajovaria (Bavaria)." Bury, *Barbarian Invasions*, 260.

the first century before the Christian era, the Germans were yet not sedentary. Tradition, habit, and the memory of their wandering life were too strong among them to enable them to become fixed to the soil readily or firmly.

*Nature of
early German
life*

The Germans were encamped rather than established in their places of occupation. They had no towns, but mere villages of rudely constructed huts. Without being complete nomads, they were in a pastoral rather than an agricultural stage of culture; their chief wealth was in flocks and herds, and they supplemented these resources by hunting and predacious attacks upon their neighbors. It was rare that a tribe stayed many consecutive years in the same locality. They migrated from region to region. With the transition from nomadic to sedentary life the population probably increased. But though there were more to labor in milking, agriculture, and forest work, and probably more cattle, yet there were also more mouths to feed, which entailed subdivision of the arable land or laborious clearing of forest or draining of swamp to make new fields. War often proved a more convenient and certainly more exciting form of compensation to a people disinclined by nature to work, to whom war was an adventure.

Cæsar made the Rhine the frontier between Roman Gaul and the Germans. He drove the Suevi back across the river, but left undisturbed three small Germanic tribes who had formed the advance guard, as it were, of the Suevi and had settled on the left bank of the Rhine before his arrival. These were the Vangiones around Worms, the Triborii around Strassburg and the Nemetes, situated between the other two, around Speyer. Later, in the war against the Belgæ, Cæsar found that other Germans had trespassed upon the territory of the Menapii in the delta region, and expelled them (55 B.C.). Between Coblenz and Cologne he bridged the Rhine and penetrated into the territory of the Sicambri to the relief of the Ubii, who were the first German tribe in Germany to recognize Roman supremacy. In 36 B.C. Agrippa, Emperor Augustus' son-in-law, transplanted the Ubii to the Roman side of the Rhine around Cologne (*Colonia Ubiorum*). In the reign of Augustus the entire territory west of the Rhine, extending from the Alps to the sea, was organized into the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, and camps were established on the river. In time these cantonments attracted traders and settlers and so developed into towns. Moguntiacum (Mainz) at the junction of the Main with the Rhine, was the key fortress. Below it along the river were fifteen *castra* or *castella*, the most important of which were Bingen, Bacharach, Oberwesel, Coblenz (*Confluentes*, at the confluence of the Moselle with the Rhine), which was the headquarters of the river-patrol, Andernach, Remagen, Bonn, Cologne, Xanten, Nijmegen, Utrecht, and Leiden. Above Mainz the principal camps were Worms, Speyer, and Strassburg. In the fourth century Basel was established. In similar wise Augustus organized

*The Roman
Empire and
the Germans*

the right bank of the Danube into the provinces of Rhætia, Noricum, and Pannonia, whose chief places were Augsburg, Lorch, Regensburg, Vienna (Vindobona), and Carnuntum. At the end of the first century after Christ, as stated in the first chapter, the dangerous salient between the upper Rhine and the upper Danube was protected by a long wall running from Regensburg to Mainz, and the territory enclosed within it — the *Agri Decumates* or Tithe Lands — was settled with retired veterans.

We have substantial information regarding the early Germans, from Cæsar (about 50 B.C.), from Tacitus (about A.D. 100), from the two geographers, Strabo (about A.D. 15), and from Ptolemy (middle of the second century). Strabo offers nothing upon Germanic institutions, but is valuable for location of the tribes. Tacitus, writing nearly one hundred and fifty years after Cæsar, not only from direct observation, but from information of many Roman commanders who had seen service on the Rhine, presents a much fuller account. In fact, his treatise *De moribus Germanorum* (*Concerning the customs of the Germans*) is the first sustained account of the early Germans which we have. Ptolemy of Alexandria, like Strabo, is helpful for the names and distribution of the tribes, but no more. Tacitus distinguishes three great nations among the Germans, divided into forty-five tribes; Ptolemy gives the names of sixty-six tribes. It is significant, however, that in his time many new tribal names had appeared, and that twenty-four tribes mentioned by Tacitus had disappeared. Ptolemy mentions only twenty-one of the tribes enumerated by Tacitus. The figures are eloquent testimony to the historical fact that in these two centuries between Cæsar and Ptolemy the Germans must have undergone profound changes. Their bearing upon the migrations will be considered subsequently in this chapter. We must first examine the nature of the institutions and civilization of the early Germans, then the influence of Roman contact upon them, and finally the causes of the great migrations, and the migrations themselves.

As the Germans were barbarians and for centuries yet were not to have a literature of their own, all our knowledge of their early institutions and culture comes from Roman observers of them, although some information of customary law, social ideals and practices, and agriculture may be gleaned from that of later and civilized times by reasoning backward from survivals. Cæsar's information in regard to the manners and customs of the Germans was almost wholly derived from the Gauls and from Roman merchants who ventured into Germany. Nevertheless his six chapters (Bk.IV, i, xix; Bk.VI, ix, x, xxi, xxviii) are valuable. The first time Cæsar passed the Rhine, in 55 B.C., he remained only eighteen days in Germany. The second campaign, in 53 B.C., was merely a punitive expedition and of even shorter duration. He could not, therefore, have learned much about the Germans. He did not advance far and, moreover,

found himself in a ravaged and deserted country. How could he have gathered much precise information from a people who fled from his approach? He distinguished but sixteen tribes. Their warlike quality naturally impressed him. They were clothed with skins, implying that sheep-raising and weaving were unknown among them. In agriculture they were not far developed, though they practiced fallowing, and they subsisted to a large extent on milk, meat, and cheese. Labor in the fields was done by men too old for war and by women and slaves. Cæsar noticed the instability of the Germans, their inclination to rove from one region to another, dispossessing those weaker than themselves; and, what is most interesting, he observed that the primary cause of it was not so much their warlike propensity as increase of population and land-hunger. He reports of the Suevi that "they are said to have a hundred cantons," but the very form of his language shows that he was dubious of his information. Of the religion of the ancient Germans he had vague and inexact notions. "They have no druids who preside over their religious rites, nor do they practice sacrifice," he writes. If we are to understand by this that the Germans had no priests and did not celebrate sacrifices, Cæsar is formally contradicted by Tacitus one hundred and fifty years later. The early Germans had priests, but these did not compose a formidable caste among them as among the Celts of Gaul.

After the conquest of Gaul and the extension of the Roman Empire to the Rhine, Rome also dreamed of subjugating the Germans as it had subjugated the Gauls. Her best generals, Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus, at the head of their legions penetrated the dark forests and crossed the huge swamps of barbarian Germany on roads made of felled trees. Roman fleets skirted the coast of the North Sea and made their way up the Weser and the Elbe; Roman armies followed up the Lippe, the Ruhr, and the Main into the heart of the country. But the destruction of the army of Varus, A.D. 9, compelled the imperial government to abandon the hope of conquering Germany.

A century and a half after Cæsar wrote, Tacitus shows that the Romans had acquired a large amount of information about the Germans from Roman officers stationed along the Rhine and Danube frontiers and from Roman merchants. One of these sources was a now lost book of Livy, of which we have only a brief summary. A second source was Strabo. The historian Pomponius Mela, who lived in the reign of Caligula (37-41), gives further information. Claudius (41-54), in Book III, chapter iii, of his *Historia*, summarized the contributions of his predecessors and added a few details of his own about the Germans. From this time onward to Tacitus—that is to say, in the last half of the first century—Roman information about the Germans increased greatly. Among the principal writers were Aufidius Bassus, Cremutius Cordus, Cluvius Rufus, Fen-

estella, a life of Drusus, who made four formidable expeditions into Lower Germany in the reign of Augustus, the *Memoirs* of Corbulo, the *Description of the Roman Empire* by Agrippa. But of all this lost literature by far the most valuable was Pliny the Elder's *Bellorum Germaniæ viginti libri* (*Twenty Books of the Wars in Germany*), the only remains of which are those portions which Pliny incorporated into his famous *Natural History*. Many, if not all, of these writers had been in direct association with the Germans and had supplemented their information by knowledge derived from Roman commanders, many of whom had been stationed along the frontier for years. While telling us much about Germany, Pliny, whose intelligence was great and whose curiosity was insatiable, bemoans the fact that a great deal of Germany was still unknown to the Romans.

Thus from the establishment of the Roman Empire there was a steady accretion of knowledge with reference to the Germans. Commerce had opened much of interior Germany to Roman explorers. Two trade routes were especially important. The first ran from Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic, through Pannonia (modern Austria) into Bohemia, and thence via the Vistula or the Oder to the amber beaches of the Baltic. The second penetrated North Germany from the Rhine stations at the mouths of the Ruhr and the Lippe, and so reached the Weser.

All this accumulated information about the Germans was open to Tacitus. Hence to him we may credit our first large knowledge of the early Germans. He begins by determining the boundaries of Germany, then passes to the physiography of the country, rivers, mountains, soil relief, and natural resources. The vast forests impressed Tacitus as they did Cæsar. As the Germans were yet unskilled in metal-working, except in iron, he made the mistake of inferring that neither gold nor silver was found in Germany, whereas when the mines were discovered, in the tenth century, Germany became the richest metal country of Europe in the Middle Ages. In agriculture the Germans had advanced considerably since Cæsar's observations, perhaps owing to contact with the Romans. They rotated their crops, but clung to the two-field system of alternating cultivation with fallow. They raised little grain, and their cattle were mean and small. The best classes were now clad in woven linen cloth instead of skins. The moral portrait that Tacitus draws of the early Germans is famous. He extols their intense individualism, their simplicity, their cleanness of life, the honor felt for women, and their courage in war, but says they were given to gambling and drunkenness.

It is important that there is no evidence of Roman inquietude in Tacitus' mind, no dread of barbarian invasion, no racial hostility towards the Germans. On the other hand, the Germans were not actuated by hostility towards Rome or ambition to conquer her. The thought that the Roman Empire could perish never entered the mind of either Roman or

German. The Germans wanted to safeguard their territory, their independence, their institutions, the traditions of their ancestors. The Romans wanted to preserve peaceful intercourse with the Germans. The idea that Rome was ever filled with a dumb fear of the "German peril," or that the Germans were actuated by a great dream of conquest, is utterly unhistorical — a fiction of nineteenth-century romanticism. The great invasions that befell the Roman Empire between 375 and 450 were due to the pressure of barbarian peoples whose very existence was unknown to Tacitus and the Germans of his time, who then were wandering in central Asia, in the steppes of Russia, and along the Baltic. These were the Huns, the Alans, the Goths, and the Vandals.

The Romans were impressed by the striking racial characteristics of the Germans — their stature, ruddy complexion, yellow hair, and blue eyes, all so different from the characteristics of the Mediterranean races. Roman ladies of high society affected wigs made of German hair, and in early Christian art angels are portrayed with blue eyes and golden hair because of the Romans' admiration of these physical traits among the Germans. Freemen were wholly given to hunting and war, and left field and household labor to the old men and the women. Their habitations were built of wood, often daubed with clay or mortar. Beneath the house was a cellar used for storing roots and grain. A stable was attached to the house. The Germans had no towns, and, indeed, it took them a long time to get used to the Roman cities when they entered the Empire. They dwelt in village and hamlet (*mark* or *dorf*) situated in glades in the forest or along the rivers. But the richer among them lived in larger isolated houses surrounded by barns, stables, and the cottages of a dependent tenantry, the whole sometimes enclosed by a stockade. This was the *Einzelhof*. They erected ring-walls of stones rolled together in a circle, or rude blockhouses, for protection. Their weapons were battle-axes of metal or stone, a short sword — the *seax*, from which the Saxons got their name — the dagger, the spear, and the bow. The warriors wore corselets of leather, sometimes plated with sheets of horn, but no other armor. Common freemen fought on foot, but the nobles were often mounted.

The Germans represented institutions and ideas many of which were directly contrary to the genius and practice of Rome; and the history of the Middle Ages in a large sense is the history of the combination of these different ideas and institutions, partially modified and directed by the influence of the Christian Church. Among the Germans the tendency was to seek the personal in everything, and their contact with Roman life only threw this spirit into stronger relief. Large ideas of government and political solidarity and consolidation were not natural to the Germans, but were learned from the Romans. The individual stood out and was different from the Roman. The Roman was obedient, hardy, persistent,

knew how to command, administer, and govern; the German hero, however, had an individual quality that aroused enthusiasm. In the old sagas and songs of the North we find a strong element of self-respect. German obedience to the chief came from the heart and not because it was commanded. It was the faith of one person in another. A striking military institution was the *comitatus* or "following," a band of warriors devoted to a single chief of prowess, with whom they fought and with whom they died. The intense attachment and honor in this relation were later to exert an influence upon the feudal relation of overlord (*suzerain*) and underlord (*vassal*). The early Germans possessed the virtues and the vices of many barbarian peoples. They were brave, but cruel; hospitable hosts, but truculent neighbors; faithful to their word until corrupted by Roman vices; resentful of outside control and intensely individualistic; strong in their family attachments, monogamous, and intolerant of adultery; superior to most primitive races in the position given to women, some of whom figured as priestesses and even as warriors among them.

The early German religion was one of superb myths. The gods and goddesses were personifications of the forces of nature, as Woden, the sky-god, Sunna, sun-goddess, Mani, moon-god, Hertha, earth-goddess, Donar or Thor, thunder-god, Freya, goddess of the spring or of fecundity. They had no temples, nor sacred groves, nor idols in the strict sense. The Irminsul of the Saxons was not an idol, but an emblem. Prisoners of war and criminals were sometimes sacrificed. The priests did not form a caste, as did the druids of the Celts. They used auguries, like the flight of birds, and lots in divination. In brief, the Germans were culturally less advanced when the Romans first learned to know them than were the Greeks of Homer's time or the Romans when Rome was founded. An oddity among the Germans — perhaps due to the long winter nights — was the fact that they reckoned time by nights instead of days and had but three seasons: spring, autumn, winter. The moon was masculine, and the sun feminine.

Religion

The family was the unit of ancient Germanic polity. The father had the right of life and death over his wife and children, but must have seldom exercised it; in extreme cases his action had to be approved by the village community. Children born malformed were exposed. The paternal *mundium* or protection extended over his sons and their families; the clan (*fara*, *mægth*) was an agglomeration of kindred families; the State was an aggregation of clans. All members of a village might be more or less distantly related. In war these units were often maintained, but were quite distinct from the *comitatus*. As they fought together, so after migration and conquest they settled down together. Inheritance was transmitted equally to the sons, or, failing them, first to the father's brothers, then to the mother's brothers. Only freemen and nobles might own land. Children followed the condition of the mother in marriages between free and

Family

unfree; but in some tribes, notably the Saxons, marriage out of class was forbidden. Murder was not a capital offense and could be compensated by payment of a *wergeld*, or fine. All members of a family (in the larger sense of that term) were liable for offenses committed by one of its members. The blood feud (*faida*) could be compensated only by payment of wergeld or the murder of the offender. The life of all interested was in danger until satisfaction had been made. The criminal customary law provided a long series of fines for various offenses, most of them typical of a primitive rudimentary society. Assault and cattle-stealing were the two commonest offenses. One accused of crime might be sworn free by his kindred or neighbors. This was known as compurgation and by some historians has been regarded as the root of the jury. But the verdict was one of belief or sentiment, not based on evidence. It was a phenomenon of family solidarity, like the wergeld and the blood feud.

Social classes

In social structure the early Germans were divided into four classes: nobles, freemen, serfs, and slaves. Liberty and landholding went together. Nobility was a matter of birth and not of property. It conferred social prestige, but no superior political authority. Nobles were protected by a higher wergeld. The question whether the body of the early German people was of free or of servile condition is a mooted one and will be discussed later.

Political units

The territory occupied by the tribe was surrounded by a zone of waste to protect it against invaders. The most natural social and political unit was the village community (mark or dorf). It was of the essence of early Germanic life and polity. The village was the center and frame of early German life. It was a territory partly meadows and woods, partly rudely cultivated fields, with a cluster of houses somewhere in the midst of it protected by hedges, ditches, and the village dogs. The woods and the pasture areas were the common property of the community. Only the cultivated fields were private property and owned in severalty. Each village had an assembly called a *moot*, composed of all freemen in the village. The village was not isolated, but often in relation with an adjacent village, either because each owned tracts of forest and pasture that were parts of a greater whole, or because the villages were in communication with others by forest trail or by river or across a lake. Above the village or mark, which was the lowest and simplest political unit, was the *hundred*, a term that may hark back to the remote days when the Germans first entered central Europe and settled down. The original "hundred" may have been a fighting band of a hundred warriors, who, as they fought together, so settled down together; in this way the hundred became a territorial area and a political unit above the village, somewhat answering to the later township. A combination of hundreds, in turn, formed a county or *gau* — a word that philologically is the same as the Greek word

for "earth" — that is, territory. The *gaue* or counties, in turn, together formed the territory of the tribe, which, when kingship developed among the Germans, was called a *Reich* or kingdom.

The German public assembly was the whole body of fighting men under arms and convened only in event of war or migration. Similarly the public assemblies of *gau* and hundred were the nobles and freemen in the area concerned; but they met in time of peace to consider civil matters. At the head of the people were princes (*principes*), who were neither kings nor nobles, but elected chieftains chosen for their valor and qualities of leadership. Under them were sub-chieftains from *gau* and hundred. The war-bands were free-lance forces and often made raids when the tribe as a whole was in a state of peace. The war-leader (*Herzog*, the German word for "duke") had absolute authority during the war, but at its termination that authority lapsed. But as war was an almost chronic condition, it followed that a leader of prowess would often be re-elected; and when he died, usually with his boots on, if his son was a chip of the old block, he would be elected to succeed his father. In this wise, and by slow stages, first an elective and then an hereditary kingship developed. Most of the German tribes had advanced as far as hereditary kingship when they first make their appearance in history, as the Goths. Among most of them the submersion of tribal organization to military ascendancy had taken place owing to constant war, migration, and expansion. On the other hand, the Franks in the fifth century and the Lombards in the sixth still had elected war-chieftains when they entered the Roman Empire.

Public assem-
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Formation of
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In the early nineteenth century German historians, imbued with ideas born of the Romantic movement and inspired by aspiration for popular liberty and sentiments of nationality awakened by the German war of liberation against Napoleon, attributed an exaggerated democratic popular nature and a fantastic democratic dignity to the institutions of the early Germans. From these writers the notion spread to English and American writers. One of these solemnly declares that "the Germans brought in the elements out of which the intervening centuries have developed modern free constitutional governments." Constitutional monarchy, democratic republican government, the parliamentary and representative system, local self-government, trial by jury, "an independent and self-developing system of law," are all attributed by these enthusiasts to the potency of primitive Germanic institutions, in which, it is claimed, all of these great historic principles and practices lay in germ. So, too, the early Germans have been credited with great moral contributions to civilization, such as love of liberty, the sense of personal worth, individualism, the sentiment of honor. We now know that most of these splendid qualities had little existence in actuality among the early Germans, and that one and all,

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whether institutions or ideas, were evolutions of medieval society and owe their origin chiefly to the genius of feudalism.

It is questionable whether the greater part of the Germanic race, even in early times, was composed of freemen dwelling in free self-governing villages, and it is certain that above these local communities the government was aristocratic. Whatever the political and economic condition of the primitive Germans may have been during the nomadic stage, when they settled down and became an agricultural people, landlordism and political and social aristocracy were developed among them. The conceptions of the Romantic school are inconsistent with Tacitus and controverted by the evidence of the early German village community in the epoch of the conquest and settlement of the Germans in the provinces of the Roman Empire. For even though we admit that the migrations and the conquest profoundly altered the character of Germanic institutions, enough yet survived out of the previous condition to enable us by inverse reasoning to determine their earlier nature.

The ultimate conclusion as to the predominantly democratic or predominantly aristocratic nature of early Germanic government and Germanic social structure must rest, in the last analysis, upon the nature of the German village (*dorf*, mark) at that time. The Germans seem to have passed from the nomadic stage to settled agricultural life between the time of Cæsar and that of Strabo (B.C. 60–A.D. 1). According to them, the Suevi, Longobardi, and Hermunduri were still semi-nomadic. A century later Tacitus describes all the Germans as settled, and during this interval the *dorf*, or village community, probably developed. Certainly the tribes adjacent to the Rhine then dwelt in villages, which the Roman writers called *vici*. These were unenclosed communities with "open" or unfenced fields lying round about them; they were quite different from the Slavonic *Rundorf* or "round village," in which the houses were located in a circle with their backs to the outside, thus surrounding as by a wall an internal oval, with a single gate of entrance, in which the cattle were folded at night. The difference between these two types of village points to a difference in economy. The Germans practiced a rudimentary agriculture; the Slavs were a pastoral people, living, not by farming, but upon their flocks and herds.

We must reject the notion that the primitive Germans were free, self-governing peasants tilling their own land. While there were many freemen among them, the prevailing drift, if not condition, was towards the formation of a small landlord class and a social aristocracy which controlled public assemblies and courts and had a dependent farming tenantry or servile field-hands to labor for them. The early German polity was founded on a military basis. The chieftain was captain in war and

magistrate in time of peace. The tendency was towards the development of an aristocracy at once military and proprietary.

As the alleged primitive democracy of the early Germans is an exploded myth, so also the nineteenth-century notion that the early German village community practiced communal ownership of land is exploded. In this theory we again see a projection of modern ideas of social democracy and communism — ideas actually born of the French Revolution — into the past.

The Germans of Cæsar and Tacitus were not greatly given to agriculture (*"agriculturæ non student,"* says the latter). Yet between the period when these words were written and the German conquest of the Roman Empire they evolved a most complicated and thorough system of agricultural practices, belief, and ceremonial. All of the arable land of the village was equally divided into two parts, and half of it was allowed to lie fallow each season, the cropped area of one year becoming the fallow of the next. Later — we do not know when — the Germans began to practice rotation of crops, so that there was a double shift each spring, both of plowed land and of crops. Agriculture

The important question is whether within historic times, *or ever*, the Germans practiced communal ownership of the tillable soil. Or was what to some scholars seems to be a survival of former communalism actually only collectivistic proprietorship? Or is even that term inappropriate, and was it merely that "coercive association of labor" often observable in primitive society, where "the simple association of labor cannot be effected without involving a number of restrictions upon the liberty and independence of the producer." This false concept that the early Germans were communistic in the matter of farmlands arose from a misunderstanding of their peculiar land system. The land tilled was not divided into compact areas, but every householder in the village owned a greater or less number of strips strewn about in all parts of the arable area around the village, his strips or patches being intermixed with those of others. No fences or hedges enclosed these portions. The strips were distinguished merely by a low dividing balk, or by a ribbon of unplowed sod left between the patches. Such an arrangement may not seem to square with the nature of private ownership of land and individualistic husbandry, and it has been contended that this arrangement "is evidently communal in its essence"; that the origin of the land in severalty when found or wherever developed among the Germans was due to a process of "continual shrinkage of communally owned land." The undeniable fact that community rights did obtain in pasture and woodland lent support to the theory that at one time all the land of the German village was owned in common. For it is clear that each village possessed in the *Allmende* an undivided tract of "waste" used for rough pasturage

and winter fodder, out of which new arable land might be broken as the population increased; and that common usage of the forest for firewood and timber prevailed. The fallow, too, was utilized as common pasturage in the off season, and the fields after the harvest was gathered. In the matter of meadow hay, there was a system which seems to have been intermediate between co-proprietorship (or shall we say "communal ownership"?) and ownership in severalty. In the spring before the grass grew long, the meadow was plotted out by lot into "lays," one for each householder in the village; but when haying was over, the whole meadow was thrown open to the cattle of the village and was grazed as a common. Was all the arable land once owned in common, like the woods and the meadow? With convertible husbandry and the rotation of crops did the mark once practice convertible proprietorship, so that every year each peasant's holdings were shifted in order that all might be given a fair chance in the acreage of the village? For natural advantages must have varied. The soil in one part would be richer than in another, or not quickly drain, or on a hillside, making plowing harder, etc. Did ownership in severalty gradually supplant communal ownership with limited individual usufruct for a season only? Do these privately owned "fields" represent original annual allotments which had lost their floating character and become hereditarily fixed in the hands of a single possessor? There are those who deny that the Germans ever practiced communal ownership of the arable portion of the mark, and those who, contending that they did so, not only point to communal ownership of woods and meadow as evidence thereof, but allege that in the strip system of the medieval manor is the vestige of an early communal custom.

The real truth, however, is that what has been taken for communal ownership was really a form of co-proprietorship over pasture, woods, and waste, and compulsory customary and simultaneous operations of farming, were made necessary by reason of the rudimentary agricultural skill and the narrow resources of these early German villagers. The coercive association of farm labor was unavoidable. Not every householder owned a yoke of oxen, or even a plow. The implement was rude, the oxen small and scrawny, the sod stubborn, so that often all the oxen in a village would be required to dig the furrow, and the team and plow would pass in turn from field to field. In the matter of harvesting, too, neighborhood co-operation was necessary. The crop was small at best and risk of loss from drought or heavy rains had to be reduced as much as possible. Hence when a man had gathered his own crop, he turned in and helped his neighbor. To sum up: As we must renounce the idea that the early Germans were politically democratic, so must we renounce any idea that they were ever communistic in the matter of farm acres, and that the singular distribution of the parcels of plowland was due to an intention to produce

equality of holdings among free peasants, and that this equalitarianism gradually broke down and resulted in ownership in severalty of different magnitudes.

For the most part, in the more than two hundred years lying between the time of Cæsar and the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-80), the relations between the Romans and the Germans were peaceful, and the Germanic tribes remained relatively stationary within their tribal territories. The western tribes in particular became settled. Yet there was much local movement within the mass. The pressure of the Slavs upon the eastern tribes was constant and of growing intensity, so that they were often constrained to quit their *Heimland* (homeland) and to migrate in search of a new place of occupation. Moreover, the land was poor, vast areas of it were covered with thick forests or swamps, and the Germans' rudimentary agriculture ill sufficed to provide for an increasing population. They were often also at the mercy of elemental dangers like flood, drought, famine, and forest fires, and frequently driven out by such catastrophes. Land-hunger was the dominant force that made the German world restless and impelled migration. It was not want of room at home, but deficient food-supply and inability to reduce the wilderness to cultivation that made the Germans restless and truculent, that led the stronger tribes to dispossess the weaker, that made them look with envy on the neatly tilled fields and quiet provincial life of the Roman border provinces in the valleys of the Rhine and the Danube. "Rhætia has learned the danger of her own fertility. She has drawn down an invader upon her by her abundance," wrote St. Ambrose in the fourth century. Lombard legend recorded that the Lombard peoples, owing to increase of population in their original home, perhaps Scandinavia, were divided into three groups, and that lots were drawn to determine which one of the three should migrate.

*Causes of the
migrations*

The great change in the German world from peaceful relations with Rome to active onslaught upon the frontier came in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when for fourteen years (166-80) the Marcomanni and the Quadi beset the Danube border above the bend (Pannonia). Other lesser tribes were also loosely incorporated with these two major groups, which together formed the earliest German confederacy of which we have record. This league had been formed in modern Bohemia and Moravia as far back as the time of Strabo. Its creator and first king was Maroboduus. In the end the Marcomanni and the Quadi were destroyed as tribes. Many of their fighting men were drafted into the Roman legions and sent into Britain, and the conquered barbarians settled in large numbers as *coloni* within the limits of the Empire.

The place and time of this earliest formidable German pressure upon the Roman frontier are important. It is evident that these tribes in central Germany were feeling the thrust through of other tribes east of them who

First appearance of the Goths

were migrating, and whose advance was setting them all in motion and causing those behind to tread upon those in front of them, and that the Marcomanni and Quadi, being located along the Roman border, experienced the full force of this accumulated thrust. Who were these barbarian people whose mighty trek was so deranging the whole eastern German world? For years there was no answer to this question. Then, in the reign of Caracalla (211-17), the Goths appeared, moving down the Dniester River, and soon beset the Roman population in Dacia. The first great German nation loomed above the horizon of history in them, and the period of Germanic invasions began.

From the dawn of recorded history southern Sweden and the largest island in the Baltic have been known as Gothland. Both Roman tradition and their own legends relate that the original home of the Goths was in Scandinavia, whence they probably migrated across the Baltic in the fourth century before Christ — for reasons that may be inferred, but not established — and settled on the present German mainland between the Oder and the Vistula rivers, where they remained until as late as the Antonine age. What event then caused them to migrate again is conjectural. They may have been beset by some powerful neighbor tribe, or their fields may have been devastated by floods, for both rivers are notorious for their spring freshets; or famine or pestilence may have fallen upon them. Be that as it may, seemingly it was in the second century that the Goths began to trek, driving their cattle before them, the women and children following the lumbering wains in which their rude household goods were stored, the fighting men marching in the van and guarding the wings of the column. Their route was indicated by the physiography of the country that they traversed. The body of Germanic tribes lying to the west of them and the great wall of the Carpathians prevented them from entering into central Germany. They naturally followed up the river valley, crossed the low divide of land in western Russia, which is the watershed between the Baltic and the Black Sea, and slowly followed down the Dniester until they came in sight of the Roman settlements in Dacia. This migration must have been in progress more than a hundred years, during which they were not always moving, nor yet were they ever settled for long in any place. It was this great push of the Goths that precipitated the Marcomanni and Quadi upon the Roman frontier in Pannonia. For as the Goths plowed through, they shouldered off to right and left the tribes lying in the road of their advance. The hardships and perils of this long march, so long that children were born, grew to manhood, and died on the route, made an indelible impression upon the Gothic people and gave rise to a body of national legend and saga, from which Jordanes, an historian of barbarian ancestry in the sixth century, drew in order to write a history of the Goths, crude, but, in spite of its crabbed Latin, its credulity, and its pseudo-

learning, valuable as a source of knowledge. He tells of battles with savage tribes with which they came in contact, not German folk, but Slavs and even Tartars; he relates how many once were caught in treacherous marshes and sucked down to death, and how still the peasants of that region, in the misty moonlight's beaming or when the air hangs heavy over the swamps, see the forms of struggling men and horses and cattle and hear the wailing of the women and the lowing of the frightened kine. St. Ambrose in the fourth century wrote expressively when he said: "Of old the Goths made their wagons their homes."

For fifty years in the third century the Roman emperors endeavored to hold back the Goths and preserve Dacia from their occupation. The Goths pertinaciously assaulted the garrisons, made inroads on the country, and at the same time extended their raids towards the east and preyed upon the Greco-Roman colonies along the northern coast of the Black Sea. They even took to the sea and, fraternizing with the Greek sea-thieves and the riffraff of the water-fronts of the Black Sea ports, became pirates, whose formidable raids terrorized the shores of Asia Minor and intercepted the trade ships plying between Trebizond and Byzantium and between Olbia and Byzantium. Finally in 251, during the summer months, when the marshes of the Dobruja (around the mouth of the Danube) were nearly dry, the Goths drove across the great river into Thrace, whence they entered into Mœsia, carrying devastation everywhere with them. Marcianopolis, Nicopolis, and Philipopolis were sacked. The Mœsian and Pannonian legion had revolted at this juncture against Emperor Philip the Arabian; and Decius, who was sent to quell the mutiny, was compelled by the soldiery to assume the title of emperor. He defeated and slew Philip before Verona, and from the field of this triumph marched to crushing defeat and death at the hands of the Goths near an obscure and unidentified village in Lower Mœsia (Decius was the first Roman emperor to die in battle with a German host). His shortlived successor, Gallus, permitted the victorious Goths to withdraw across the Danube with their booty and thousands of captives, and even promised to pay a large sum of gold annually if the Goths would never again infest the Roman territory. It was an empty promise, as might have been expected. From 254 to 268 the conflict was incessant. Dacia was lost; the two legions that had defended it were compelled to evacuate the plateau of Transylvania and to concentrate themselves between the Theiss River, the Carpathians, and the Danube. The Goths, reinforced by Alans, Carpi, Herulians, and Roxolani, made formidable attacks by the sea and pillaged the Greek provinces of Europe and Asia. These ravages continued for ten years (257-67).

*Ravages of the
Goths*

But their piracy became ever more formidable. At last, in 269, a great Gothic fleet penetrated the Dardanelles, passed through the Sea of

Battle of Naissus, 269

Marmora into the Ægean, and began to plunder the cities of Greece and Asia Minor and the rich islands. Finally they attacked Thessalonica, the capital of Macedonia, a rich port and a populous city. But learning that Emperor Claudius II was advancing to meet them, the Goths raised the siege and marched against the Romans. At Naissus in Upper Mœsia the two armies encountered each other. The army of Claudius was inferior in numbers to the enemy and short of munitions, but the intrepidity and military skill of the Emperor compensated for these deficiencies. Before the conflict he wrote to the senate: "Whatever we shall perform will be sufficiently great." It was a bold prophecy, justified by the result. It was a signal Roman victory, which, before the campaign terminated, "was diffused over the provinces of Mœsia, Thrace and Macedonia, and its operations drawn out into a variety of marches, surprises and tumultuary engagements as well by sea as by land."

Loss of Dacia

In spite of the great victory at Naissus, however, Claudius II's successor, his former general Aurelian, perceived that the Gothic occupation of Dacia was an accomplished fact, and, with a wisdom that does credit to his statesmanship, determined formally to renounce Roman sway over Dacia and to resign that great territory to the Goths. Lost in part under Philip, recovered by Decius, the province had been almost abandoned by Gallienus. Claudius II's victory had relieved the Balkan peninsula from Gothic invasion, but Dacia was as good as gone forever. The Roman population there had been much diminished. Many had perished, many had fled. There could be no question of repopling the territory. The advantages of evacuation were incontestable. The provinces along the right bank of the Danube, the two Pannonias, the two Mœsias, Thrace, ravaged by the invasions, were half depopulated. The evacuation of Dacia would give Aurelian means to repopulate these depleted provinces. The advantages were such and the difficulty of reconquest so great that the Emperor did not hesitate to yield to necessity. In 275 the legions and all Roman civil officials were withdrawn. But not all the population in Dacia elected to remove. In origin this population comprehended two groups: the mass of *coloni* of various origin who had been established in the province under Trajan and Hadrian, and the subjected Dacian population. This latter had become Romanized by degrees, and the two elements had ended by becoming fused. Most of the population who had dwelt around the army camps — soldiers' families, retired veterans, merchants — followed the legions across the Danube. But many of the rural inhabitants, whose masters had fled and who lived in friendly accord with the Goths, had no interest in abandoning their homes and remained. The evacuation, therefore, was not complete. Indeed, it is probable that the Goths would have resorted to war again if the servile population had attempted to leave; for they needed the labor of this class to work the lands that they had con-

quered. Aurelian created a New Dacia on the south side of the Danube, which was carved out of the two Mœsias and Thrace, in which these refugees were colonized. The Goths, having found a homeland where they might dwell in peace, now settled down in Dacia and abandoned both warfare and piracy. The first truly German kingdom came into being in the ensuing years and the Goths became both civilized and Christianized. We shall leave them here for the time being and turn to the history of other Germans elsewhere in this critical third century.

While the immediate effect of the Gothic migration had been to hurl the Marcomanni and Quadi upon the bend of the Danube, in a wider sense it may be said that most of the Germanic world felt the perturbations which that advance gave rise to. Throughout the third century one perceives evidences of the impact of German tribe upon German tribe, the thrust extending westward as far as the upper Danube and the Rhine, where the German tribes, notably the Alemanni and the Franks, were a slightly less formidable menace to the frontier legions than were the Goths.

The Germans, as we have already seen, were from our earliest knowledge of them a restive people, living in a flux and reflux of incursions and attacks, much of the time in war with outside foes or with another tribe, quitting old lands for new after a brief season of occupation. This constant friction of tribe against tribe had the tendency to grind the lesser tribes to pieces and result in constantly new tribal formations, together with continual geographical shift of region of occupation. The Germany of Ptolemy, in the second century, was as different from the Germany of Tacitus, A.D. 100, as the Germany of Tacitus was from that known to Cæsar, in 50 B.C. Tacitus mentions the names of forty-five German tribes; Ptolemy enumerates but twenty-one. Evidently twenty-four German tribes had disappeared or at least were unknown in the second century owing to the grinding pressures within Germany. The figures are significant. While the new names sometimes represent new tribes, until then unknown to Roman historians, as the Vandals and Burgundians, many of the names, although new, represent only new groupings of old tribes.

German attacks on Gaul

These formations in the third century appear as tribal confederacies. Smaller tribes coalesced to make one larger tribe, sometimes incorporating fragments of former tribes whose earlier tribal integrity had been destroyed. Six of these loose Germanic unions are found in the third century: (1) the Alemanni, (2) the Franks, (3) the Bavarians, (4) the Saxons, (5) the Thuringians, (6) the Frisians. Of these confederacies only the Alemanni and the Franks played an important rôle in the third century. The rest were not heard of until later.

German tribal confederations

In the year 178 the Semnones, who then dwelt between the Elbe and the Oder, were driven from their seat by the Goths and the pressure of the

*Invasion of
Italy*

Slavs. Pushed hither and thither, they gradually zigzagged towards the Rhine, picking up contingents of other German tribes, notably the Hermunduri and fragments of the Marcomanni and Quadi. They called themselves "*Alle Mann*" (all men) and thus was formed the confederacy of the Alemanni. In 214 the earliest mention of them appears when Caracalla repelled their invasion of the Decuman Fields. They settled down in southwest Germany, where the Suevi may have also become incorporated with them, though the identification of the Suevi with the Alemanni is not certain. Between 222 and 235 their onsets were frequent. In 235 they invaded the Decuman Fields anew, at which time Alexander Severus was murdered by his soldiers. His successor, Maximianus, drove them across the upper Rhine. About 259 the Alemanni expanded down the Neckar, penetrated the Black Forest, took Aqua Aureliensis (modern Baden-Baden), reached the sources of the Danube, and threatened Vindilicia. Posthumus, the "tyrant" or counter-emperor in Gaul, attacked them and strengthened the *limes* (257-60). Thus blocked from ingress into Gaul, the Alemanni crossed the Alps and were beaten by the Emperor Claudius II on Lake Garda, a second victory which crowned the hero of Naissus. But in the first year of Aurelian (270) the Alemanni in formidable numbers pierced Rhætia, again crossed the Alps by both the Brenner and the Splügen passes and Lake Como, and invaded the middle Po valley. The Emperor, who was in Pannonia, where he made a settlement with the Vandals, advanced in a forced march to the relief of the endangered territory. Beaten by the barbarians near Piacenza, Rome was saved from its enemies by their own carelessness and the indomitable energy of Aurelian. After their victory at Piacenza the Alemannic host had scattered far and wide for pillage. One of their bands penetrated into Umbria by the Via Æmilia and the Via Flaminia. The Roman army, which had been reconstituted, fell upon this host near the Metaurus (a former battlefield in the days of Hannibal) and destroyed it. The Emperor then assumed a rapid offensive, and those of the invaders who were not destroyed were driven back again across the Alps into Germany. It was the narrow escape of Italy at this time that induced Aurelian to erect the great wall around Rome, which still stands almost intact. Vindilicia and Noricum were delivered, but the Decuman Fields were practically lost. Diocletian repulsed an attempted Alemannic invasion of Gaul in 285. In 301 Constantius Chlorus defeated them near Langres. The upper Rhine thereafter formed the boundary between the Roman Empire and the Germans. The loss of the Decuman Fields in the west answered to the loss of Dacia in the east.

The early history of the Franks is very similar to that of the Alemanni, but is more obscure. They are first mentioned in 256, but the formation of their confederacy harks back to the second century and was due to the

pressure of the forces of the Gothic migration, which set in motion other tribes that impinged upon their western neighbors. In all probability the immediate pressure that induced the formation of the Frankish confederacy emanated from the Saxons, who, themselves pressed westward, in turn trod upon the Franks and compelled them to organize a loose union in self-defense. At the time of the war of Marcus Aurelius with the Marcomanni (166-80) the Saxons seem to have crossed the lower Elbe, and all the Germanic tribes in this region were compelled either to associate themselves with the Saxons or else seek the aid and protection of some strong neighboring tribe. It is impossible to say positively what tribe thus became the nucleus of the Frankish Confederacy, but it would seem to have been the Sicambri, who, after having been badly defeated by Tiberius, had found lodgment in the valley of the Lippe River. Here in the course of two more centuries a slow amalgamation of tribes took place — Sicambri, Usipeti, Chamavi, Tencteri, Bructeri, Chatti. In the third century the country occupied by these different peoples thus formed into a loose league was the territory between the Rhine, the Lippe, the Ems, and the Yssel. Aurelian's first military laurels were won (about 242-4) when as a young tribune of the Sixth Legion he destroyed near Mainz a body of Frankish raiders who had invaded Gaul by the valley of the Moselle. In after years, when he became emperor, this youthful feat of arms was celebrated in a camp song:

"Mille Francos semel et semel occidimus."

In 256 the Franks invaded Gaul almost with impunity. In 262 a column of them even crossed Gaul into Spain, where for twelve years they maintained themselves as freebooters and, among other achievements, sacked Tarragona. Relief from Frankish depredation did not come until Gaul in desperation raised up a series of local counter-emperors who would look after its interests — Posthumus, Lollianus, Victorinus, and Tetricus, of whom a contemporary historian writes that "they were raised up by the gods to prevent the Germans from seizing the territory of the Empire." In 273 the hard-pressed Aurelian, now become emperor, as he fought Goths and Alemanni, fought the Franks who invaded Gaul in that year, penetrating into the very center of it and spreading over many provinces, even beyond the Loire. The extent of this formidable invasion is told in the treasures of coins and jewels that were buried at this time by the frightened provincials and have been discovered in modern times. Between the Rhine and the Seine no less than twenty-six such finds have been made; between the Seine and the Oise, twelve; between the Loire and the Garonne, eight; between the Garonne and the Pyrenees, two; between the Rhine and the Saône, nine. It is to be observed that the greatest number of these pertain to the northeast (Belgium) and especially

to the region of the Ardennes — the line of the Sambre River, in all history the grand route of invasion between the lower Rhine and northern Gaul. But the achievements of Probus (276–82), Aurelian's former general, were greater. In 277 he delivered the hard-pressed provinces, avenged the sack of sixty towns, made so many Frankish captives, whom he reduced to coloni, that he wrote to the senate: "Now the barbarians labor for you, sow for you." His biographer says of him that he took as much booty in Germany as the Germans had seized in Gaul (278). Thousands of Franks were transported and colonized in waste or abandoned places; thousands were drafted into the legions and sent into Britain, Thrace, and even Asia Minor. But the Franks occasionally threatened the Rhenish cities. In 298 Constantius Chlorus defeated an invading band of Franks and settled them as colonists around Autun and Trier, which they had formerly plundered.

We see, then, that the three regions of the Roman frontier most beset by the Germans were the lower Danube by the Goths, the upper Rhine by the Alemanni, the lower Rhine by the Franks. But the areas in between were not immune from attack. The vacuum created by the annihilation of the Marcomanni and the Quadi had been filled by the Vandals, who also had been pried loose from their ancient seat in the far north of Germany by pressure of the Gothic migration and who, prevented from moving due westward by the Saxons, had slowly filtered down into the middle Danube region to threaten the two Pannonias. But Aurelian could be diplomatic as well as warlike. The Vandals had hostile neighbors around them, and the Emperor, with Alemanni, Franks, and lesser German tribes assailing the frontier, had no wish to make new enemies if he could prevail upon the Vandals to be friends. By a treaty the Vandals engaged to furnish two thousand cavalry to the imperial armies and in return, though lying across the Danube, were permitted to draw supplies from the Pannonias through a regular market established at Linz.

Thus we may say, roughly speaking, that by 300 the first great tumultuous period of the Germanic migrations had been passed and the pressure on the Roman Empire abated. The settlement of the Goths in Dacia, the quiet establishment of the Vandals in the middle Danube, the check to the Alemanni and the Franks, brought a term of relative repose for the Roman Empire in its relations with the Germans. Even internal Germany seems to have become somewhat composed. Until the end of the fourth century the relations of the Romans and the Germans in the main were of a peaceful, not a hostile, character. The "migration" took on a new form, and one destined to have far more profound results than the incursions had had. The incursions had been passing storms; but the quiet seeping of the Germans into the Empire as soldiers in the legions and as

*Cessation of
invasions,
c. 300*

colonists and settlers, had a deep and lasting effect. The " pacific invasion " now needs to be examined in some detail.

The beginnings of it go as far back as the reign of Augustus. The first Germans who were established upon the soil of the Empire were prisoners of war (*dedititii*). After the victories of Drusus and Tiberius more than one hundred thousand Ubians, Catti, Sicambri, Cherusci, and Suevi were transplanted into Rhenish Gaul, where they were settled upon the state lands, not as slaves, but as *coloni*. They were not worked in gangs, as were the slaves, but to each head of a family was assigned a plot of ground that he was compelled to till as a perpetual tenant farmer, subject to the usual taxes. The conditions of establishment varied according to epoch and circumstance, but throughout the first, second, third, and fourth centuries we find frequent mention of such compulsory settlements in the provinces bordering the Rhine and the Danube. These colonists preserved their native customs and form of family life and their own primitive methods of farming, and formed dependent German village communities among the Roman occupants of the land. Experience showed that it was inadvisable to establish such colonies in the vicinity of the Roman cities, for the wealth accumulated there sometimes excited the Germans' cupidity. Some Marcomanni settled near Ravenna, for example, once sacked the town. During the third century there was hardly a German tribe that did not furnish *dedititii* to Roman fields. Thousands of Goths were so colonized by Claudius II, thousands of Franks and Alemanni by Aurelian, thousands of Bastarnæ and Franks by Probus, thousands of Carpi by Diocletian, thousands of Chamavi and Frisians by Constantius. In the fourth century the bulk of German *coloni*, however, were not compulsory settlers, but voluntary German incomers, who occupied the waste places and filled the sparsely populated regions or repeopled the depleted domains of the patrimonial aristocracy.

The " pacific invasion " of the Germans

From the inception of the Empire the army was an easy mode of ingress for many Germans, who at first came in as enlisted legionaries. There were German cohorts in Italy and even in Rome. Some Suevi fought in the front rank at the battle of Cremona under Vespasian. The imperial German body-guard bivouacked in the palace on the Palatine was proverbially loyal to the emperors. Other German military contingents were the *fœderati*. These were the fighting men of one tribe or another whose chieftains had entered into alliance with the Roman government and joined the Roman military service with their war-bands. These chiefs were at once tribal leaders and army captains, for the organization of the *comitatus* was preserved under the armor of the legionary. They and their men received regular pay and rations. The records abound with notices of such barbarian commanders and such barbarian troops. There were detachments of Batavians at Arras, Franks at Rennes, Suevi at

Coutances, Le Mans, and Bayeux, Sarmatians in Paris, Poitiers, Amiens, and Langres. In low Latin the word *barbarus* became a common word to mean a soldier.

Most of Constantine's army at the battle of the Milvian Bridge was composed of Germans, and later the élite of his cavalry was wholly German. Very many of the lesser officers of the army were Germans, and not a few German chieftains rose to high command. Arbogast, a Frank, was marshal under Valentinian I; another Frank named Richomer was first count of the domestics to Gratian and later *magister militum* to the Emperor Valens in the East; Eudoxia, the daughter of Bauto, a third Frank, who succeeded Arbogast, married Valentinian the Younger. The emperors Theodosius and Gratian were especially partial to Germans. In the fifth century all of the great commanders in the Western Empire were of barbarian extraction. A constitution of 441 shows that by the time of Theodosius II German brigades (*scholæ*) were so numerous in the army that a separate bureau of the treasury (*scrinium barbarorum*) was created to administer the payment of these troops. From the army some of such German commanders penetrated into civil service. In the fourth and fifth centuries at least nine consuls in the West were German, while in the latter century great numbers of the counts of the cities in Gaul and Italy were former German officers in the imperial armies, who pertained to the *comitatus* of the barbarian kings in the Roman military service.

In yet another capacity the Germans entered the Roman Empire in masses and peacefully. This was as *læti* or military colonists, each man of whom received an allotment of land to farm, but subject, if summoned, to military service. Such settlements naturally were most frequent in the border provinces; but we find plentiful evidence of such colonies in the interior provinces also. In them we have an anticipation of and model for the far greater occupations of the Visigoths and Burgundians in Gaul in the fifth century and the Ostrogoths in Italy in the sixth.

Strange as it may seem to us, there was little or no race-hatred engendered between Romans and Germans. As soldiers the Germans were no rougher than legionaries of other races; as tillers of the soil they were no more uncouth than the servile and slave farming peasantry found everywhere over the Empire. The favor often manifested towards the Germans by the emperors, especially by Constantine, Theodosius I, Valentinian I, and Gratian, created jealousy among officers of other lineage, but envy and jealousy are emotions different from racial antagonism. Moreover, the highest German commanders were frequently men of as much culture and as good manners as their Roman contemporaries. Symmachus, the most cultivated Roman of the fourth century, prized the friendship of Bauto, and Richomer stood little lower in his esteem. Mixed marriages be-

No racial antagonism between Romans and Germans

tween Romans and Germans were not uncommon in the third century — a lieutenant of Aurelian's married a Gothic princess and the Emperor Gallienus' second wife was a daughter of the King of the Marcomanni. In the fourth century such marriages were so usual among both high and low that in some places, notably in the Rhine cities, as the inscriptions show, the fusion of races had proceeded far. In the next century the poet Prudentius speaks of it as an accomplished fact. Finally in the sixth century we find Cassiodorus, the Latin secretary of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, writing of "old and honorable" Italian families of mixed Roman and German ancestry.

Until the latter part of the fourth century, or, to be more exact, until 375, the movements of the Germans had been isolated operations, without unity and even without connection. The pressure of one tribe upon another, a local war, local privation or disaster, the prowess of some ambitious chieftain, or the weakness of some Roman frontier officer seems to have been the usual cause. Individually no one of these forces was yet of great importance. Many of them seem to have been accidental and incidental. Nevertheless, we must seek to find a general explanation of these several events. Their significance lies in their frequent and constant occurrence. They are symptoms of the increasing unrest and the growing power of the German peoples. They are symptoms, too, of a reduction of the resisting power of Roman institutions, of a weakening of Roman civilization, of a break-down of the old Roman morale, of a loss of energy in the Latin stock. But we have not yet come to the real invasions. The Germans who so far had entered into the Roman Empire were isolated and detached groups, many of them already partly Romanized, who were soon more or less absorbed by the population around them. The invasions properly so called began when the barbarians, instead of entering the Roman army as legionaries or establishing themselves in small groups as *fœderati* or *lati*, began to pour across the frontier in great masses, as nations under their national kings. If the conditions that obtained in the fourth century could have been continued for another two centuries and the Germans could have slowly and quietly filtered into the Roman Empire, then the fusion of races and institutions and political and social adjustment would have gradually been made without undue violence or gross injustice, and a Romano-Germanic-Christian society and civilization peacefully established. But in 375 the muse of history willed that the barbarian world should be thrown *en masse* upon the Roman Empire, and that huge hordes of Germans and Huns should be hurled across the frontier. A flood of barbarians poured in. How did it happen that the migrations, which had been checked or at least controlled in the first, second, third, and fourth centuries, became in the fifth century an unmanageable mass movement of portentous dimension and vast momentum?

Change in nature of invasions in 375

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THE FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN KINGDOMS

THE period of the barbarian invasions, when enormous masses of rude nations either hurled themselves upon the Roman Empire with stupendous impact, or else penetrated in volume into almost every province — Asia, Egypt, and Tripoli excepted — and established their kingdoms therein, may be said to have extended from 375 to 568. The establishment of the German kingdoms determined the end of the ancient world. The West Goths were the first people to enter the Roman Empire as a nation; the Lombards were the last.

*The period of
the barbarian
invasions
(375-568)*

The events that took place between these two dates, and the changes which western Europe experienced owing to them, are among the most important in European history. Unfortunately the history of this epoch must ever be imperfectly known. The letters of Symmachus, a prefect of Rome in the fourth century, and of Sidonius Apollinaris, a Gallican country gentleman and later bishop (fifth century), are valuable evidences of the private life of the cultured upper classes, but throw little light on public affairs. The *Historia* of Ammianus Marcellinus, the last Latin historian, ends abruptly in 378, and the information imparted by other and later chroniclers is meager in the extreme. Moreover, all of the later writers were churchmen whose interest in the outer world was slight and whose vision was narrow. As for German sources, we have not a line in that language or of German authorship. German epic poetry, which preserved obscure traces of the *Völkerwanderung*, or "wandering of the nations," was not reduced to written form before the eighth century, and most of it not before the eleventh.

The actual nature of the German conquest has been much discussed, and, as we shall see subsequently in this chapter, there is wide variation of opinion among modern historians as to both the nature and the degree of the German conquest. But some things commonly believed of the Germanic invasions are certainly *not* true. The Germans neither destroyed nor regenerated Western civilization. They did not introduce either equality or liberty, for they had neither among themselves. They cherished no dream of conquering the Roman Empire and never knew that they had done so. They were not actuated by any idea of freeing the Roman world from the yoke of despotism and servitude. The popular liberty of spirit and of institutions so enthusiastically attributed to them by romantic historians did not, in point of historical fact, exist among them. Modern ideals of

*Nature of the
German con-
quest*

liberty and modern democratic institutions sprang out of feudalism, not out of ancient Teutonic institutions. The Germans did not break the continuity of history in any fundamental way. It is a falsification of historical perspective to think that there is a complete break between the Roman and the medieval world. The invasions were not an abrupt contact between peoples hitherto unknown to one another; on the contrary they were a long-drawn-out process of penetration, much of it accomplished without violence. Even when violence and great numbers are found, these occurrences are the exception and not the rule. The German incomers were more than "mere war-bands," but they were not always "invaders," nor were they always predatory. The Germans were not ravenous barbarians, neither were they — as romanticists have pictured them — children of nature endowed with a singular genius for constructing a new world upon the ruins of an old. They were not hostile to Roman civilization. They did not ruin it, for the good reason that it was well-nigh in a condition of dissolution when they entered the Empire. We must, however, while discounting the immediate effects of the Germanic occupation, admit the extraordinarily great influence, in the long run, of the Germans upon later western history and civilization.

The overthrow of the entire fabric of the Western Empire was neither immediate nor complete. The dissolution was prolonged by three circumstances quite independent of any measures of the government or the civilian population in their own defense. In the first place, the numbers of the invaders were inadequate for permanent occupation for many years; secondly, the migratory and predatory nature of the invaders was unfavorable to fixed settlement; and thirdly, even when the imperial government had become incapable of resisting the Germans in a military capacity, its fiscal machinery was frequently employed either to divert German occupancy or to ameliorate the hardship of it by means of payments or stipends or plain bribes given to a chieftain and his men.

"The so-called invasions were events essentially partial, local, temporary. We may add that there was a great variety in their purpose and character. Sometimes a band of no great numbers, bent wholly on plunder, will come down on a countryside and carry off the cattle and peasants from the fields, or effect a stealthy entrance into an unguarded town. Sometimes in greater masses, swelling perhaps to tens of thousands, they will sweep across a whole province, capturing cities, and plundering and burning the farms and country houses. Or, again, in the form of a regular army, claiming to be federated soldiers of the Empire, they will quarter themselves on a province, and draw from its revenues the rations and pay which were assigned to the regular soldiers of Rome. Or, once more, they come with the express permission and sanction of the Emperor, as permanent settlers on Roman soil, the chief deeming himself, at first, a military official of the Roman government, and, as the Roman administration falls to pieces, taking into his hands also the con-

trol of the civil power, collecting the taxes, dealing out justice, appointing officials, combining, in fact, the offices of prefect and master of the military forces.”¹

Here and there disgruntled Romans refused to have intercourse with the “barbarians” and sulked by themselves, living aloof upon their property and venting their discontent in Latin epigrams which the German rulers did not understand. But such malcontents were not numerous. The Greeks had acted in the same way centuries earlier when Rome’s “barbarous hand” was laid upon the land. The immense majority of the Roman provincials rallied to the new order of things. A change of rulers mattered little to the proprietary class so long as it was not deprived of its lands or its social prerogatives. As for the great mass of the servile and slave population, which had long been grievously exploited by the imperial fisc, it must have felt a sense of relief to know of the collapse of Rome’s formidable tax machine. Properly speaking, both the West Goths and the Burgundians were Roman army-corps cantoned in the provinces. In the latter days of the Empire Roman soldiers were billeted upon local householders and were assured by law of lodging and maintenance at the expense of the proprietors. The Roman Empire was not an enemy to the Germans; it was a career. Individuals, families, war-bands, tribes entered it to seek their fortunes. The decadence of Rome, not the temper of the Germans, explains the ultimate German ascendancy. Rome had exhausted her energy. Germany abounded with possession of that which the Roman Empire signally lacked — force and moral fiber.

The invasions of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries were the last acts in a movement the beginnings of which antedate the founding of the Roman Empire. In all history great migrations have almost invariably been foreshadowed. Rome was on the defensive against Germanic pressure from the time of Augustus (27 B.C.—A.D. 14), yet the full tide was not reached until the fifth century. The Jutish and Anglian invasion of Britain in 442 was foreshadowed as far back as 287. In the fourth century a Count of the Saxon Shore was created along the channel coasts of both Britain and Gaul to repel these low Dutch sea-thieves. Advance guards of the Huns appeared in the Crimea A.D. 100, but the great invasion was not until 375. Saracen forays threatened Persia and Syria as early as 402 — that is, 238 years before the Arab conquest began. The waves of migration were cumulative, but not continuous; between them were intervals of cessation of pressure.

*Cumulative
nature of
the invasions*

Such movements always take place along lines of least resistance. Most of these are physiographical, such as river valleys and low mountain passes. The importance of the Danube in the fifth century is incalculable. The passes of the Alps were several times no bar against the Alemanni

¹ DILL, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, 299–300.

invading Italy. The Huns poured through the gate between the Urals and the Caspian Sea. The Carpathians split the westward-moving Slavs into a northern and a southern group, an effect accentuated first by the thrust of the Avar wedge and later of the Magyar wedge between them. The North Sea facilitated the migration first of the Angles and Jutes, later of the Danes. The success of each of these migrations was due to causes often of a merely accidental nature, and each movement was only indirectly related to another. And yet, by understanding them separately we may arrive at an understanding of the invasions as a whole.

*The decay of
the Roman
Empire facili-
tated the in-
vasions*

There is no proof that the German peoples had greatly increased in numbers between the first and fifth centuries. In fact, in the very height of the conquest the actual number of the invaders was astonishingly small in proportion to the Roman provincial populations among whom they settled. The essential fact seems to be that the capacity of resistance had broken down in the Roman Empire at the end of the fourth century, and when the great imperial fabric at last began to crumble, it crumbled rapidly. The government, the financial system, the army, had ceased to be effective instrumentalities; a half-independent landed aristocracy and an arrogant and selfish bureaucracy had displaced the old senatorial nobility; the masses of the Roman people except in the towns were reduced to serfdom or were actual slaves; commerce declined; industry was slack; agriculture languished; perhaps even the population, especially in the West, had diminished in numbers, although some historians dispute this point and contend that the alleged decline of population was more apparent than real; that there were displacements of population on a large scale owing to barbarian forays, local brigandage, heavy taxation, "hard times," or other privation, from which the miserable people sought escape by seeking new places of habitation. In proof of this contention it has been pointed out that the provinces which most suffered from reduction of population and in which the problem of "waste" or abandoned farms was most acute were precisely those where the Germans settled in greatest numbers, and where even to this day private institutions, customary habits, form of house architecture, and prevalent speech testify to the anterior condition. These regions were especially northern and eastern Gaul (France), western and southern Germany, Britain (England), and northern Italy. These countries were the ones most depleted of Roman inhabitants at the time of the barbarian occupation, and those from which the population had fled away to find safety in the central or more southern provinces of the Roman Empire. In all of these areas the incoming Germans established permanent kingdoms; in the rest their kingdoms were fragile and short-lived. If we look at the whole mass of the barbarians who invaded the Empire between the fourth and sixth centuries we find so many differences among them that it is necessary to distinguish groups.

*Necessity of
distinguishing
among the
barbarian in-
vaders*

There were some bands or peoples who traversed the country, ravaging everything in their path, but secured no foothold; such were the barbarians of Radagaisus, who were destroyed in Italy in 406, and also the war-bands of Attila, the core of which was formed by the Huns, who were nomad horsemen of Asiatic race from the steppe land of modern Turkestan, where the grassy plains bred thousands of swift and wiry horses — the famous Kirghiz horse — thanks to whose qualities western Asia time and again has poured out waves of yellow-visaged marauders upon Europe. Barbarians such as these passed without leaving visible traces. Other barbarian hosts bore the names of united peoples and created states governed by kings. These were the Visigoths, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Vandals, the Ostrogoths, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Lombards.

It may be convenient, before entering into the somewhat detailed history of each of the invading German nations, to summarize these separate movements. Here is a series of facts set forth in chronological order. It was not until after the death of Aurelian (275) that the Germans broke into the *Agri Decumates* and began to occupy the country. In 276 Probus reconquered it, and citadels were erected in various places by the labor of the Roman settlers—for example, the Rinkenmauer near Baiersbronn in the Black Forest. But the pressure of the Alemanni was soon resumed. In 289 at a conference in Milan Diocletian and Maximinian resolved to build an inner line of castles along the upper Rhine. In the next century as an additional precaution the Emperor Valentinian I fortified the interior natural lines of defense — namely, the passes in the Vosges by Belfort and Zabern, the Toul Gate, and the line of the Meuse, especially at Verdun. But it was too late. The exhausted Roman Empire could not hold the posts against increasing attacks of Vandals, Franks, and Huns. The whole interior line of fortresses went down in the fifth century before the barbarian storm.

*Summary of
the invasions*

In 375 the West Goths entered into the Balkan peninsula, defeated the Emperor Valens at Adrianople in 378, were settled in military cantonments along the middle and lower Danube by Theodosius the Great (378–95), invaded Italy in 408, sacked Rome in 410, and finally established a kingdom in southwestern Gaul and Spain (412–29). It was during this time that the formidable inroad — but nothing more — of the hordes under Radagaisus took place (405). The Vandals invaded Gaul in 406, ravaged Spain, and finally, in 429, crossed over into Africa, where they founded a kingdom, which was destroyed by Justinian in 533. The Burgundians settled in the valley of the upper Rhone in 443, whence they gradually extended their sway from Lake Geneva to Provence and were finally (511) conquered by the Franks, who in the course of the fifth century had slowly infiltrated into northeastern Gaul (modern France and Belgium), destroyed the remnant of Roman provincial rule there in 486,

and by 511 had extended their sway as far as the Garonne. Meanwhile the Alemanni had spread over modern Alsace and Switzerland; the Bavarians had established themselves above the bend of the Danube River in old Roman Pannonia; and the Jutes, Angles, and low or maritime Saxons had begun to invade Britain (442). Finally, in 568, the Lombards rounded the east end of the Alps and occupied the Po region of Italy.

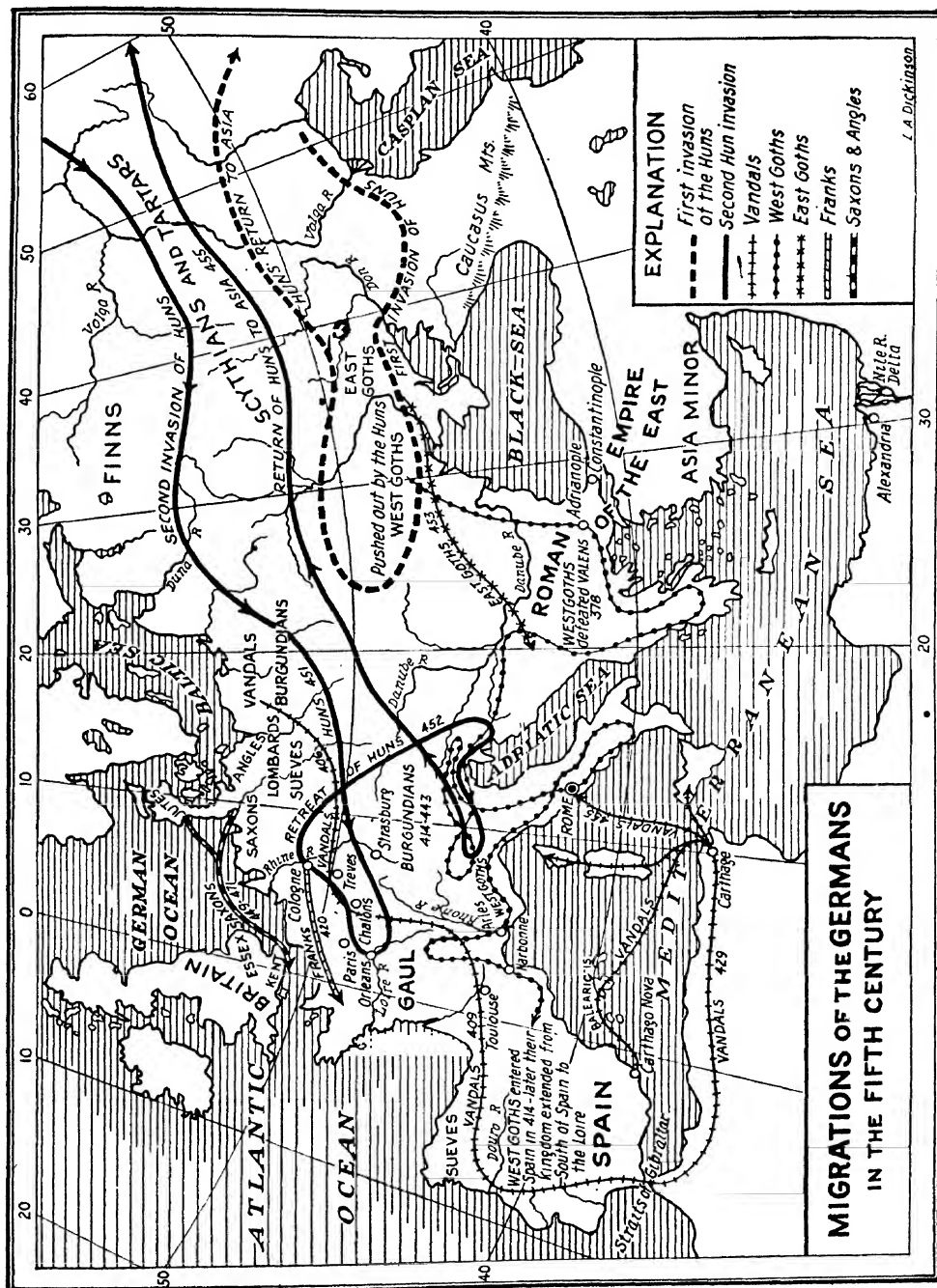
*The Goths in
Dacia*

Important political and cultural changes took place among the Goths during the century of their occupation of ancient Dacia. Although during the long migration they had been divided into two great groups, the East Goths and the West Goths, they still remained a single nation, the East Goths constituting the trunk of the nation, the West Goths being a branch. Their political formation became more compact, and the first genuine German kingship was among the Goths, that of Hermanric (350-74). The Goths learned something of the ways of the Roman government and practiced the arts of peace; agriculture, trade, and industry more than the arts of war, as they had done theretofore. Both their material and their moral civilization improved through contact with the superior civilization of the Roman Empire.

*Conversion of
the Goths*

But the most momentous change among them was their conversion to Christianity. This was through the instrumentality of Wulfilas (311-61), a half-Goth who had been educated in Constantinople, probably as a hostage. He was made bishop of the Goths about 341 and translated the Scriptures into Gothic. This version (of which only a part has survived the ages) is the earliest monument of the German language. A curious tale is told of this Bible, to the effect that Wulfilas omitted the Books of the Kings lest the account of the wars of Israel should stimulate his already warlike people to greater war and the message of peace be unappreciated. In the following centuries the Goths preserved a great reverence for this first German Bible. The oldest manuscript of it dates from the eleventh century, and this was lost sight of until the end of the sixteenth century, when it was found in the abbey of Verden, not in complete form, but only in part. The precious manuscript passed into the library of the Emperor Rudolph II at Prague. In 1648, after the capture of this city, it was sent to Stockholm, and is now preserved in the University of Upsala. The form of the new faith was important. Notwithstanding the fact that the Arian teaching of Christianity was rejected by the Council of Nicæa (325), it still had a large following, and the Christian world in the fourth century was divided. Wulfilas was an Arian, and the diffusion of that faith among the Goths and later among the Vandals, Burgundians, and Lombards was destined to exert the utmost influence upon later events.

If the Romans and the Germans had been permitted by history to work out their relations to one another without molestation, the "pacific "

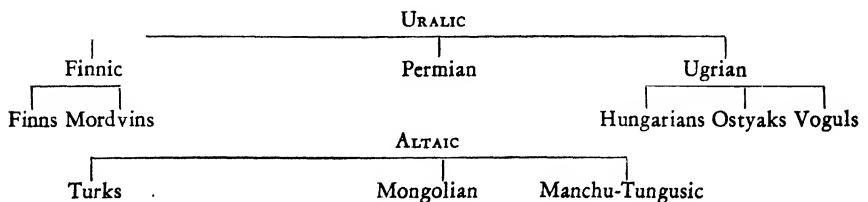


First appearance of the Huns

invasion would probably have slowly run its course and resulted in the gradual fusion of the races and their institutions, to form the elements of a new European civilization. But fate willed otherwise. Peaceful penetration was transformed into violent invasion in 375 owing to the great inroad into eastern Europe by the Huns out of Asia. Roman historians, following Greek writers, gave the name "Scythian" to the mass of Mongoloid and Finnic peoples who roamed the broad plains of Russia in antiquity, and that of "Huns" to the nomadic Tartar nations of western Asia. The original Huns came from the Chinese border and were known to the Chinese as Hiung-Hu. The Great Wall of China had been built in the third century B.C. to protect the northern and western provinces of the Celestial Empire against their depredations. Between 65 and 118 of our era, however, as we learn from Chinese annals, the Chinese government waged unremitting and successful war against the Huns, and the able Chinese general Pan Tchao drove them out of the country north of the Gobi desert. Thousands of Huns were reduced to slavery. Many more first found refuge in central Asia, whence they slowly drifted westward as nomads, following their flocks and herds, until, about A.D. 200, detachments of them appeared in the Crimea. The main body of them, however, which had swept into their grasp other Mongoloid tribes with which they came in contact in their westward progress, did not arrive on the confines of Europe until the fourth century, and then slowly. The onslaught of that strange barbarian people the Alani, whose original seat seems to have been on the lower course of the Volga, into Asia Minor in the reign of the Emperor Tacitus (275) seems to have been superinduced by Hunnic pressure. By this time the great horde had divided into two branches, the White Huns, who settled in modern Turkestan, whence for years they menaced the frontiers of the Persian Empire, and the Huns proper, who broke in formidable masses through the natural gateway between the Ural Mountains and the head of the Caspian Sea into southern Russia in 375, crossed both the Volga and the Don, and fell upon the East Goths.¹

Europe knew nothing like the Huns. Roman and German alike re-

¹ The Huns pertained to the Mongolian division of the great racial group that also comprises the Finns, the Hungarians, and the Turks. More specifically, the Huns belonged to the so-called Ural-Altaic race group, which is subdivided, as follows:



coiled from these uncouth savages, who spent their lives on horseback. Contemporary history abounds with accurate descriptions of them. They were undersized, low-browed, high-cheeked, with beady, sunken eyes — warlike nomads with the vices and ferocity of savages.

“ Their country was the back of a horse. They moved from place to place with their flocks and herds, always in search of fresh pasture. Horses, cattle, and sheep were their usual possessions. They had no cities or towns of any description; but, though their residence in one place never lasted long, each tribe had reserved to it a certain range of territory. They possessed no written character, and all orders and administrative acts were conveyed by word of mouth only. When mere babies they were taught to ride on sheep, and to shoot rats or birds with a tiny bow and arrow. Every one, from the highest to the lowest, fed upon flesh and milk, used the skins of the animals slaughtered as clothing, and wore an overcoat of felt made out of the hair. A universal custom, which extended for a thousand years over the whole of Tartary, was for the son to take over his deceased father’s wives, and for younger brothers to take over the widows of their elder brethren. In times of peace, besides tending their herds, they kept their hands in training by hunting and shooting; at other times every man was ready for a fight or a raid. They were destitute of any consideration of mercy or justice.”¹

From 375 to 452 the East Goths, overwhelmed by the savage hordes that fell upon them, disappeared from history. The West Goths, frightened and dismayed at the fate of their brothers, crowded down upon the Danube and implored permission to cross over. It was a crisis in the history of the Empire. Rome had for years allowed the German peoples to settle in the border provinces and had recruited her armies from among them; but the introduction of so vast a body at once involved a grave issue. The government at last agreed to allow the Visigoths to settle in Mœsia and Thrace on condition that they surrendered their arms; but this provision could not be enforced. Perhaps the fact that Valens was an Arian had its influence upon this decision. About a million people, of whom one hundred thousand were fighting men, crossed the river (376).

*Subjugation of
the East Goths*

*Crisis of the
Roman Em-
pire*

We must not fail to notice the mode of their entrance. The Goths did not come as invaders, but as suppliants, seeking the protection of Rome and revering her majesty. Only when the corruption of the Roman officials drove them to desperation did they rebel. For two years they endured the scant and degrading food furnished them by contractors who profited by their misfortune; but when finally their wives and children were seized and sold as slaves, the spirit of the Goths rebelled. The battle of Adrianople (August 9, 378) was a decisive event in the world’s history. The Emperor perished; the Goths were victorious and learned their

*Battle of Ad-
rianople (378)*

¹ E. H. PARKER, *A Thousand Years of the Tartar*.

power. The outer wall of the Empire had been broken down and Rome had been defeated by the Germans within her own limits.

In this extremity Theodosius (378-95), a Roman soldier of Spanish birth (a descendant, in fact, of Trajan), was appealed to by Gratian, the sole remaining emperor who ruled in the West.

*Emperor
Theodosius I
(378-95)*

Theodosius' father had been a distinguished general under Valentinian I, who was falsely accused and executed at Carthage in 373. Forgetting the wrong done his name, however, this last great Emperor of Rome accepted the trust and became emperor of the eastern portion of the Roman Empire and later, when Gratian died, for the last time united the Eastern and Western Empires into one whole.

Theodosius took the Goths into the pay of the Roman army and cantoned them in military camps along the Danube, the northern bank of which swarmed with vagabond bands of barbarian peoples — Lombards, Vandals, Burgundians, Alemanni, and Suevi. This compact made by Theodosius I with the West Goths on October 3, 382 marks the transition from mere settlements of the Germans to the founding of kingdoms. The West Goths preserved their national characteristics, their laws, and their Arian faith; their only obligation to Rome was that of military service for the emperor, particularly the duty of guarding the frontiers against the incursions of barbarian hordes. Hence the Roman Empire in this very arrangement betrayed its weakness and its approaching dissolution. Thanks to the energy of his government, Theodosius retained the respect of the Germans throughout his reign. Two revolts within the Empire by ambitious generals, Maximus and Eugenius, were suppressed, the one in 388, the other in 394. Theodosius attempted to arrest the ruin of the empire by a firm administration, although sometimes his policy was too drastic, as when he punished the sedition of the people of Thessalonica by the execution of seven thousand persons. During his lifetime the Goths remained faithful; but when he died (January 18, 395), the West Goths again rebelled.

*Stilicho,
master general*

The reign of Theodosius I marks the last effective union of the Empire. At his death it was divided between his sons. The East was given to Arcadius, the West to Honorius; and never again was the Empire an organic whole. Again, the death of Theodosius marks the ascendancy of German influence in the Empire, both in a civil and in a military capacity. The sons were weak, and the reins of authority were in the hands of two men of German lineage. In the West the government was directed by Stilicho, a Vandal in the Roman service — a brave, intelligent, ambitious, and able man, who married the Emperor's sister and was vested with supreme military authority. To his honor be it said that his cause was that of the Empire, which he defended with courage, his military achievements giving glory to an epoch otherwise filled with misery and

confusion. Save Aetius, his is the last glorious name connected with now inglorious Rome. In the East the minister of Arcadius was Rufinus, a Goth who was prætorian prefect; he was selfish, deceitful, cruel, and influential. It was he who fomented rather than restrained the revolt of Alaric.

The West Goths since the event of 378 had been mercenaries in the pay of Rome; but mere military service was not what they sought; for, above all, the Germans wanted homes. Moreover, they were discontented because their pay was long in arrears. Their leader was Alaric, the first great Goth of history. Finally revolt burst out. Alaric invaded Macedonia and Thessaly, entered Athens, which paid dearly for his withdrawal, pillaged the temple of Eleusis, and sacked Corinth. The eastern government was apathetic, even craven. The man of the hour was Stilicho, who in winter crossed the Adriatic with an army and cornered the Goths in Elis; but, perhaps from policy, suffered Alaric to escape (396?).

*Alaric the
West Goth*

In order to allay the importunate demands of the Goths, and perhaps not without jealousy of Honorius and his active general, Arcadius at last offered Illyricum to Alaric (398). The grant was adroitly chosen. Illyricum was a diocese of the prefecture of Italy and had been so since the partition by Diocletian. But the Eastern Empire had long coveted the territory, contending that it naturally belonged to the prefecture of Illyria, since the Adriatic Sea separated it from the provinces associated in the prefecture of Italy. Thus it was a bone of contention between the two parts of the Empire. For four years the Visigoths dwelt here, while Stilicho was much of the time required to be in Gaul or the Danube provinces, now heavily beset by the Germans, notably the Vandals. In 402, taking advantage of the fact that Stilicho was far away in Rhætia, Alaric attempted to enter Italy, but was vanquished by Stilicho at Pollenza, near the confluence of the Tanaro and Stura rivers (March 9, 402). The craven Honorius, fearful of barbarian inroad into Italy, fled to Ravenna, whose marshes made it unapproachable save by sea. His fears were not groundless. In 405 a vast barbarian horde of mingled Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians, and Alani, forced by the progress of the Huns up the Danube, poured into the peninsula under the lead of Radagaisus. Stilicho refrained from sacrificing his own army in combat with them, but with rare stratagem succeeded in blockading them near Fiesole. Famine and fever did their work. Radagaisus was captured and executed, and the remnant of his following was sold into slavery. Once more Italy had been spared a barbarian invasion.

*Alaric at-
tempts to
invade Italy*

*Battle of Pol-
lenza (402)*

*Radagaisus
(405)*

But Gaul paid dearly for Stilicho's enforced absence. He had been obliged seriously to diminish the guard upon the Rhine in order to arrest Radagaisus. In the last days of 406, in spite of the resistance of the Ripuarian Franks then in the service of Rome, a motley host of Vandals,

*Invasion of
the Vandals
(406)*

Alani, and Suevi crossed the Rhine on the ice. For three years the fairest provinces of the West were their spoil. From Gaul the Vandals pushed into Spain (409), "driving before them a promiscuous crowd — the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their houses and altars." At the same time (407) the legions in Britain raised up a counter-emperor, whom Gaul and Spain recognized. These misfortunes, while in no way due to Stilicho, were laid to his charge. His enemies at court slandered him to Honorius; it was said that he was aiming at the imperial coronet. The Christians accused him of designing to re-establish the pagan religion. The devotees of the ancient cult reproached him for his tolerance of Christians. Honorius and the senate were both jealous of his power, and he was at last assassinated by the Emperor's order (August 23, 408). Stilicho's own soldiery were brutally butchered by the misguided and fanatic people. Those who escaped fled to Alaric.

*Murder of
Stilicho*

The news of this outrageous conduct, and the death of the only man who could stay Alaric's approach, stirred the West Goths again. Alaric marched straight upon Rome. Not since the time of Hannibal had a foreign foe been before her gates. The senate sent a deputation to treat with him, but his terse rejoinder to their statement of the numerous population that would suffer was: "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mowed." Nevertheless, the majesty of the Imperial City awed him. Alaric hesitated to put forth his hand and touch her vestment. For an enormous ransom he retired into Etruria and demanded of Honorius the command of the western forces and a place of settlement for his people. Personally secure in Ravenna, the Emperor was obdurate; and again Alaric advanced to Rome. Honorius then agreed to treat with him, but repented of the resolution. For the third time Alaric, now infuriated, advanced upon Rome. Slaves within opened the Salerian Gate, and the city which had rifled the world was given over to pillage (August 24, 410). Nevertheless, the Gothic sack of Rome was not indiscriminate destruction and slaughter. The churches were spared, and the population was not put to the sword. Violence and loss of life were due more to the slaves, who avenged their condition in the midst of the confusion, than to the Goths.

*Sack of Rome
by Alaric
(410)*

The moral effect of this event, however, was stupendous. Rome, by tradition, position, and authority, stood for law and government — for all that was permanent and strong in society and the State. The influence of this thought affected both the pagan and the Christian mind, but differently. By Christians the Christian Roman Empire was looked upon as the reflection of the Kingdom of God, and Rome, already of ecclesiastical pre-eminence, was His city. We can imagine, then, the influence of the sack of Rome upon men's minds. St. Augustine in Africa, under the inspiration of this profound occurrence, wrote for the comfort of his startled congregation that book of the ages, *The City of God*.

St. Jerome, in his hermit retreat in Palestine, was sought out by frightened pilgrims; but he had no comfort for them save to watch and pray. To the pagan the world was waning; to the Christian the second advent was near.

Alaric did not long survive the event with which his name is so memorably connected. He succumbed to fever at Cosenza in Lucania, in southern Italy (411) at the moment when he was probably about to cross over into Sicily, and was buried in the bed of the little river Busento.

The West Goths raised up Athaulf (Adolph), brother-in-law of Alaric, in place of their lost leader. He was a man of large ideas, who dreamed of supplanting the Empire and erecting upon its remains a great Gothic rule. But the impossibility of supplanting Roman institutions and traditions, united with the awe which Athaulf had for the Roman Empire, and perhaps also the influence of his wife, Placidia, sister of Honorius, who had been made captive in the capture of Rome, dissuaded him from attempting to Gothicize the Empire. Meanwhile Honorius had received light and offered Athaulf command of the western forces, with the particular commission to expel the Vandals from Gaul and Spain and suppress the Gallic usurper Constantine. This enterprise, however, fell to Wallia, for Athaulf was assassinated in 415 at Barcelona.

For a moment the Visigothic kingdom seemed likely to be involved in civil war. Sigeric, a Visigothic warrior, assumed the kingship by force. He put to death the six sons of Athaulf by a former wife and made Placidia walk twelve miles in chains before his horse. Fortunately his brutal rule was brought to an end in seven days. Wallia, a brother-in-law of Athaulf, was made king. He returned the daughter of Theodosius to her home, and in return Honorius yielded Aquitaine for a kingdom from the Loire to the Pyrenees to the Visigoths, although the gift was hardly more than a permission to conquer and to settle. Wallia drove the Suevi into the northeast of Spain among the mountains of Asturias, and the Vandals south of the Ebro. Thus, after forty years of wandering, the West Goth nation came to rest in southern Gaul (418), spreading from Toulouse on the Garonne northward towards the Loire and southward into Spain, whence eventually (429) they drove the Vandals.

*The Visigoths
in Gaul and
Spain*

Under Theodoric I (419-51), the successor of Wallia, the kingdom of the West Goths was enlarged and consolidated.

In 426 Theodoric attempted to conquer Arles, but was beaten by Aetius; in 436 he wrested many cities in southern Gaul from the Roman sway, but was beaten near Narbonne by the general Litorius, whose army was made up of Huns. In 439, after defeating Aetius in battle near Toulouse, he made peace. The greatest event of his reign is the battle of Châlons in 451, where the West Goths did valiant service and where Theodoric died. Theodoric II (451-65) warred with the Suevi, who had founded a petty

Euric (465-84)

Nature of the Visigothic domination

kingdom in northwest Spain, whose independence galled the West Goths, otherwise in complete domination of the Spanish peninsula. Theodoric conquered Narbonne and extended his sway to the Loire. He was assassinated by his brother Euric (465-84), who proved to be the ablest king in West Gothic history. He obliterated the last remnants of Roman rule in Spain, subdued the Suevi, and made the earliest codification of Germanic law in history, the *Antiqua*, which remained in force even after the much ampler *Breviarium* of Alaric II was instituted. The latter was closely modeled after the *Codex Theodosianus* of Theodosius II (429). Euric was the first great German ruler of history. Between the end of the Western Empire and the development of the power of the Franks in northern Gaul and that of the East Goths under Theodoric in Italy, the kingdom of the West Goths was the foremost of German kingdoms both in extent and in power. Euric's court, which he held sometimes at Bordeaux, sometimes at Toulouse (the legal capital), sometimes at Arles, was modeled after that of the Roman emperors, and little less magnificent, and was thronged with ambassadors, officials, rhetoricians, poets, and artists. But the fabric of West Gothic power in Gaul, as we shall see later on, was unsubstantial; its brilliant outward appearance concealed weaknesses that less than twenty years after Euric's death brought about its ruin. A certain tragic quality attaches to this failure of the West Goths to realize a durable kingdom in Gaul. The West Goths were a talented people, ruled by energetic kings, while the Roman population in the Gallic provinces had among its aristocracy men of culture and discernment, actuated by a genuine public spirit. When Italy was sinking on the lees, Gaul was still a country with force in it. There was religious friction between Goth and Roman, for the former was Arian in faith, and the latter Catholic. The Roman population was incapable of venturing upon revolt against the German domination. At the most it could secretly conspire against a rule resented less because it was German than because it was heretic. In addition to its unity of faith the Church possessed a unity that prevailed over the lines dividing the German kingdoms. The bishops everywhere were and freely could be in communication with one another. It is true that the councils were regional and the regions were determined by the limits of the German realms, but the Catholic bishops all kept in touch by correspondence. There was no frontier for them except the limits of Christendom. They were in touch with the pope in Rome, with the patriarch of Constantinople, with Egyptian and Syrian bishops. The proprietary Roman nobility had not been ruthlessly despoiled of its lands, taxes were far less heavy than under the imperial regime, and justice was better enforced. The Roman general Avitus, to whose efforts the coalition of West Goth and Roman in 451 was most due, labored to effect an understanding between the two peoples and dreamed of a Romanized Gothic state in which the fresh energy and

capacity of the Germans to reinvigorate the flaccid institutions of Gallo-Roman civilization would be combined with the refinement of Latin culture. It was this ambition that led Avitus himself to assume the imperial title after the murder of Maximus, in 455.

The original seat of the Vandals was on the Baltic coast west of the Vistula River. Late in the fourth century they moved into Dacia and thence into Pannonia, where some of them learned Roman discipline in Valentinian's legions. Stilicho adroitly resisted them, but, as we have seen, the Vandals in 406 succeeded in crossing the Rhine into Gaul in spite of the endeavor of the Ripuarian Franks, who were then in Roman service, to keep them back. For three years they pillaged Gaul. In 409 they entered Spain, extended their conquests over the Spanish provinces, and established a kingdom, which might have lasted but for the coming of the Visigoths.

The Vandals

For ten years the Vandals carried on an unavailing struggle with the West Goths in Spain. Finally, in 429, they crossed over into Africa, but the memory of their presence in the peninsula is said to be perpetuated in the province of (V) Andalusia. Africa was peculiarly open to invasion. Honorius had died in 423 and was succeeded, after the short interval of a usurper, by his six-year-old nephew, Valentinian III (425-55), under the regency of his mother, Galla Placidia.¹ Count Boniface of Africa, and Aetius, master of the army, were rivals for influence at court. The latter accused Boniface of treasonable conduct, and Boniface defeated three armies sent against him. The Vandals profited by this civil war to cross the straits. Their leader was Genseric, a man small in stature and lame, but a born leader, and cruel and rapacious. The Vandals found support in the half-savage tribes around Atlas and in the sect of the Donatists, who were hostile to the Catholics. The devastation wrought by the Vandal host from Tangiers to Tripoli is astonishing, although much of it must be laid to the licentiousness of the Moors, the vengeance of revolted slaves, and the fanaticism of the heretic. But the word "vandalism" is of modern coinage. A contemporary author gives a fearful account of the havoc they made:

*Genseric:
Vandal invasion of Africa*

"They found a province well cultivated and enjoying plenty, the beauty of the whole earth. They carried their destructive armies into every corner of it. They despoiled it by their devastations, exterminating everything with fire and sword. They did not even spare the vines and fruit-trees, that those to whom caves and inaccessible mountains had afforded a retreat, might find no nourishment of any kind. Their hostile raids could not be satiated, and there was no place exempted from the effects of it. They tortured their prisoners with the most exquisite cruelty, that they might force from them a discovery

¹ Widow of Athaulf. She had married Constantius for her second husband. Of this union was born Valentinian III.

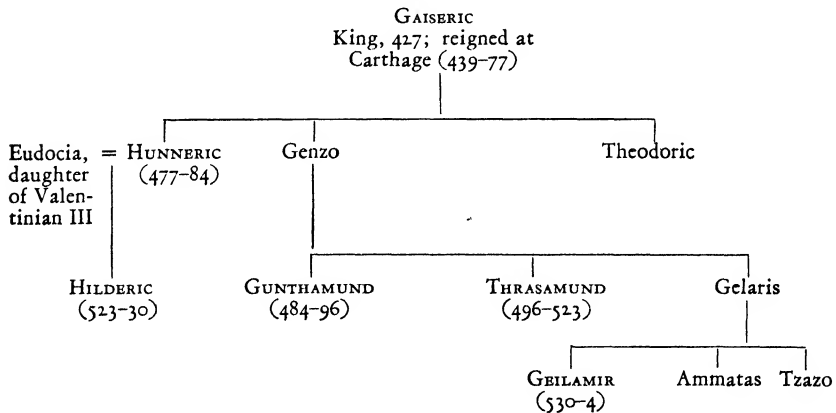
of their hidden treasures. Neither the infirmities of age nor of sex, neither the dignity of nobility nor the sanctity of the sacerdotal office, could mitigate their fury; but the more illustrious their prisoners were, the more barbarously they insulted them. The public buildings which resisted the violence of the flames lay level with the ground. They left many cities without an inhabitant. When they approached any fortified place which their undisciplined army could not reduce, they gathered together a multitude of prisoners, and putting them to the sword, left their bodies unburied, that the stench of the corpses might oblige the garrison to abandon it."

*Capture of
Carthage
(439)*

It is almost inconceivable that this account is not heightened. Africa was lost to the Empire. Hippo Regius endured a siege of fourteen months, its garrison being encouraged by the great bishop Augustine, who died during the progress of the war (August 28, 430). In 439 Carthage was taken. The Vandals built up a great naval power in the Mediterranean, and their corsairs plundered the Balearic Islands, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, lower Italy, and finally Rome (455).

THE VANDAL KINGS, 427-530

(The names of kings in capital letters)



The Huns

After the Visigoths entered the Empire, the Huns had overrun the territory of the lower Danube. The Huns had no king, as had the German nations, but simply chieftains, whose authority was not greater than their courage and whose power was not greater than their swords. The Huns forced tribute from Constantinople and learned the art of war from Rome in 424, when Actius took sixty thousand of them into service after the death of Honorius. The body of the Huns, however, stayed near the Euxine. In 425 they penetrated into Thrace and threatened the capital. Gradually, however, the Huns moved up the valley of the Danube until they made themselves masters of Pannonia (427-432). Here it was that

Aetius, when driven from Italy by Valentinian III, found asylum among them in 432.

Between 430 and 433 the Huns, under the brothers Bleda and the more famous Attila, ravaged the provinces of the lower Danube. Theodosius II, as weak as he was well-meaning, under the influence alternately of his corrupt minister Chrysaphius and his pious sister Pulcheria, herself constantly deceived by a camarilla of eunuchs and parasites of the court, undertook to pay an annual subsidy to Attila to purchase immunity for his provinces. "At the same time great sums were squandered in costly pilgrimages, religious pageants, ostentatious structures, and idle pomps, to avert the eyes of the people from the public calamities."¹

Attila

Attila employed the interval in subjugating the various tribes of eastern and central Europe, and the west was spared for a season. Then Attila, having assassinated his brother, conceived his vast project of western conquest. In 447 he advanced up the Danube at the head of a formidable host of Huns, augmented by contingents of Ostrogoths, Gepidi, Rugians, Herulians, Alani, etc. Mœsia, Thrace, Illyria, and Pannonia were devastated. Hard conditions were imposed upon the Empire, and Attila moved onward. He invaded Germany, crossed the Rhine, and entered Gaul (451). Trier (Treves) and Metz were sacked. Reims was abandoned by its inhabitants save for the brave Bishop Nicasis (St. Nicaise), who, with a few courageous companions, was put to death. Roused to haste by word that the Visigoths were coming against him, Attila passed by Troyes, Châlons, and Sens, making straight for Orléans on the Loire (May). But the tale of the Hunnic siege of Orléans and the heroic conduct of the bishop is later pious legend. Aetius' strategy foiled Attila's advance, and he was compelled to fall back into the Champagne country, the broad plains of which facilitated the maneuvers of his horsemen. The struggle (the so-called battle of Châlons) took place probably in the vicinity of Troyes, and it would be better called the battle of Troyes. Theodoric, King of the Visigoths, was slain. The Huns recrossed the Rhine. It was a victory for Europe, though its "decisiveness" has been exaggerated.

Invasion of
GaulGreat battle
with the
Huns (451)

In the spring of 452 Attila invaded Italy. Aquileia was deserted by the frightened populace, who fled to the islands of the sea. Rome itself was endangered. Aetius was still in Gaul. In this extremity Pope Leo the Great (440-61), in company with two senators, undertook to intercede with Attila. The inflamed imagination of the Middle Ages has recounted that the Hunnic chieftain was frightened by the apparition of St. Peter and St. Paul; but it is sufficient for modern minds to believe that fear of the fevers of the Campagna, united with the fact that Aetius was approaching, were the main influences that induced Attila to quit Italy on promise of the payment of an annual tribute (July 452).

¹ GREENWOOD, *Cathedra Petri*, I, 357.

In 453 the great Hunnic conqueror died in the midst of an orgy in his camp in Pannonia. His sons tried to partition his empire, but the various conquered nations — Goths, Gepidi, Heruli, Alani, Rugians — cast off their rule in a bloody battle near the little river Nedeo in Pannonia (exact location unknown) in 454. The Hunnic empire, which had been built up by the power of the sword, was shattered.

*Character of
Attila*

In character Attila was superior to his race. He was a semi-civilized barbarian. While devoid of that reverence for Rome which characterized most of the German leaders, he appreciated many Roman ways. Haughtiness was a marked characteristic of him. He used diplomacy and sometimes was content with moral successes, as when he discovered the plot of Theodosius II to have him murdered, and allowed the would-be assassin to return to his master. Although terrible to his enemies, Attila was not averse from securing his purpose by peaceful overtures. Nor does he seem to have had in his composition that ferocity which was so prominent a trait of the Huns.

Around Attila's name a cluster of legends and stories crystallized in the Middle Ages, for his influence upon the imaginations of men was profound. As he was a pagan barbarian, his conduct enhanced the glory of those who opposed him. Hence Christian legend has attributed supernatural powers to St. Nicaise and St. Aignan, to St. Genevieve of Paris, and to Leo of Rome. But the most curious prank of medieval romanticism was to transform Attila into a hero of the cross! The development of this idea illustrates the spirit of the time. The Hunnic incursions, in the eyes of the Church, were the judgment of God upon a sinful race. Hence the divine element supposed to be seen in the effect, in the thought of the time, was gradually transferred to the creator of that effect, which resulted in the idealization of Attila. This is peculiarly a German transformation, and in the old poem of the *Nibelungen* we find Etzel (Attila) represented as a good king, fighting the battle of civilization and Christianity against paganism and barbarism!

*Invasion of the
Burgundians*

More than any other of the western German tribes the Burgundians had suffered from the Huns, and they benefited most by the decline of Hunnic power. In 277 they had first appeared on the middle Rhine, and in the fourth century they, like many other Germans, were employed as legionaries by the imperial government. Valentinian I (364-75) thus used them against the Alemanni. The Burgundians took no part in the grand invasion of 406. They were the most peace-loving of all the German peoples, and when they forced their way across the Rhine into Gaul, they did so reluctantly and in order to escape the terrible pressure of the Huns. In 435 a great battle was fought between the Burgundians and the Huns, the memory of which is preserved in the *Nibelungenlied*. In 443 Aetius permitted them to colonize the territory between the Jura

and the Sône, and there were Burgundian detachments in Aetius' army at Troyes.

At this moment both the Romans and the West Goths were competing for the Burgundian alliance, and the Burgundians profited by the situation to increase their territory at the expense of the Empire. Local conditions in eastern Gaul singularly favored their expansion, especially the ravages of great bands of brigands—the Bagaudæ—and the extortion of imperial officials. The Gallo-Roman population, rather than submit to either anarchy or tyranny, the municipal authorities and proprietary nobles, sent a deputation to the Burgundians inviting them to occupy the territory, and voluntarily offered to divide their lands with them. The citizens of Langres seem to have taken the initiative in this remarkable step. It was followed by Besançon, Avenches, Nyon, Geneva, Tarentaise, Martigny, and, most important of all, Lyons. This is a most striking instance of “pacific” invasion, and throws significant light upon the relations between the Roman provincials and the Germans. Not far from this same time Salvian, a priest of Marseilles, the author of a remarkable book entitled *The Governance of God*, wrote: “So far are the barbarian Goths from tolerating such evil taxation that not even the Romans who live under Gothic rule are compelled to endure it and hence the one wish of all the Romans in those parts is that it may never be necessary for them to pass under Roman rule again.” The Emperor Majorian, perhaps making a virtue of necessity, but more probably seeing that the Burgundians might be used to block the ambition of Euric, the West Goth King, to acquire the territory east of the Rhone, favored the Burgundians, who by 468 had peacefully spread over the whole area between the Alps, the Rhone, and the Durance. But Euric's conquest of Marseilles, Arles, and Provence prevented the Burgundians from reaching the Mediterranean.

*Condition of
the Roman
Empire in
middle of
fifth century*

By the middle of the fifth century the Western Empire was reduced to shreds. The legions had been withdrawn from Britain in 442;¹ Africa was lost to the Vandals; Spain and all of southern and eastern Gaul were occupied by the West Goths and the Burgundians; the Alemanni had crossed the upper Rhine and were settled in Alsace; the Franks had passed the lower Rhine and reached the Somme and the Meuse; only the territory between the Loire, the Channel, and the Meuse—the rich basin of the Seine, where were Reims, Soissons, Paris, Rouen, Orléans, Chartres—remained uninvaded and unoccupied by the Germans. Most of it had even been spared the Hunnic invasion.

In central Gaul, in 472-3, the West Goths had overwhelmed Auvergne.

¹ “The date usually given for the abandonment of Britain is 410, but there is evidence which shows that Roman regiments and Roman officials were in the Britannic provinces as late as 430. . . . In the contemporary Gallic Chronicle we get another date, i.e. 442, and I believe that this is the right one.” BURY, *Barbarian Invasions*, 129-30.

In this mountainous country, the same in which the heroic Vercingetorex had made the last stand for Celtic freedom against Cæsar's legions, the Arvernian nobles and the clergy opposed the last serious resistance that the Gallo-Romans made to German conquest. Its leaders were Sidonius Apollinaris, a rich Roman noble and later bishop of Clermont, the most eminent man of letters of the fifth century, whose epistles, panegyrics, and poems are the most valuable source we possess of this tumultuous time, and his brother-in-law Ecdicius, a son of the ill-fated Gallic emperor Avitus, a brave and gallant soldier, a wealthy landed proprietor, fond of country life and country sports, but not without a liking for higher culture as well. Sidonius Apollinaris and Ecdicius viewed the spreading occupation of the Germans in Gaul as more than a political revolution; to them the deeper tragedy was that higher Latin culture — Roman literature and the arts, even the Latin tongue — seemed doomed to effacement. Auvergne, and especially its noble city of Clermont, paid dearly for its loyalty to the Latin tradition; for Euric in fury ravaged the country with fire and sword.

Italy

The last insubstantial attributes of imperial sovereignty in the Western Empire lingered in Italy, and there, too, disappeared in 476. The decline, which was slow under Honorius and Valentinian III, was swift and ruinous after 455. The latter's murder of Aetius in 453 was on a par with Honorius' assassination of Stilicho in 408, but more disastrous in its effect. For the hero of the battle of the Catalaunian Fields in 451 might have averted the Vandal sack of Rome four years later. There is some reason to believe that Attila and Genseric had planned a joint campaign in Italy in 452, which was foiled by the retreat of the Hunnic chieftain and made impossible by his death soon afterwards. But Valentinian III's stupid act threw the game into the hands of the shrewd and warlike Vandal King. The imperial murderer was himself murdered by an ambitious Roman senator, Petronius Maximus, who assumed the purple, perhaps with the support of soldier partisans of Aetius. Thereupon the widowed Empress Eudoxia, whose feelings as a woman may not be said to justify the baseness of her intrigue, appealed to Genseric.

*Sack of Rome
by the Vandals
(455)*

The Vandal fleet dropped anchor off Ostia in June 455. The effort of Pope Leo the Great to avert the sack of the capital of the Roman world, as he had averted a similar design of Attila three years before, was unavailing, and Rome was delivered to the spoiler. There must have been thousands of people in Rome yet living who in their youth had been eye-witnesses of the sack in 410, and none who did not possess, from tales and reminiscences of their elders, some knowledge of that dreadful event. The coming of the Vandals added new terror. Already the Vandals for years past had been the terror of the seas. All of the great islands in the western basin of the Mediterranean had been ravaged by them. It was merely a matter of time and circumstance when the mainland would be

visited. The great city on the Tiber went wild with fear and fury when the advance forces of the invaders appeared. The Emperor Maximus was stoned to death by an infuriated mob.

The Vandal sack of Rome was a disaster far more terrible than that of 410. Then human life and the Christian churches were spared; now they were not. For fourteen days the city was methodically rifled. The imperial palace, the Temple of Jupiter, churches, and dwellings were gutted. The Vandals even stripped the gilded tiles from the roofs of the temples. The relics brought by Titus from Jerusalem — works of art, plate, and furniture — were carried away, along with thousands of the wretched people, who were enslaved. The grand old patrician families were broken up, their wealth dissipated. The political glory of Rome departed. Her greatness and strength thereafter was to be in and of her bishop and that of the imperial Church. The period of Western history between 455 and 476 is an epilogue. Political power in Italy was in the hands of successive German commanders of German mercenaries, whose arbitrariness and cruelty was but slightly tempered at times by the influence of the popes, whose political wisdom, intelligence, and charity were to be the hope of Italy and even of western Europe for centuries to come. The emperors were puppets of the soldiery, put up and knocked down as interest or caprice dictated. In twenty-one years there were eight emperors, of whom only two, Majorian (457–61) and Anthemius (467–72), were men who struggled honestly, but unsuccessfully, to stem the tide towards anarchy.

*Last years of
the Western
Empire (455–
76)*

The first and greatest German king-maker in Italy was Ricimer, a Suevian and *magister militum*. He was an astute ruffian who hugely profited in his office. In 456 he won a signal victory over the Vandal fleet near Corsica and politically capitalized this fortune to make himself the dictator of Italy. His first victim was the magnanimous Avitus, the Gallic emperor who cherished the “belief that Roman understanding with the most civilized of the barbaric peoples might save an Empire which Italy was too enfeebled to lead.” The vainglorious pride of the Italian aristocracy, and especially of the great families of Rome at this juncture, was fatal to the endurance of the Western Empire. If they had supported the grand design of Avitus to establish a great new state in the West based on Gothic support, Gaul and Italy together might have created a Romano-Gothic empire, composed of Gaul, Italy, and Spain, strong enough to resist the extension of Frankish power and might have averted the bad eminence of Ricimer. The failure to accomplish this statesmanlike project was perhaps a loss to civilization. The Empire of Charlemagne might have been anticipated.

Majorian, the new Emperor, was not the puppet of Ricimer in the humiliating way in which his successors were, and his rule in Italy, from 455 to 461, was distinguished by intelligence, justice, and fair efficiency.

Nevertheless he was the tool of the *magister militum* and the selfish Italian aristocracy in resisting the only political course at that time practicable to save the Western Empire from ruin. The terrible punishment of Lyons, even to the destruction of its walls and buildings, and the imposition of new and heavy taxes upon it for daring to support this constructive design, shows how the pride and infatuation of the Romans and Italians made them incapable of understanding realities and delivered them and the destiny of the Western Empire over to the artifices and machinations of an unscrupulous soldier of fortune. "For the protection of the remnant of its ancient dominion the empire possessed no native army; the whole force disposable for that purpose consisting of mercenary hordes hired from among the erratic swarms which traversed every portion of its late provinces." In 461, seizing as a pretext an unsuccessful naval expedition of Majorian against the Vandals, Ricimer deposed the Emperor and put in his stead a weak noble named Severus, "on whose nullity he could rely." When he died, in 465, Ricimer ruled Italy alone for two years, which shows how far Italy had sunk into political degradation. Yet there was an element in the Roman senate that resented this condition; the murder of Majorian crystallized it into a party — not large, but not without influence. This party in 467 appealed to Pope Hilarius for support and petitioned him to nominate an emperor in the West. He named Anthemius, a high Byzantine noble and accomplished soldier. This episode is of double significance. In the first place, it is evidence that in the political dissolution of Italy the better element in society was gravitating towards the papacy as the most effective political control and the natural leader of society; in the second place, it is manifest that, in the papal mind, the preservation of the Roman Empire depended upon accord — even union again — with Constantinople and the Eastern Empire. The idea of any secession of the Western Empire from the Empire as a whole, or of any political solution that reposed on a combination of Roman society with the Goths or any other German nation, was repugnant to the papacy. The pope was struggling for the preservation of the Latin tradition against the growing German ascendancy; for the preservation of the integrity of Roman institutions, law, and culture against barbarian contamination; for the preservation of the Catholic faith against the heretical Arianism of the Germans in the Empire. It was a great ideal and a present necessity so far as the papacy was concerned, a course to which the popes for four centuries loyally and unswervingly adhered.

But inevitably a tension developed between Anthemius and Ricimer, a tension that the Emperor endeavored to relax by giving his daughter in marriage to the burly barbarian commander.

Rome, which was in constant dread of the Vandals, and the corn-supplies of which had been cut off ever since their conquest of Africa,

hoped for the restoration of Africa through Anthemius' influence in Constantinople. But the expedition in 468 was a dismal failure. For some time a breach between the two was avoided, but when Ricimer contemptuously referred to the Emperor as "that little Greek (*Græculus*)," and Anthemius referred to Ricimer as "a skin-clad barbarian," rupture was inevitable. In 472 Ricimer deposed and slew the Emperor and put in his place Anicius Olybrius, a Roman senator who had fled to Constantinople at the time of the Vandal sack in 455 and there married Placidia, a daughter of Eudoxia. This alliance gave him plausible claim to be the heir of the Theodosian house. Soon afterwards Ricimer died and was buried in the Church of St. Agatha, one of the churches granted to the Arian Germans; for at this time, owing to the large number of German mercenaries in Rome, the Arian heresy was tolerated even in the shadow of the Lateran.

Olybrius was the last representative of even a semblance of Roman legitimacy. When he died of pestilence in 472, the army in Italy, by a singular chance, passed under the leadership of a Roman and not a German commander. But neither of the next two emperors, Glycerius and Julius Nepos, had any control over it. This captain was Orestes, a Pannonian by birth, who had formerly been Attila's Latin secretary and who impertinently or audaciously now elevated his own twelve-year-old son to the purple. This was Romulus Augustulus, who "by the irony of fate united in his person the names of the first founder and the first Augustus of Rome" (475). But the motley swarm of barbarian Sarmatians, Scyri, Heruli, Rugii, Alani, Burgundians, and Goths in the army resented having a Roman commander over them and, homeless soldiers as they were, were tired of being continually dependent on the precarious pay of puppet emperors, and they demanded that the imperial crown lands in Italy should be given into their possession. Their leader was Odovakar, a Scyrian who had once been in Attila's service also. When Orestes refused to partition the lands among them, the soldiery rebelled, Orestes was killed, Romulus Augustulus deposed, and Odovakar recognized as "king" by an abject senate (476).

Odovakar

Odovakar distributed a third of the cultivated lands of Italy among his followers in the form of a rent charge in favor of the barbarian grantee. To these burly warriors fixed habitancy of the land was less preferable than the payment of an annual stipend, and we may be sure that the provincial population preferred this form of arrangement to actual occupation of their houses and lands by the German mercenaries of Odovakar.

The miserable history of the Western Empire thus terminated. An exaggerated significance has been attached to this event. There was no "fall" of the Roman Empire. Gibbon's sonorous title is responsible for this false and mischievous idea. Legally Italy—all that was left of the former Western Empire—was reunited with the Eastern Empire again

*Exaggerated
significance
attached to
the year 476*

as it was before 395. Odovakar was neither "King of Italy" nor a German tribal ruler. He was a commander of German mercenaries, not as a tribe, but as mere soldiery.

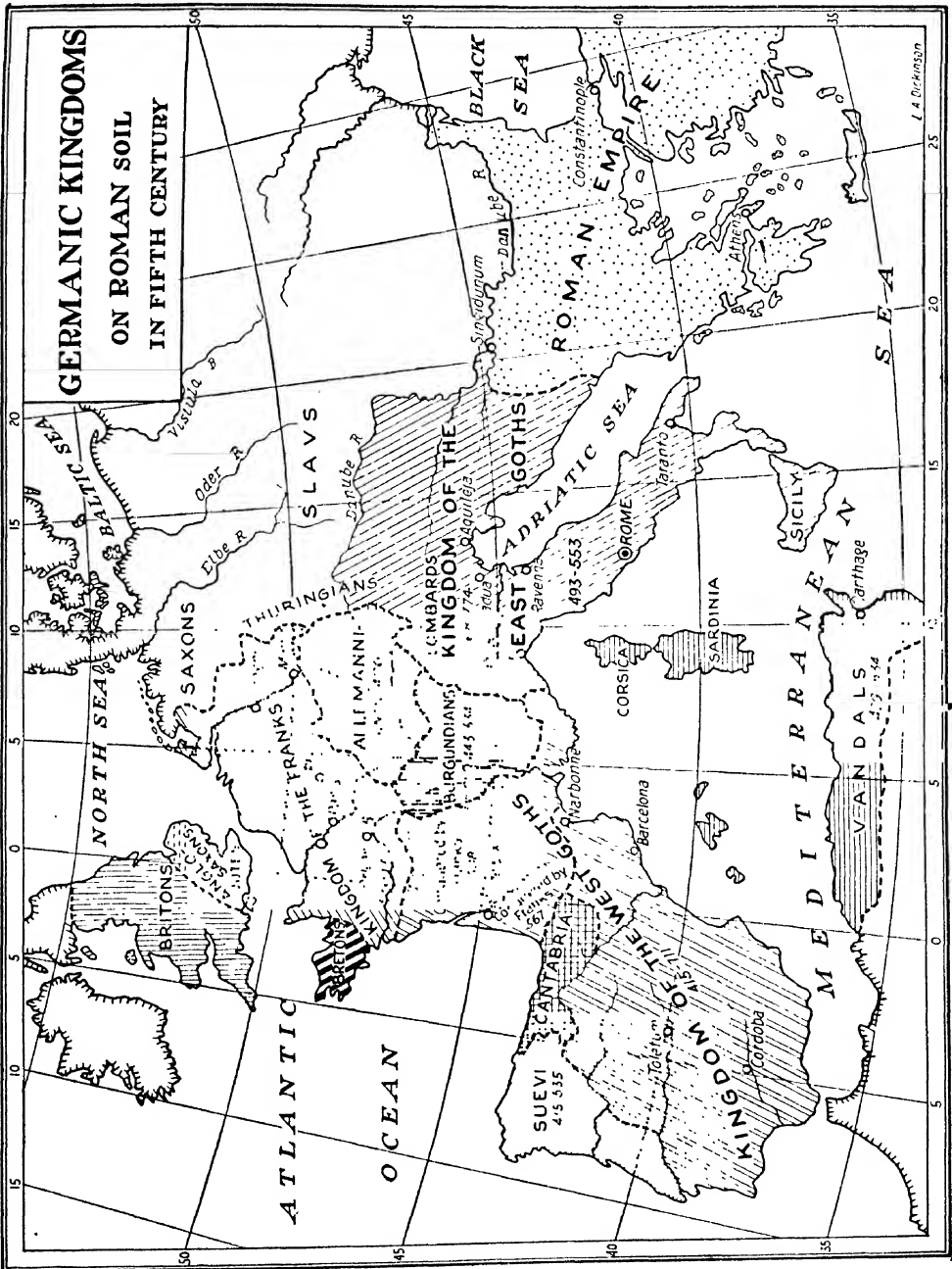
By 476, when the series of Roman emperors in the West terminated, actual imperial rule in the West was nearly obliterated. Only in Italy, where Odovakar was theoretically a viceroy and practically independent, and in northern Gaul, where the imperial administration still locally carried on, was even a semblance of former Roman rule to be found. Everywhere else independent German kings held sway. The Vandals were in Africa, the West Goths in Spain and southern Gaul, the Burgundians in southeastern Gaul, the English in Britain. Within thirteen years after the deposition of Romulus Augustulus these two last remnants of imperial domination in northern Gaul and Italy were to be erased. In 486 the Franks overran northern Gaul. In 489 the East Goths, or Ostrogoths, entered Italy.

The greatest and strongest of all these German states so far established was indubitably the kingdom of the West Goths, which under Euric stretched from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Loire and from Provence, between the Maritime Alps and the Rhone, to the Bay of Biscay. A thoughtful Roman surveying western Europe in 480 would have been convinced that the manifest destiny of the West was in the hands of the West Gothic kings. But astonishing events were soon to belie that prediction.

Rise and expansion of the Franks

The expansion of the Franks and the formation of the Frankish state were the most important events in the whole history of the German invasions; for the Franks were the sole Germanic nation that established a permanent and lasting power within the continental limits of the Western Empire. Yet unfortunately we know less of their early history than that of the Goths, the Burgundians, or the Vandals. For the study of a period of two hundred years and of a kingdom that was an empire in dimension we have but two chronicles and some saints' lives, the very oldest of which was written over one hundred years after the events it narrates, and at most can embody only oral tradition. Of early Frankish edicts the earliest is a tax ordinance of Chlotair I in 544. The laws were reduced to written form even later. No royal act is anterior to the seventh century.

By the beginning of the fifth century the wavering small tribes that had formed the loose Frankish confederation of the third century seem to have coalesced into a more compact mass in which the Salian Franks and the Riparian Franks are the only clearly discernible elements, although we know that there were other lesser cleavages. By this time both groups had crossed the Rhine and were settled well within the Roman Empire: the Salians between the lower Rhine; the Meuse, and the Scheldt;



the Ripuarians along the lower course of the Moselle. But no text after 358, when we find record of the Salians in Toxandria, for more than a hundred years informs us of this westward drift of the Salian Franks. The local Roman population in this region had withdrawn towards interior Gaul as the frontier crumbled, and the Salian Franks had slowly entered into a deserted land. The place-names here, when local nomenclature appears, are all German and not Roman, which is evidence of the complete evacuation of the territory by the provincial inhabitants. This evidence is further supported by the finds of buried coins and trinkets that have been discovered here in modern times, mute witness to the violence of the age and the resignation of the people, who did not dream they were involuntary participants in the vanishment of the Roman Empire and doubtless hoped that when the storm of barbarism was overpast, they might return again to their abandoned homes. We know more of the kindred Ripuarian Franks. The poet Claudian's stately verse informs us of a repulse given them by the redoubtable Stilicho. "In the storm that burst upon the Rhineland in the last days of 406, they were staunch to the Empire and drove back the Alemanni, but were themselves defeated by the Alani," who trailed into Gaul in the wake of the Vandals. Between 409 and 415 Treves was four times plundered by the Ripuarian Franks. The last Roman check to them was given by Aetius. Later Frankish legend created a whole dynasty of Salian kings prior to Clovis, the real founder of the Frankish kingdom (481-511), but only Clovis' father, Childeric (458-81), is a substantial historical personality, and he would be as misty as the others were it not for the fortunate discovery of his tomb at Tournai in modern Belgium in 1653. The relics found within this tomb prove that the Salian Franks in the middle of the fifth century had reached the Somme and were close upon the edge of the territory still occupied by a Roman population.

Here in the third quarter of the fifth century a Roman noble and distinguished country gentleman, alone and single-handed, upheld the flag of desperate fidelity against the Frankish advance. This was Ægidius, owner of great estates in the valley of the Aisne around Soissons and representative of a great Gallo-Roman family, the Syagrii, whom Majorian had appointed *magister militum* in northern Gaul, when high imperial offices went almost habitually to rich local proprietors. "Some of its cadet members, as the force of the Empire waned and receded seem to have buried themselves in their rural domains; others appear to have lived in close intercourse with the Teutonic invaders, mastered their language and adapted themselves to their ways of life." In 477 Sidonius Apollinaris wrote in astonishment to Syagrius, the son of Ægidius; "The Latin tongue is long banished from Belgium and the Rhine, and we hear that you are picking up a knowledge of the German language with the greatest ease, a feat that fills me with indescribable amazement." Ægidius

probably died in battle with Childeric in 464. What happened in the remaining seventeen years of Childeric's life we do not know with certainty. It is probable that for most of the time he and Syagrius were engaged in the common cause of stemming the effort of Euric, the West Goth King, to extend his domination beyond the Loire. Upon Euric's death, in 484, that danger was removed and the two allies, Roman and Frank, then came to blows, the Roman struggling to maintain, the Frank struggling to seize, the last portion of Gaul yet exempt from German sway. Three years before this event the redoubtable Clovis had succeeded his father, Childeric, and had lost no time in unveiling his ambition. Having consolidated his following and enlarged his power in the space of five years, in 486 he attacked Syagrius. A battle near Soissons destroyed the last vestige of Roman rule in the West, exactly ten years after the Western *cæsars* had ceased to reign. The history of Merovingian ¹ Gaul began on that famous day.

Clovis
(486-511)

Battle of Soissons (486)

From the field of Soissons Clovis seems rapidly and peacefully to have extended his sway over the residue of northern Gaul. The local Roman population was probably indifferent to the change, and certainly inert. We have no clear evidence of spoliation. The alleged plundering of the church of Reims, the most important ecclesiastical seat in northern Gaul, is a legendary invention. The names of Frankish villages established in this vast area extending from the Meuse to the Loire are numerous and testify to peaceful colonization rather than to conquest and forcible occupation.

Nature of the Frankish conquest in Gaul

"The land tenure seems to have been as little as possible disturbed. Here and there in the heat of conquest there may have been cases of spoliation and violence. But there is no trace of the partition of estates such as was clearly enforced under the Burgundian and Visigothic kings. Clovis, coming into possession of the treasures of the Roman fisc, together with the booty which always falls to a victorious invader, had ample means of rewarding his leading followers; and he had the derelict lands which belonged to the imperial government in Gaul to distribute. Moreover, a population probably dwindling in the barbarian raids and inroads of a hundred years must have left great tracts open for new settlers. . . . Everything goes to show that long after the noises

¹ This name, which was that of the dynasty founded by Clovis, was probably derived from the Marvingi, an obscure German tribe mentioned by Ptolemy as living in the second century in modern Hesse, which seems to have been incorporated with the Frankish confederation. Meroveus, an alleged ancestor of Clovis, is a legendary, not an historical, figure. Clovis's real name was *Chlodweg*; Gregory of Tours, the first historian of the Franks, latinized it into *Chlodovechus*, whence medieval French derived the form *Clovis* — the name by which he is best known. In the late Middle Ages *Clovis* was softened by the Romance tongue by casting off the harsh initial letter *c* and weakening the *v* to *u*, making thus the familiar proper name *Louis*. Modern German more nearly preserves the original form *Chlodweg* in the name *Ludwig*.

of the invasion had died away numbers of Gallo-Roman families were enjoying undisturbed the lands of their ancestors. It would be difficult to discover any sign of hate and bitterness between the two races."¹

Thus, to use the famous words of Cæsar, "all Gaul was divided into three parts" in 486. But the great Julius would not have recognized those parts; for each was a German kingdom. West Goth, Burgundian, and Frank had divided ancient Roman Gaul between them and given it names that would have sounded strange to Roman ears.

*Frankish
movement an
expansion, not
a migration*

It is important to observe the nature of the movement of the Franks, for it was very different from that of the other Germanic peoples and had a profound effect upon their history. This movement was an expansion and not a migration. The other German nations — Goths, Vandals, Burgundians — had moved entirely out of their ancient seats and, after years of wandering, had settled in lands far distant from Germany in the midst of a Latin population. Contact with the *Heimland* was permanently lost, and slowly each in turn had succumbed to its environment and become less German and more Roman. Not so with the Franks. In ever-widening circles they expanded from their homeland in the lower Rhine valley, adding one conquered territory after another to their dominion; but to the end of their days the Frankish center of gravity remained permanent and fixed. Unlike every other German nation that entered the Roman Empire, the Franks preserved their contact with Germany and the German tribes which remained there long after Goth and Vandal, Burgundian and Lombard had quit the land forever. In consequence, the Franks preserved their Germanic nature, their Germanic vigor, whereas the other German nations lost theirs by fusion with the Latin or Latinized populations among which they settled. It is a fundamental principle of early medieval history that the more German a people was, the greater that people was destined to be. The Franks most of all held the destiny of western Europe in their hands in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries.

*Conquest of
the Alemanni*

This radiation of the Franks was not only westward and southward, but also eastward and northeastward as well. Not only the rest of Gaul, but the residue of Germany, too, was conquered by them. In 496 the Alemanni, who in the fifth century had formed a kingdom on both banks of the middle and upper Rhine, began to press hard upon the Riparian Franks lying below them. They appealed to the Salian Frank King, Clovis, for support. There were probably two campaigns, one in 496, the other in 501, the latter of which destroyed the independence of the Alemanni, who passed under Frankish rule. "An obstinate remnant retired to Rhætia to be under the protection of the great Theodoric." Thereafter Alemannia, the territory of modern Alsace, and Baden and Württemberg

¹ DILL, *Roman Society in Merovingian Gaul*, pp. 114-15.

in southwestern Germany, was comprehended within the Frankish monarchy.

The importance of the Franko-Alemannic war is twofold. In the first place, it is evidence that the Frankish expansion was an east-southeast as well as west-southwest movement. The Franks refused to be pushed on and dispossessed by the pressure of the Alemanni. They stopped the forward trend of the Alemanni, and in so doing not only preserved their own contact with old Germany and maintained the contiguity of their territories, but also arrested the farther westward drift of the rest of the German tribes, which remained in Germany, as the Bavarians, Thuringians, Hessians, and Saxons. As early as 491 there was collision between the Franks and the Thuringians. For the first time in many centuries the current of the migrations received a check. If this had not happened and the migrations had continued, the tribes still remaining in Germany would have gradually flowed down into the Latin lands of the South, with the result that the German race, except the English in Britain and the Norse peoples, would eventually have been lost to history, while Germany, emptied of its peoples, would have been filled in from the East by the Slavonic nations. Central Europe today would be Slavonic instead of German, and the Poles and Bohemians would be on the Rhine instead of on the Vistula and upper Elbe.

But greater than this important result was the formal recognition of Catholic Christianity by the Frank King and his own espousal of the faith, in 496. The Gallo-Roman Catholic bishops of the South, who were sustaining a difficult cause against the Arian faith of the Burgundian and West Gothic kings, had watched with keen interest the expansion of the Franks over the North. They had learned that there had been no dispossession of Catholic proprietors, as had taken place in the South; that Clovis, although pagan and more barbarian than the Burgundians and West Goths, had not molested the clergy and, indeed, from the beginning had shown deference to the northern bishops. Hope rose in the hearts of all the clergy of Gaul that the Franks might be converted to the orthodox form of Christianity, and no stone was left unturned to bring about that consummation. As early as 481 the Bishop of Langres had been banished by King Gundobald of Burgundy on the charge of intriguing to effect a Frankish conquest of the kingdom. The story is not without a romantic element. Gundobald had a niece, Chlotilde, who was a convert to Catholicism. There is ground to believe that the Catholic bishops of Frankish Gaul, even St. Remi himself, and those of Burgundy, connived to marry Chlotilde to Clovis. At any rate Clovis demanded her hand, and Gundobald, who feared the Frankish power, complied. We can hardly more than infer the nature of the subsequent pressure brought upon Clovis to secure his conversion to Catholicism. When the first child was born, the

*Conversion of
the Franks to
Catholic faith*

burly warrior consented to its baptism, but soon afterwards the child died. The second child, Chlodomer, was baptized and lived. The dramatic hour of Clovis' formal recognition of the Catholic faith was struck in 496, when, hard pressed in the thick of the fight with the Alemanni somewhere in Alsace,¹ the Frank king promised, in the event of victory, to acknowledge the God of the Christians. "Clovis returned to tell Chlotilde of the victory which he had won by the invocation of Christ. She immediately summoned St. Remi. . . . The Frank king had to be wary in the face of his pagan tribe." He was baptized at Christmastide 496, with many of his warriors.

*The Church
and the Frank-
ish kings*

While we must discount a naïve belief that any deep spiritual revolution was wrought in the heart of the Frankish ruler, beyond doubt the act of Clovis was of the highest importance. A letter of Avitus, Bishop of Vienne and the most learned and influential prelate in Gaul, shows the immense significance attached to Clovis' conversion by the Catholic clergy. In addressing Clovis he congratulates him at length on his military victory and on the fact that the eyes of his heart have been opened to see the true light and assures the King that the Church is interested in his *future* victories, that every one of his battles will be a battle for the cross. Clovis' act determined the destiny of the Frank nation. The conversion of the Franks to Catholicism gained them the moral support of the large Catholic population, not alone of Gaul, but of the entire West. It permitted sympathy and co-operation — a fusion between Germans and Romans, which had not been obtained with the Goths or Burgundians. It stimulated the conquest of the Burgundians and the Visigoths by the Franks. It foreordained the alliance of the Frank crown and the episcopate. It pledged the Frank to the protection of Christian missionaries in Gaul and Germany. It paved the way for the alliance of the Carolingian kings and the papacy. It culminated in the establishment of the Romano-Frank ecclesiastical empire of Charlemagne in 800.

So strong was the Church's belief that Clovis was a divine instrument that the pious Gregory of Tours condones his murders, bloodshed, and treachery on the ground that they were for the service of God. He writes of him: "Thus did God each day deliver his enemies into his hands, and increase his realm, because he walked with a perfect heart before Him and did that which was right in His sight." Bitter was the hatred between Arian and Catholic.

It was this religious prejudice that inspired the Frank attack upon the

¹ The common statement that this engagement was the battle of Tolbiacum or Zulpich is a serious error. Zulpich is located near Bonn on the Rhine and that battle was fought with the Alemanni who had invaded the territory of the Ripuarian Franks, to whose relief the Salian Franks came. The decisive battle in which Clovis changed his religion was the result of his pursuing the Alemanni, defeated at Zulpich, into Alsace.

*Conquest of
the Bur-
gundians and
Visigoths*

Burgundians and Visigoths. In 500 Clovis forced the Burgundians to pay tribute, though for the time being the energy of King Gundebald saved the State from complete conquest. Some years later, in 507, war broke out between the Franks and the West Goths. At this time Theodoric the Great, the East Gothic King of Italy, exercised a sort of hegemony over all the barbarian kings. He had married his daughter Theudigotha to Alaric, the young King of the West Goths, and he himself had married a sister of Clovis. Vainly he endeavored to prevent war between Frank and West Goth. Alaric and Clovis had an interview on an island in the Loire near Amboise, but agreement was impossible; many Gallo-Roman subjects of the West Gothic King wanted to become subjects of the Catholic Frankish King, and all of the Catholic bishops of the South favored Frankish invasion. Clovis crossed the Loire with his army and advanced upon Poitiers. He had given strict orders that the property of churches and monasteries should be respected, and killed with his own hand a Frankish warrior whom he caught plundering a peasant. The battle was fought at Vouglé. Alaric was slain, but his son Amalric took refuge in Spain. The victor sent his oldest son to subject the territory of Rodez in Auvergne and of Albi, while he himself passed the winter of 507-8 at Bordeaux. In the spring he captured Toulouse and Angoulême and returned to the North, not omitting to heap treasure upon the monks of St. Martin at Tours as he passed through. In the second half of the year 508 the Frankish army penetrated into Provence, but was beaten by an Ostrogothic force in a battle south of the Durance. Arles, which had been besieged, was relieved. The war between the Franks and the East Goths came to an end in 510. Clovis preserved the West Gothic kingdom as far as the Garonne River, including Toulouse; Theodoric remained master of Provence and the Narbonnaise as protector of the young Amalric, whose rights he defended against an illegitimate son of Alaric, who was in alliance with Clovis.

In northern Gaul, by treachery and murder, Clovis extended his sway over the Ripuarians by assassinating Chlodrich, the son of Sigbert, King of the Ripuarian Franks, who had murdered his father and whom Clovis had instigated to the crime. He then marched against another chieftain and slew him. He fomented a rebellion against Ragnachair, who reigned at Cambrai, and stabbed him with his own dagger. Violent, cruel, and treacherous, Clovis hesitated at no crime to consolidate his power. Yet he was not a depraved adventurer; he was a shrewd, unscrupulous, daring politician. He was wise enough to preserve what still remained of the Roman provincial administration; he treated the local Roman population with tact, and, above all, he secured the favor and support of the Church.

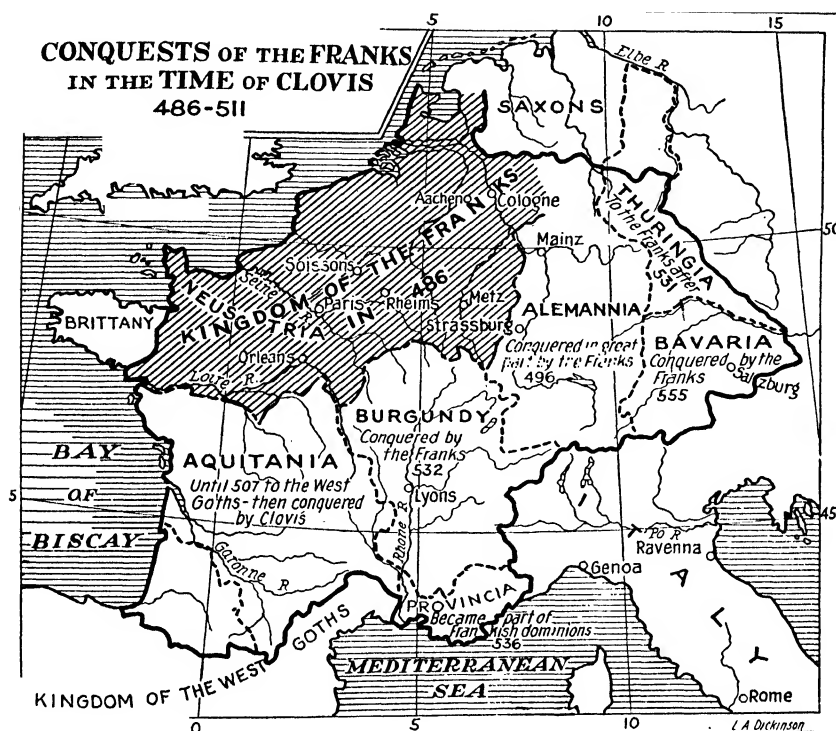
*Character of
Clovis*

Even if they had so wished, the Frank kings could not have dispossessed the bishops. But they never thought of doing so. The Church was too

entrenched in power and privilege for that to have been practicable, and, moreover, the kings had need of the Church and the clergy to help them to govern the territory and the people over which they had acquired domination. Thus the clergy entered the medieval period as the "first estate" in medieval society, the bishops being at once spiritual rulers and temporal proprietors. Side by side with the government of the State, the Church preserved its wholly Roman organization. It used the Latin language and retained the Roman law. The clergy was not numerous, and monasteries and convents were just beginning to be founded. Conversion was slow. The bishops were elected. Synods were occasionally held, but nevertheless the king remained the master. The Church, in a word, was a Roman institution in juxtaposition to the whole body of Frankish institutions and under the absolute government of the king. The great churchmen of the barbarian dispensation were far different from their predecessors. Instead of being descended from old senatorial families, educated in the still flourishing pagan schools, cultured men of letters, refined and gentle figures, the bishops of the sixth and seventh centuries were rough men of the world, almost all of them of Latin lineage, but wholly without that social charm and spiritual quality which their predecessors possessed.

Clovis was careful to keep on good terms with St. Remi, St. Genevieve, and St. Vaast. He endowed churches and especially enriched the abbey of St. Martin of Tours. But from the beginning he kept the clergy under his control. In 511 he summoned thirty-two bishops to convene in council at Orléans, where he proposed certain measures, and the canons were submitted to him before publication. They confirmed and extended the Church's right of asylum and forbade any lay official, under pain of excommunication, to take anyone away from the precincts of the Church who sought refuge before the altar. Another canon forbade laymen to enter the ranks of the clergy without the authorization of the King, but recognized in the bishops the right of ordaining slaves without the consent of their masters. The same council also determined the conditions under which the great landed proprietors were to regulate the parish churches on their lands—an act that proves that the churches, already numerous in the towns, were tending to multiply in the country areas. Whether the institutional development of the Franks had so far advanced during Clovis' time that the Salic Law dates from his reign is a moot question. Many scholars ascribe the oldest redaction of this code, the *Pactus Antiquior*, to him, some before his conversion, others after it.

When Clovis died, in 511, the Frankish realm included the territory on both banks of the Rhine, together with all Gaul except Armorica (Brittany), Gascony, and Provence. In Armorica the Bretons, who were



pure Celts, for centuries resisted Frankish efforts to conquer them; in Gascony the mixed Latin, Gothic, and Basque population was not subjugated until 567. In Provence, the most Latin region of all, Ostrogothic intervention delayed the conquest until late in the sixth century. The wide territory peopled by such different and mixed peoples was divided by the conqueror into four roughly equal parts among his four sons. Yet it was not intended to be, and was not, a dismemberment of the Frankish kingdom. The four "kingdoms," each with its own "capital" — Reims, Orléans, Paris, Soissons — together formed the greater monarchy, though there was no single ruler. In spite of strife between the brothers the work of expansion and conquest went on. The Narbonnaise (thereafter called Septimania) was acquired in 531; Thuringia was conquered in 530, Auvergne in 532; tributary Burgundy was incorporated in 534, Bavaria in 554-5, Gascony in 567. Thus the conquests of the father were widened by the sons. The Frankish frontier was marked by the Inn River on the east, by the Pyrenees on the west. In 558, in consequence of the death of his three brothers, the last surviving son of Clovis, Chlotair I, united the four "realms" again as in the days of his father. Three years later he died, and for the second time the Frankish kingdom was partitioned among four sons. By this time, partly as the result of the partition of 511, but much

*New conquests
of the Franks*

Four grand divisions of the Frankish kingdom

more because of historic differences inherited from the past and the great variation in the ingredients of population in each of them, these four "kingdoms" inclined more and more to develop into separate and distinct political and social entities — in a word, to become historical. These four grand divisions or "realms" which formed the Frankish kingdom, if not at the end of the sixth, certainly by the beginning of the seventh century, were Austrasia, Neustria, Burgundy and Aquitaine. Roughly speaking, the first included northeastern Gaul and the Rhine and Danube lands as far as the Inn River; Neustria (possibly Neu-Austrasia or New Austrasia) was northern Gaul from the Meuse to the Loire and answered to Clovis' first conquest after 486; Burgundy was approximately the former kingdom of the Burgundians; Aquitaine represented the territory wrenched from the West Goths. In culture the two northern kingdoms were predominantly Germanic, the two southern predominantly Latin; but within these categories there was cultural variation and racial distinction. Austrasia was almost purely German, the Roman element being condensed principally around Reims, Metz, and Toul. Neustria was less German than Austrasia, but less Roman than the two kingdoms in the South, the Roman population being densest around Paris, Orléans, and Tours. Burgundy was Germanized, but the Latin culture there was strong, and the majority of the population of Latin lineage. Aquitaine was like Burgundy except that in Gascony south of the Garonne the Basque population of the Pyrenees had crept down from the mountains and were spreading over the plain below.

End of the heroic era (561)

The year 561 terminated the heroic era of the Franks, the period of expansion and conquest. Between 567 and 613, and again between 674 and 687, two long and terrible civil wars ruptured the Frankish kingdom — wars which profoundly changed the direction of Frankish political history and as profoundly altered its culture. To that period we shall return later.

It is now necessary to pick up the thread of Italian history where it was dropped, in the year 476.

In Italy in 489 — three years after Soissons — the nominal rule, through Odovakar, of the Roman emperors seated at Constantinople was terminated by the invasion of the East Goths under Theodoric, and imperial domination, save as a legal fiction, in all the West came to a complete end.

History of the Ostrogoths after 375

In order to pick up the history of the Ostrogoths we must revert far back to the year 375, when the Huns fell upon the Goths then living in old Roman Dacia. The East Goths, it will be remembered, were overwhelmed by the Huns. Only the West Goths escaped by crossing the Danube and finding refuge within the Roman Empire. For seventy-seven

years the East Goths, together with other Germanic peoples, the Heruli and Rugii, were lost in the horde of Huns around them and carried like matter in suspense wherever the destiny of invasion dictated. Release for all of these captive nations came only with the death of Attila, in 452, and the collapse of the Hunnic empire. But it was a precarious and comfortless species of liberty. The condition in the Danubian provinces was dreadful. Above the great bend of the river only the meagerest remnants of Roman civilization yet survived. The former Roman towns were in a state of ruin, and the population of both town and country was fearfully reduced in numbers and stricken with poverty. The land was filled with famished peasants, vagabonds, brigands, wandering bands of soldiery who preyed upon the countryside, and the flotsam and jetsam of barbarized and broken German tribes — all the terrible aftermath of the retreat of the Huns. The one redeeming influence in all this desolation was that strange Saint, Severinus, who suddenly appeared in Noricum in 453 from no one knows where, and lived and labored there until his death, in 484, founding tiny monasteries, ministering to the sick, relieving the poor, and over-awing by an almost uncanny moral influence bandits and brutal barbarians alike. His *Life* is the most curious and interesting document of this disastrous epoch.

From this dire environment the Heruli and Rugii escaped into Italy, where under Odovakar they played a part in the downfall of 476. But for the East Goths who were left stranded in Mœsia and Thrace after Attila's death, no such opening was afforded for several years. Their only recourse was to find service in the frontier garrisons of the Roman Empire, where they experienced all the ancient evils of the filching of their wages by corrupt paymasters, hard quarters, little food. Oftentimes they mutinied, and they were as often crushed, with hostages exacted for their future good deportment. In this wise the East Gothic prince of the time, Theodoric, was taken as a hostage to Constantinople, where he became the pet of the most luxurious and corrupt court and became fascinated with the civilization and culture of the Roman world. He was made a senator, a captain of the imperial body-guard, even consul — strange and empty honors these, especially for a barbarian chieftain whose people were as good as outcasts dependent upon the reluctant and niggardly support of the imperial government. But Theodoric could not be tempted to desert his people. The race-call in his veins was strong. He felt for his people, dying of hunger and privation on the barren frontiers. He escaped to them, putting behind him a life of luxury and honor in Constantinople. But not all of the Ostrogoths received him. He had a long, hard struggle, owing to a pretender, "the false Theodoric," who leagued himself with the imperial court.

For years Theodoric and his followers wandered around the Balkan

hills, over the high plateau of Macedonia, down into Epirus, whence he could almost see Italy. One thought was uppermost in his brain: to find a place of rest for his people. So he endured blustering and threatening, coddling and patronizing, from the Emperor. But at last the pretender was killed; a great addition was made to the host of Theodoric, and he began in earnest to press the Emperor Zeno in behalf of his people. This was at the same time that some Rugian refugees, escaping from Odovakar, sought shelter with the Ostrogoths. The circumstance was fortunate for both the Emperor and Theodoric. In order to prevent forcible measures on the part of the Ostrogoths, Zeno finally agreed to surrender Italy to them. A pretext for dispossessing Odovakar was not difficult to find. Odovakar was a sort of military protector of Italy, under the direction of Constantinople, but had been grudgingly recognized as such by the Emperor, in spite of the letter of the senate; for he was an Arian. Notwithstanding his moderation and able rule, he was hated by the Catholic population and betrayed by the Emperor. The Goths, of course, had special pretext against Odovakar because of the presence of the Rugians among them, a pretext that masked Theodoric's ambition to acquire Italy.

In the autumn of 488 the Ostrogothic nation began its march towards the promised land of Italy. Up through Illyria the gray war-wolves made their march. They traversed the defiles of the mountains in midwinter. It was the last stage in the historic trek of the Ostrogothic people. They carried with them their wives, their children, and all their effects and drove their cattle before them. In the course of a march of nearly nine hundred miles, undertaken in the middle of winter, they narrowly escaped famine. The Gepidi attempted to arrest their progress across the Save River, but the passage was forded in the face of their resistance. In the spring of 489 the Goths crossed the Adige into Italy. Odovakar was defeated in three engagements, the last of which was the bloody battle of Verona (489), which drove him into Ravenna, whereupon the Goths rapidly overspread the peninsula.

*Occupation of
Italy by the
Ostrogoths
(489)*

The Bishop of Ravenna negotiated a treaty of peace. The Ostrogoths entered into the city, and the two kings agreed under oath to govern the provinces of Italy under joint authority. But after some days of festivity and apparent friendship Odovakar was stabbed at a banquet by the hand of his rival. Theodoric had taken his measures carefully. The faithless mercenaries of his victim had been bribed. Theodoric was sole King of Italy, under the equivocal overlordship of the Emperor.

The first care of the new King was to divide the lands of Italy. This distribution, disguised under the name of *hospitium*, was made among his armed followers, who, with their wives and children, were billeted upon the Italian people. Common prudence forbade him to leave the fortified towns and citadels in the hands of imperial lieutenants. This act

angered the Emperor Anastasius, who sent one of his experienced generals, with ten thousand soldiers, against Theodoric. But Theodoric recruited his army with Huns, beat the imperial forces on the plains of Margus, and proclaimed himself King of the Goths and of the Romans. Legally he was the lieutenant of the Empire in Italy; in fact, he was independent. The fiction, however, saved the face of the Emperor. But, while respecting the imperial tradition and paying the Emperor homage in his coinage and monuments, Theodoric was not servile. He asserted his own right to rule in Italy. He refused to recognize the consular nominees of the Emperor, sustained a vassal chieftain, Mundo, when attacked by a Byzantine army (505), and in 508 resisted by force a Greek fleet that appeared off Calabria.

*Nature of the
Ostrogothic
domination*

The extent of the Ostrogothic kingdom was great indeed, comprehending almost all of the old prefecture of Italy, Sicily, Noricum, Rhætia, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Illyria, even Provence. Corsica and Sardinia remained in the hands of the Vandals.

The problem of government in Italy was a difficult one for the King. He had to direct his own people along paths of civilization, reconcile the Italians, who were Catholic and hated the Arian Goth, protect the frontiers of the realm, and avert the jealousy of the Emperor.

An examination of Italy under the East Goths shows that relatively little was changed under their sway. The senate, the magistrates, the administrative system, the schools, the monuments, were still preserved. The Goths themselves had no privileges in this State of which their King was ruler. Theodoric's policy was to have Roman and Goth live at peace under the same law as far as possible. It is true that the Goths in theory preserved their own law, but in practice the tendency was so to modify or to Romanize that law that within a few generations it would have wholly disappeared. The Goths in Italy, unlike the Germans elsewhere, preserved the old Roman separation of civil and military functions and thereby prevented the fusion of the aristocracy of the two races. For while the civil officials were Romans, the military officials were Goths, and intense jealousy prevailed between the two classes. This antagonism was accentuated by the difference in religion. The Roman law was maintained, save in certain modifications introduced by special edict. The Ostrogothic kingship, modeled upon imperial authority, was as absolute as it. In Ravenna, as at Constantinople, was to be found a prætorian prefect, a quæstor, a master of the offices, and a bureau of officials similar to those of the Empire. Outside of their language and their customs, the Italian population preserved their liberty and two-thirds of the land. The sole administrative innovation was the establishment of Gothic courts, charged to render justice among the Goths and to command the local militia. The most illustrious of Theodoric's ministers, Cassiodorus and Boethius, were

*Ostrogothic
government*

of the Italian nobility. By virtue of his system of government and the necessity of his situation, Theodoric sought to conciliate the senatorial class.

Although Ravenna, not Rome, was the seat of the government, the memory of its past splendor induced Theodoric to treat the Roman people with singular favor. As in earlier days, bread and wine were distributed to each citizen who needed them, and public games celebrated, the gladiatorial combats alone being forbidden. In the seventh year of his reign Theodoric visited Rome, where he passed six months, and from there he returned undoubtedly impressed with its aqueducts, its amphitheater, its arches, its columns. Besides the royal residence at Ravenna, Theodoric built a famous palace at Verona, a sketch of which, still existing upon a coin, is the oldest and most authentic representation of the architecture of the Goths. Theodoric built aqueducts and baths, churches and porticoes, towers and bridges, as the emperors had done before him. Roman senators continued to reside in the spring at Tivoli and Præneste, and in the winter sought the milder climate of Naples and Capri. Italy enjoyed a peace and a prosperity unknown since the palmiest days of Rome. Agriculture and commerce prospered; the iron-mines of Dalmatia, the gold-mines in Brutium, poured forth their wealth. Natural improvements were made, notably the draining of the Pontine marshes and those near Spoleto.

*Character of
Theodoric*

The quality of Theodoric's genius, and the extent of the kingdom, brought him into contact with Burgundians, Visigoths, Vandals, and Franks and gave birth to a genuine foreign policy. Theodoric seems to have attempted to bind all of these powers to his own by foreign alliances. He himself was married to a sister of Clovis, the Frankish King. One daughter was wedded to the Burgundian King, Sigismund; another to Alaric II, of the Visigoths; his sister was wife of Thrasamond the Vandal.

Theodoric's influence was very great. He forced the Vandals to cede Sicily to him, quartered the Alemanni, defeated by Clovis, in Rhætia, and extended his protection over the West Goths, who were gradually being driven out of southern Gaul by the Franks.

*Weakness of
Ostrogothic
rule*

Theodoric's double education — among the Goths and in Constantinople — served him in good stead; but the Romano-Gothic structure was not permanent. The Ostrogoths numbered hardly more than two hundred and fifty thousand amid a population of nine or ten millions. They were not, like the Franks, in direct contact with Germanic influences and tended to succumb to their environment. The gradual loss of their individuality weakened the moral force of the nation — a fact which would have been inevitable, however, even if Theodoric had not consciously sought to emulate Rome. In spite of his wide influence, in spite of the brilliance of the court at Verona or Ravenna, the patronage of letters and the arts, the construction of aqueducts, roads, bridges, and baths, the work

of the Ostrogoth could not endure. Sinister seeds of dissension existed. The vivid remembrance that remained of the more ancient Italy, the proximity and jealousy of the Eastern Empire, the absence of common ideas between the two peoples, Italians and Goths, the hatred of religious fanaticism, and finally the restoration of imperial power by Justinian, all combined to compass the ruin of the Ostrogothic realm. The failure of the Goths may in part also be attributed to their early contact with Iranian culture in Russia and later with the Greek culture of eastern Europe. This gave them a bent which they never entirely got over, and inhibited their understanding of the Latin civilization of the West and to a certain extent prejudiced them against it. This estrangement is found notably in the peculiarly Greek and Oriental form of Christianity that they adopted. Arianism alienated the Goths from their Roman subjects and made accord between the two peoples impossible.

His last years were embittered. The King suspected the complicity of the Italian nobility and, partly in protection, partly in revenge, retaliated. Even Boethius and Symmachus, though probably innocent, were put to death for treason (525). The aged King did not long survive his victims, dying in the next year (August 30, 526). After all, like Peter the Great, Theodoric was a barbarian playing with a civilization that he could not understand. The Ostrogothic government was an attempt to renovate a ruined Italy. The name and fame of the Ostrogoth was writ in water and limned in sand. Yet of all German chieftains of the barbarian epoch, none so impressed the popular imagination as Theodoric. He passed into song and legend as Dietrich von Bern (Theodoric of Verona), heroic and wise.¹

Death of Theodoric (526)

Except for the invasion of northern Italy in 568 by the Lombards, which was an isolated phenomenon and a delayed migration, the great migrations by 489 may be said to have run their course. By this time the Western Empire was in total eclipse. In Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Africa were German kingdoms. The actual Roman Empire was then limited to the Balkan peninsula, Asia, Egypt, and Cyrenaica, or, in other words, to the eastern half of the double empire established at the death of Theodosius I, in 395.

We may conclude this chapter with some general observations. The most immediate effect of the conquest, perhaps, was the infusion of the blood of a young and vigorous race into the stagnated and anæmic blood of the Roman population of the western provinces. The German conquest was everywhere a drastic and sometimes a violent experience, which

Importance of the German domination

¹ Ostrogothic Kings in Italy

Theodoric, 493-526

Athalaric, 526-34

Theodahat, 534-6

Witiges, 536-40

Hildibad, 540-1

Eraric, 541

Baduila (Totila), 541-52

Teia, 552-3

supremely tested the vitality both of men and of institutions. It was a weeding and winnowing process, which eliminated the weak. They perished; the strong survived. This is the natural progress of history. The weak go to the wall. The strong endure. In every great age of humanity this law of human dynamics has operated. If it were not so, the race would gradually die of inanition, as Roman society was slowly dying in the fifth century. Doubtless there was much suffering of the innocent, much blood and many tears shed, during the conquest. But such losses were incommensurable with the greater effect in the end; the ultimate gain to civilization more than compensated for the suffering and destruction sustained.¹

The German conquest not only imposed a new people upon an old people; it also imposed new institutions upon old institutions. For every migration, every conquest, stamps the features of one polity upon the features of another, and a mixture of institutions follows just as a mixture of blood follows. The old and the new fuse to form a different people and a different civilization, exhibiting elements of both ingredients. Nothing of the former Roman civilization survived the conquest in integrity. But much less of things Roman perished than is usually thought, and there is ground to believe that in the end the best of Roman law, the best of Roman institutions, the best of Roman literature, were preserved. The much deplored "lost books of Livy" were lost before ever the Germans entered the Empire. Most of things Roman entered into the Church's organization and were preserved by her. The residue, though often broken and maimed, and reduced to a debris was incorporated by the barbarians into their own institutions.

The long migrations and the conquest also had revolutionized the nature of the institutions of the German nations. If popular liberty and self-government ever existed among the early Germans, as romantic modern scholars have contended, they certainly disappeared during the long, hard years of the migrations. "Old Germany" was dissolved in the crucible of the fifth century as effectually as was "old Rome." Kingship lost its early elective character and became hereditary. The German kings of the conquest were despots whose brutality was tempered by the rebellion

¹ "The only means by which improved races have come forward in the world is by weeding. The hardest weeded race, which has endured most, has always overcome the less weeded race. The fatal curse of Rome was the state-maintenance of a people among whom weeding was thus at an end. The maximum of opportunity to the most able, the full penalty of incompetence when deserved, is the only rule for a state which intends to avoid the far more terrible fate of a catastrophe when it touches a more competent people. The most recent panaceas of political ignorance, equality of wages and the right to maintenance, are the surest high road to racial extinction. The higher the walls of artificial restrictions — the exclusion of more industrious races, the limitation of free labor, the penalizing of the capable in order artificially to maintain the incapable — the more certain and more sweeping will be the migration of a stronger and better race into the misused land." C. F. PETRIE, in *Journal of Anthropology*, xxxvi (1906), 38-220.

of their subjects or by assassination. The national assembly was merely a military review. The very word "*populus*" came to mean the army, as the word "*publicus*" meant royal. There is no evidence of any traditional constitutional powers or of popular right in the polity of any of the German states. The so-called "democracy" and "popular freedom" attributed to these times are the fantasies of antiquarian idealists and romantic sentimentalists imbued with French Revolutionary and nineteenth-century conceptions of popular sovereignty and democracy. The old folk-moot, the old village moot, the old free warrior class, the old German nobility of birth, proud of its lineage and rich in its heritage — all these things had vanished during the migrations. The new German aristocracy in the German kingdoms was like that of the Roman Empire, a landed, proprietary aristocracy, while most of the former freeman class had sunk to political, social, and economic dependency — in a word, to serfdom. Finally, the coexistence upon the same territory of two peoples pertaining to different races gave rise to an important legal complication. The Romans and the Germans each preserved their own laws, a condition that gave birth to the complex "personal law" which obtained for centuries.

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THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE (330-802). JUSTINIAN (527-65)

*Background of
Balkan history*

THE Balkan peninsula was politically united under Roman dominion. But two different peoples seemed in process of national formation and destined to divide the peninsula between them. Ancient Greece, Thessaly, Epirus, eastern Macedonia, and Thrace formed the undisputed area of Hellenism. But western Macedonia, Mœsia, and Dalmatia were settled with Roman colonies, whose ways and speech were Latin. Whether a homogeneous civilization ever would have resulted out of this dual culture it is impossible to say. For in the third century the Balkan peninsula was overrun by barbarian invaders and might have been permanently lost to the Roman Empire if Constantine had not removed the seat of the Roman Empire to Byzantium and concentrated all the forces of the government there. Situated in an admirable and easily defended position at the end of the rich Thracian plain, at the crossroads of two continents, provided by nature with a marvelous harbor, the Golden Horn, backed by a mountain range that was a natural barrier of protection in its rear, the New Rome established in 330 gave the old Roman Empire a long lease of life.

*Importance of
founding of
Constanti-
nople (330)*

When in 330 Constantine transformed the ancient Greek city of Byzantium into the imperial capital to which he gave his name, the history of the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire began. The Roman Empire hardened itself by contraction. It abandoned the western provinces, removed the capital to Constantinople, and there formed a new society, which was Roman in political tradition and administrative forms, and Greek in its civilization and higher culture. Constantine wrought a revolution and profoundly altered, if he did not save, European civilization. For when, in the fifth century, the barbarians covered the West, Byzantine society remained the only portion of the ancient world where the continuity of classical civilization was preserved.

*Separate his-
tory of the By-
zantine Em-
pire begins
in 395*

Although in political theory the Roman Empire was still one, actually an eastern and a western empire were created by the partition made by Theodosius the Great in 395 between his sons Arcadius and Honorius. Cultural differences accentuated this tendency towards political separation. The West was Latin and fast becoming Germanized; the East was Greek or Hellenized Oriental in its populations, its language, its past history, and its future outlook. Moreover, religious discrepancies between the Church in the East and the Church in the West accentuated this cleavage. The Eastern Church spent its time and strength in speculative and subtle

theology, in doctrinal controversies. The hair-splitting dialectics of the ancient Greek sophists converted the simple teachings and doctrines of early Christianity into a formidable body of dogma. The Western Church, on the other hand, reflected the more practical mind of the Latin. It was more concerned in directing and controlling the political and social revolution that was taking place around it during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries than with theology. The history of the Eastern Empire is the history of a single city—Constantinople—and of a one-type civilization—Hellenism—in which orientalism was but a tincture. The history of the West is the history of the Latin and Teutonic nations, of variety rather than uniformity, of a ruder, cruder, but more creative and virile culture.

History has its children whom it favors. It has also its stepchildren whom it has abused. One of these is the Byzantine Empire, which has been the object of history's reproach for many centuries, and the memory of which has only recently been rescued from contempt or oblivion by modern scholarship. Because it was a political rival of the Western Empire, because it possessed a Church that would not recognize Rome, because it differed in culture, language, and institutions, Western Europe hated it. Yet what the Roman Empire, even in ruins, did for the Germans, that the Byzantine Empire did for the Slavs who poured into its territory. The tradition of Byzantine institutions and culture lives on in the modern Greeks, the Serbs, and the Russians.

*Importance of
Byzantine his-
tory*

It was once the fashion to regard Byzantine history as arid and valueless, even as contemptible. But this was a superficial view, now obsolete, and arose from attaching an exaggerated importance to those palace intrigues, mutinies of the soldiery, risings of the mob, party sedition, depositions and assassinations of the emperors, in which Byzantine chronicles abound. It is true that between 395 and 1453 there were no less than sixty-five revolutions, and that of the one hundred and seven emperors who reigned during that space of time only thirty-four died a natural death; eight perished in war, twelve abdicated, twelve died in prison, eighteen were mutilated and dethroned, twenty-three were murdered. But if we turn the page, we find that there were great and strong rulers with constructive policies, that nowhere else in medieval Europe before the twelfth century was there so much culture, so high an art, so noble an architecture, so much commercial enterprise, as in the Byzantine Empire. It is a narrow view to focus attention exclusively upon Constantinople. For Athens, Antioch, Salonika, Ravenna, even Rome in the seventh century, were also centers of Byzantine culture. The long endurance of the Byzantine Empire is in itself an impressive fact and is evidence of qualities of strength and character in its history. Undoubtedly the chief secret of this lastingness must be found in the physical situation of the capital. Constantinople was

practically impregnable against any foe, whether coming by land or by sea, and as long as Constantinople preserved its freedom, however maimed or reduced the Empire might be, it still survived. But there were other factors that made for permanence and security of the Empire. The government was so vast and complicated a mechanism that it was practically impossible to destroy it. Again, the vitality of Hellenism was so great that although it fought a slowly losing battle against Slavonic, Bulgarian, Isaurian, Persian, and Mohammedan penetration, and at the last was vital only in Constantinople itself and in Thrace, nevertheless the loss was so gradual and the cultural absorption or disarmament of its adversaries so frequent that, century in and century out, the Empire was able to survive.

*Emperors of
the fifth cen-
tury*

In Constantinople the dynasty of Theodosius continued down to 450 in the persons of Arcadius (395-408) and Theodosius II (408-50). Each was weak and morbidly pious. Arcadius lived the life of a recluse within the palace, while the Huns ravaged the borders of the Empire. Two ministers, equally unprincipled, directed the government. Rufinus, with the hope of himself becoming emperor, introduced the Huns into Asia Minor — an act of treason that cost him his head. His successor was the eunuch Eutropius, whose court policy was one of intrigue, whose military policy was to play off the Ostrogoths against the Huns. The Empress Eudoxia was of stronger character than her husband, but a religious fanatic. It was she who persecuted the great Patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostom.

*Theodosian
Code*

Theodosius II was a child at his accession. Though he possessed no eminent talents, the name of this Emperor is yet preserved through the famous codification of the Roman civil law that was made in 438 and to which his name was attached. More than any other single Roman source this body of laws influenced the Germanic peoples, especially the Goths, and formed the basis of legal administration in both Spain and Italy. Theodosius II warred against the Persians and paid tribute to Attila, the Hun. He died of a fall from his horse in 450.

His sister Pulcheria, who seemingly had inherited something of the strong-mindedness of Theodosius I, married the senator Marcian and made him emperor (450-7). Fortunately, at this time the terror of the Huns was removed by the death of Attila and the collapse of his barbarian empire after the battle of Nedeo (454). The sons of Attila endeavored to establish the Hunnic power again in the steppes between the Volga and the Don. In 467 the eldest, Denghizikh, was slain in a battle with some troops of the Emperor on the lower Danube; his head was exposed in the circus in Constantinople. The younger brothers soon afterwards made peace with the Empire, Attila's nephew, Mundo, became one of the distinguished generals of Justinian.

In 457 Aspar, the commander of the imperial guard, compelled the election of Leo the Thracian (457-74), a former tribune of the soldiery and a barbarian in blood. He was crowned by the Patriarch of Constantinople and was the first Roman emperor required to submit to ecclesiastical coronation. His son-in-law, Zeno, succeeded him until 491. When Zeno died the passion of the Empress Ariadne for an official of the palace named Anastasius raised him to the purple (491-518). Religious turmoil and counter-emperors were common in this period — Basiliscos under Zeno, Vitatian under Anastasius. Anastasius was a mild-tempered man. He was a trimmer in religion, suppressed combats between men and beasts in the arena, and abolished the heavy and hated tax upon merchants known as the *chrysargyrum*. His monument is the famous Long Walls of Constantinople, still standing, which he built across the promontory from the Black Sea to the Propontis, eighteen leagues in length, to protect Constantinople from attack upon the land side. The future showed Anastasius' wisdom.

Anastasius
(491-518)

When Anastasius died, another captain of the guard, Justin, (518-27), also of barbarian lineage, made himself emperor with the aid of the soldiery. He could neither read nor write, it is said, but he was a good Catholic and a good soldier. In 526, when the Persians broke the peace between the two powers, Justin sent Belisarius against them. He did not live to see the end of the Persian war. He designated his nephew, Justinian, (527-65) as his successor.

The reign of Justinian was an epoch in Byzantine history characterized by imperial restoration. The territory of the Empire was enlarged by conquest, its laws codified, its glory heightened, its civilization advanced. Justinian was essentially Roman in quality of mind. Instead of preserving and fortifying the Greek character of the Empire, he intentionally diminished it. In his zeal for what was Roman, devotees of Hellenistic culture were persecuted, instruction in the ancient philosophy was prohibited, and the official use of the Latin language, which had declined under his predecessors, was insisted upon. His ideals were Roman, not Greek.

Justinian
(527-65)

At the moment of Justinian's accession the condition of the Byzantine Empire was a precarious one. In the capital the factions of the Hippodrome, the Blues and the Greens, whose racing colors represented rival political parties, rent the populace into two warring camps. Horse-racing was a passion of the whole population. The interest that in ancient Rome had found vent in gladiatorial games, in Constantinople centered in the Hippodrome. All classes of society were aligned in adherence to one or the other color, from the Emperor and high officials to the lowest gamin in the street. The new Emperor had to face the bitter hostility of the Greens, whose slogan was "Nika — win!" The Anastasian family backed them with gold and influence. External affairs were in a bad state. The

Nika riot

*Danger from
Persia*

West seemed irretrievably lost and the government too weak to recover the lost provinces. In the East the Sassanid kings of Persia were active and ambitious rulers. The Emperor Valerian had been defeated and captured at Edessa by Artaxerxes in 260; Julian had perished in battle with the Persians under Sapor II in 363; in the fifth century Persian pressure upon the eastern frontier had been relieved by the menace of the Ephthalites (a Tartar people of Tibetan or Turkish stock but not Huns) upon Persia's own eastern border; but in the sixth century this danger to Persia was relieved, if not wholly removed, and Persia again became formidable to the great western rival empire with the accession of Justinian's able contemporary, Chosroes I (531-79), the greatest of all the Sassanid dynasty.

The revolt of the Nika broke out in the circus in 533, where the Greens loaded the Emperor's name with infamy. The prefect of the city sought to arrest some of the most riotous of their number. The mob rescued them, forced open the prisons, and burned the prefect's palace. The city was soon in an uproar. The mob massacred the soldiers, set fire to palaces, churches (among them St. Sofia), hospitals, libraries. Justinian's heart nearly failed him; but the courage of the Empress Theodora reassured him, and the Blues supported him. Fortunately, his best generals — Belisarius, of German lineage, and Mundo, a Hun — were faithful. The first had returned from the Persian frontier with a veteran army. The other, who was commander in Illyria, was at the time in Constantinople. Together they fought their way into the arena, shut the gates, put thirty thousand people to the sword, and threw their bodies into the sea.

*Anti-German
policy*

Peace and power having been re-established, the conquest of the German kingdoms began. Justinian has been reproached for the expenditure of so much blood and treasure in his western wars, when the German kingdoms, save that of the Vandals, were harmless so far as the Byzantine Empire was concerned, while the peril from Persia was very real. But if Justinian had refused to endeavor to extend his sway over the West he would have broken with the whole tradition of the Roman Empire, whose weakness in the fifth century had compelled concessions to the German kings and necessitated the humiliating policy of saving its face by alienating political power and preserving merely the fiction of imperial overlordship. In the war against the Vandals he was justified by material necessity. For these pirates infested the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea and preyed upon the commerce between Egypt and Constantinople and between Italy and Greece. One might negotiate diplomatically with a civilized state like Persia, but nothing except force availed with the Vandals. These western wars of Justinian, too, facilitated the expansion of Byzantine culture in the West, although the effects were slow in becoming manifest. Finally, of importance is the fact that Justinian's western wars preserved the Roman nature of the Byzantine Empire and by maintain-

ing ties with Latin Europe prevented it from becoming a wholly Asiatic state.

Africa afforded easy conquest, since the Vandal nation was weakened by the influence of climate and admixture with the native Punic population. It never had developed a civilization, but from beginning to end was a predatory state. The Byzantine conquest of Africa was incredibly swift. Belisarius had ten thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry. The latter insured the success of the expedition. King Gelimar had made the error of sending his fleet and part of his forces to subdue a rebellion in Sardinia. Belisarius, finding the sea open, landed at Caput Vada and marched on Carthage, where what Catholic and Roman population was left rapturously welcomed him. Two engagements ruined the Vandal kingdom. The Vandal leaders were deported to the East, the soldiery and their wives and children enslaved. The imperial fisc, the Church, and the Roman population resumed possession of the lands of which they had been deprived.

Vandal war

But the Byzantine occupation of Africa was exposed to two great dangers. The struggle with the Moors and Berbers was long and arduous, and mutiny broke out in the Byzantine armies, which were composed of barbarian mercenaries eager to plunder and intractable. Twice within a few years there were serious insurrections in the army (534-9, 545-8). The crises were weathered owing to the courage and energy of the governors, Solomon and John Troglita. After new disorders under Justin III the peace of Africa was undisturbed until the coming of the Saracens in the seventh century. Fortunately the lack of union among the Berber chieftains prevented them from being formidable. The Byzantine armies could always defeat the Berbers in the field, for they were incapable of concerted action, and the diplomacy of the commanders made Byzantine partisans among the chiefs.

The civil administration was very like that of the Roman imperial government before the Vandal conquest. A prætorian prefect had his seat at Carthage; there were seven provinces, three governed by *proconsuls* and four by *præsides*. But the military organization was sharply distinguished from the civil. It included a commander-in-chief, the *magister militiæ Africae*, the commanders of special corps, and four dukes (*duces*), one in each of the four military zones — Tripolitana, Byzacena, Numidia, and Mauretania. The soldiery formed two classes: the *comitanses*, with barbarian or native auxiliaries, formed the mobile army; the *limitanei* were established along the frontier and in enjoyment of grants of land and small pay. In time this system was modified. The prætorian prefect was continued, but in 582 was made subordinate to the supreme military commander, who after 591 was called exarch. The organization of the provinces was also changed at the end of the sixth century to respond to

Nature of Byzantine domination in Africa

new necessities. Tripolitana was attached to the diocese of Egypt. Septem, with the Balearic Islands and Byzantine Spain, were joined together as the Second Mauretania.

To secure the safety of the country Byzantine Africa was covered with a network of forts of various types. There were five sorts: (1) fortified cities, (2) citadels protecting unwallled towns, (3) castles in rural areas, with (4) lines of sustaining forts between these, and (5) in the most thinly populated areas mere shelters built of stone or places of refuge. The desert frontier was heavily protected. There was an interior and exterior line of border fortresses. Nothing was left to hazard. In the center of the plains great citadels surveyed the wide areas; at the entrance to the valleys and in the throat of the mountain gorges redoubts forbade passage; on the high hills were signal towers. In Algiers and Tunis to this day one may see the ruins of many of these structures.

The ancient Roman roads were repaired and many new ones constructed. Irrigation was promoted. As yet the land had not been seriously denuded of forests. Leagues of olive and nut trees were set out along the roads. Orchards flourished. The union of Africa with Europe stimulated commerce, and, in spite of heavy taxation and two formidable mutinies in the army, Byzantine Africa as a whole flourished until the coming of the Arabs. Modern excavations in Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis have unearthed many interesting remains of both Roman and Byzantine cities and palaces. "Ancient Rome pursues you throughout this country," a modern traveler has written. "As your car jolts along an abandoned, rubble-laden highway, you come upon a Roman imperial milestone, and it is almost without surprise that you wheel into view of the staring marbles of a great ancient city emerging from the sands." Leptis Magna is an African Pompei today. The disinterred town of Sabrata contains a work of Byzantine art of marvelous beauty—the pavement of the basilica of Justinian, a brightly colored marble carpet teeming with lifelike ducks, geese, and parrots.

Italy was next in turn. At the death of Theodoric in 526 the Ostrogothic kingdom was menaced upon every side: by Franks and Burgundians in the west, by the Empire on the east and south, by the Gepidi on the north, who were in the pay of the Emperor. Greatest of all dangers, however, was the discontent of the Goths themselves, who were jealous of the preponderance of native Italians in the government. The Roman senate was divided into a Byzantine and a Gothic party. The consistory was wholly Roman. The Queen-mother, Amalaswintha, daughter of Theodoric and regent for her ten-year-old son, Athalric, in order to hold her own, made new concessions to the Roman populace, especially to the aristocracy. The estates of Boethius and Symmachus were restored to their children, numerous distributions of land were made to senators, and nobles

accused of rebellion were released. Cassiodorus was made prætorian prefect in 533.

Justinian had sent a profession of faith to Pope Agapetus in 525, which was followed by a constitution addressed to the senate. His design for the recovery of Italy depended upon the disposition of the Roman clergy and the attitude of the pope. Definite imperial intervention was not long delayed. The disaffection of the senate, the clergy, and the people of Rome was ominous for the Gothic government. Meanwhile Belisarius had already conquered Sicily. The prospective imperial conquest of Italy dismayed the Gothic King, Theodatus, who sent Pope Agapetus to Constantinople, bearing terms of great advantage to the Emperor. But Justinian demanded payment of an annual tribute by the Goths, three thousand Gothic soldiers for his army, the immunity of the Catholic Church from Gothic jurisdiction, the right to appoint all members of the senate, and recognition of the overlordship of the Empire over Gothic Italy.

While these negotiations were in progress, Belisarius crossed from Sicily to the mainland. In 536 Naples was captured. Theodatus was assassinated and was succeeded by the brave Vitiges. The complicity of the Italians facilitated the conquest. Calabria, Apulia, and Tuscany declared for Belisarius. Rome was taken. Meanwhile the northern provinces had risen against the Goths. At Rimini many Goths were massacred. At last Ravenna fell and Vitiges was made captive (540). In despair the Goths offered Belisarius the crown of Italy; but the general put treason away and was dispatched by Justinian against the Persians. In the interim the Goths rose again under a new leader, Totila, and recovered Naples (543) and Rome (546). Tuscany, however, barricaded its cities against him, and Tullianus, a grand proprietor of Lucania, defended the country with an army of peasants. At last Narses arrived from the East. He had been a eunuch of the palace, a former Armenian slave, and was a rival of Belisarius at court. Though without military experience, he displayed unusual ability and defeated Totila in the decisive battle of Tagina (Lentagio, at the foot of the Apennines between Perugia and Ancona) in 552. Totila was killed, Rome was taken for the second time, having been four times besieged during the bitter war, and the last Gothic King, Teias, was driven into the gorges of Vesuvius (553).

Justinian annulled the edicts of Totila, but retained some of those of Theodoric, Amalaswintha, and Theodahad. He granted the bishops extensive powers and sought to revive the Roman senate. But the war had scattered the senatorial families; many had fled to Constantinople, others became identified with the provincial aristocracy. The ancient body passed away and by the time of Gregory the Great (590-604) had disappeared, though the name "senator" endured in Rome as a designation of a Roman noble.

*Origin of
Venice*

The material and social ruin of Italy was almost complete when the long and bitter Gothic war terminated. Italy was half desert, half tomb. War, famine, and pestilence had enormously reduced the population. Many of the great families had been broken up; the lesser degrees of the population were sunk in desperate poverty; brigandage was rampant; wolves infested the rural regions and even invaded the towns. In the north-east the populace of Padua, Aquileia, and other towns near the coast fled to the lagoons in the Adriatic, the low islands of which had increasingly become a place of refuge since the invasions of Alaric and Attila. Thus was Venice slowly to be formed.

Administratively, however, Italy was little altered from its previous condition. The ancient prefecture of Italy had in the fifth century been greatly reduced by the loss of Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. But the form of government in the peninsula was not changed. Under the high authority of the prætorian prefect, assisted by the two vicars of Rome and of Italy, the Italian provinces continued, as in the past, to be administered by civil officials, and the previous separation of civil and military functions was maintained by a pragmatic sanction issued by Justinian in the year of the completion of the conquest. In a word, an exact image of the former imperial government was established in Italy. The great political and administrative revolution that resulted in the creation of the Exarchate of Ravenna and the conversion of the old provinces of Italy into duchies—a typical medieval, as distinguished from a Roman, formation—dates from the next century, as we shall see later, and not from Justinian. This change was due to the invasion of Italy by the Lombards in 568.

*Partial Con-
quest of Spain*

In Visigothic Spain, in the interim between the first and second Gothic wars in Italy, opportunity also opened, through a contested succession for the West Gothic throne, for Justinian to intervene for further fulfillment of his ambitious design to recover the lost Western Empire and to make the Mediterranean a Roman lake once more. One of the claimants, Athanagild, allied himself with Byzantium and ceded the Spanish seaboard to Justinian as the price of his support. The chief towns in the extreme south of the Spanish peninsula soon fell into the hands of the imperialists—Seville, Malaga, Carthage, and Córdoba. But “as soon as the Visigoths realized the danger in which they stood, they put an end to their domestic disagreements. . . . However, the Byzantines were able to keep what they had already won” for seventy-five years, until in 629 the West Goths recovered the last Byzantine holding in Spain. In Gaul the Byzantines adopted similar intrigues, welcoming alike Frankish rebels and Gaulish malcontents at Constantinople, and corrupting officials with Byzantine gold when and where necessary, in their determination to keep possession of Provence and the seaboard.

These victories of Justinian’s arms in the West were seriously com-

promised, however, by reverses in the East where the honors of war were with Persia. The Byzantine Empire inherited the age-long duel of the ancient Roman Empire with Persia, and the story of it in the sixth and seventh centuries is the epilogue of the ancient history of the Orient. From the time of Alexander Severus (222-35) Armenia and the provinces west of the Euphrates River had oscillated between the two powers. The struggle was not merely for political mastery; it was a struggle for control of the commerce of the East, embittered further also by religious differences and by other disputes. These last sources of friction were chiefly due to the common danger which each empire felt from the

Persian Wars



constant menace of incursion of the wild Tartars or Tartarized peoples of the steppes of southern Russia, as the Alani and the Khazars dwelling in the plains of the lower Volga. Even the gigantic wall of the Caucasus was an imperfect barrier against these marauders. For the eastern end of this range could be doubled by the Derbent Pass, the narrow defile between the end of the mountains and the Caspian, where the ancient city of Derbent (literally, "the barrier" or "iron gate") stood. This exposed entrance was fortified with a mole projecting into the sea, double walls, and gates of iron. Farther west the Iberian Gates, which opened from the northern side of ancient Iberia (modern Georgia) into the Tanais and lower Volga region, formed another mode of ingress to these barbaric hordes. The two

empires had identical interest in protecting these important points; but all efforts for co-operation and mutual defense broke down, owing to the deep resentment existing between the two states, each of which continually coveted or possessed in the alternating vicissitudes of war the intermediate provinces of Armenia, Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, which together formed the great isthmian bridge of land between the Black Sea and the Caspian.

Justinian showed serious lack of vision when, in order to satisfy his dreams of overcoming the West, he imperiled, even sacrificed, the interests of the Empire in the East. "It was always upon distant Rome instead of upon his proper world, the Eastern, that his eyes were fixed." He failed to follow up the victory over the Persians won by Belisarius at Dara in 530. To have his hands free for the conquest of the Vandals he paid tribute to Chosroes in 532. This was the beginning of humiliation after humiliation. Between 540 and 545 the war was renewed. The Persians captured Dara, ravaged Syria, occupied Antioch. Rather than abandon Italy, the Emperor bought the Persians off in 545. In 549 war was resumed and the Persians occupied the territory of the Lazi, a Christian people struggling against the menace of Zoroastrianism, whose country commanded the passes of the Caucasus. Justinian again resorted to bribery and in 561 purchased the retirement of the Persians by the payment of more tribute.

*New barbarian
assaults*

While Justinian fought in both West and East to extend or to preserve the later Roman Empire, he had as dangerous if not so hard a fight on his hands to protect the Balkan peninsula from new barbarian hordes, not Germans nor Huns, as in the fourth and fifth centuries, but Slavs, Bulgarians, and Avars, the two latter being of Tartar, not Slavonic, race. Actually the security and integrity of the Balkans was of more importance to the Eastern Roman Empire than the conquest of Italy and Africa, and fully as important as the war against Persia, although Justinian does not seem to have realized it. Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Italy, and Africa were but members of the great imperial frame whose body was the Balkan peninsula, whose heart was Greece, whose head was Constantinople. The peril was stemmed during Justinian's reign by the erection, along the northern frontier from the mouth of the Save to the mouths of the Danube, of a long row of eighty fortresses and, within this barrier, a line of six hundred lesser fortified places through Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, and Macedonia. In addition the pass of Thermopylæ, the isthmus of Corinth, and the Thracian Chersonese were protected by long walls. As a builder of forts Justinian is probably without an equal in history. In Asia from Trebizond to the Euphrates the frontier was similarly defended. Long lines of citadels such as Theododiopolis (Erzeroum), Martyropolis, Amida (Diarbekir), Dara, Circesium, Edessa, and behind them Satala, Colonia, Nicopolis, Sebaste, and Antioch, covered Armenia and Syria from Persian attack.

Still further to harden the most exposed part of Asia Minor, which was the bridge between Constantinople and Syria, the provinces of Pontus, Paphlagonia, Armenia, Cappadocia, and Galatia were united under a single governor, who combined civil and military rule. This reform had very important consequences, for it is the germ of the system of themes that supplanted in the seventh century the old provincial organization.

The Emperor thought to sow enmity among these hordes and to induce them to destroy each other. But by fomenting this continual strife he perpetuated the invasions. The vanquished cast themselves upon the territory of the Empire for refuge; the victors took the place of the vanquished; new nations occupied the area abandoned by those who migrated. There was thus an interminable displacement of peoples. Nation succeeded nation in alternating flux. Nothing was constant except the invasions.

But although the Slavs and Bulgars were kept out of the Balkans in masses as long as Justinian lived, nevertheless there was constant infiltration of these peoples as individuals and in small groups through the army, in much the same way that the Germans in the fourth and fifth centuries had penetrated into the imperial armies in the West. In 540 there was a great invasion of Slavs and Bulgars which devastated the northern zone of provinces as far as the Adriatic. In 558 the Hun Zabergan, at the head of a ferocious horde of Huns and Bulgarians crossed the Danube on the ice, traversed the gorges of the Hæmus, and pushing through a breach in the wall of Anastasius that an accommodating earthquake had lately made, suddenly appeared under the walls of Constantinople, but was forced to retreat by Belisarius. In spite of the network of border fortresses, from the sixth century onward there was a progressive invasion of Slavs and Bulgars into the Balkan peninsula, and in trying to play the Lombards and the Avars in Pannonia against these hordes Justinian aggravated instead of relieved the perils of the Byzantine Empire.

The late Professor J. B. Bury, the greatest of British Byzantine scholars, has acutely said that Justinian's "capital error was the common fallacy that a ruler who extends his frontiers increases the happiness of his subjects." Justinian was in many ways a man of narrow and ill-balanced mind, weak or vacillating in his policy — although it must be remembered that he was forty-five years old at his accession, and in so long a reign there was ample room for inconsistencies of policy. On the other hand, the French scholar, Professor Diehl, sees in Justinian's bad financial policy the chief defect of his reign. It is a question that may be argued whether Justinian's radically unsound finance or his religious policy had a more detrimental influence upon the subsequent history of the Eastern Empire. The Council of Chalcedon in 451 "lost the Monophysite countries wholly and forever." The statesmanlike *Henotikon* of Zeno — the importance of which has

*Slavs and
Huns*

*Ecclesiastical
policy of
Justinian*

not been sufficiently recognized — had paved the way for the unity of the East; Justinian's policy prevented reconciliation and caused a disruption that made the task of the Saracens light. The motive of that policy was of course his design of reconquering the West.

*Codifications
of the Ro-
man law*

Justinian's greatest achievement was as a legislator. His permanent monument is the *Corpus Juris* — that great codification of the Roman law to which he gave final form and fixity. In the third century the juriconsults had endeavored to reduce to order and to simplify the immense body of law which had accumulated in the Empire, and we have from that epoch the *Codex Gregorianus* and the *Codex Hermogenianus*. In the fifth century the *Codex Theodosianus*, promulgated by Theodosius II in 438, enlarged and improved upon these earlier codifications. Eleven of the sixteen books are still extant. This code is important because from it we derive most of our knowledge of the legislation of the early Christian emperors, and because it served as a model for various barbarian codes, notably that of the Ostrogoths (*Edictum Theodorici, circa 500*), the Visigoths (*Lex Romana Visigothorum, 506*), and the Burgundians (*Lex Romana Burgundiorum*) under Gundobald. It remained for Justinian, however, thoroughly to accomplish the stupendous task of codification, the results of which, embodied in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, constitute his grandest monument.

The work involved reconciling institutions whose origins referred to different epochs, eliminating conflicts, casting out that which had become obsolete, and preserving the organic law. In every possible case the rule was laid down that the opinion of five juriconsults was the standard judgment. If all agreed, the law should stand as it was. If there was division among them, the majority opinion ruled. In cases otherwise irreconcilable the opinion of Papinian prevailed. To perform the stupendous task Justinian employed a board of ten trained lawyers, under the direction of Tribonian. The first publication of this commission after fourteen months' work was the Code in twelve books (529), which included the imperial rescripts and edicts and the *consulta* of the senate. This was followed by the Institutes (533), a brief treatise that stated the fundamental principles of Roman jurisprudence and was intended rather for students of the law. At almost the same time came the Digest, or Pandects, a redaction of the rest of the civil law not otherwise included, together with opinions of prominent juriconsults. In this last tremendous task three million lines of law were compressed to one hundred and fifty thousand. By this time the commission had been enlarged to seventeen members. It was engaged for three years upon the Pandects. Two years before Justinian's death his own laws were codified in the Novels and published in Greek (565). For after Justinian the Roman emperors ceased to speak Latin either in private or in public life. Finally, it is important to observe that all of

Justinian's legislation was "a *religious* creation, as evidenced in the Christian tendency of many interpolations; in the fact that the constitutions relative to ecclesiastical law, which had been put at the end even in the Theodosian Codex, were now placed at the beginning, and very markedly in the preambles of many of the Novels."¹

In the practical results arising from these codifications Justinian conferred an estimable boon upon history. For these texts are of great value to the historian as sources of our knowledge of the administration, economy, and social structure of the Roman Empire, which would infallibly have been lost if they had not been preserved in this way. It should be added that many of these legal texts, while prevailing Roman in their nature, manifest the influence of Greek and Oriental law and custom, as well as Syrian, Egyptian, and even Arabian influences. The fusion of all these elements gave birth to what is called Byzantine law as distinguished from Roman law.

In spite of Justinian's real solicitude, there was deep and widespread misery in his empire, which belied the outward "glory" and splendor. The burden of the taxes was enormously increased owing to the corruption of officials. In his antipathy to Hellenism he drastically regulated the schools and even suppressed certain forms of education, although the closing of the school at Athens has been erroneously judged. Athens had long been Christian in 529, and the schools there had long been powerless to sustain the competition of the schools of Constantinople. The decree of 529 was merely an administrative measure, without religious significance. The proof is that it made no impression upon contemporaries. As a matter of fact, the pagan philosophers who withdrew to Persia in a dudgeon in 529 returned to Athens in 532. Justinian relentlessly persecuted all sectaries and heretics. In the Greek Church his policy of "cæsaropapism" carried political and spiritual centralization so far that he was at once emperor and "pope," for the patriarch of Constantinople was of high dignity and low power. On the other hand, Justinian's policy towards Rome was singularly open and liberal — a policy which had its influence upon the development of the papacy.

*Bad features
of Justinian's
government*

As a ruler Justinian was despotic, a lover of pomp, avaricious, ungrateful, suspicious; but in a city festering with sedition and in a corrupt court he could not well have been otherwise. Many of the evils of his government were the evils of the system. The weakest point was taxation; but Justinian was not responsible for the elaborate and vicious system of taxation that sapped the life of the State. He inherited the Roman practice of farming the taxes and government monopolies. The weight of tradition, the privilege of classes, could not be counteracted. Severe penalties were decreed in vain against official corruption and extortion. Even John of

Taxation

¹ SPENGLER, *The Decline of the West*, II, 75.

Cappadocia, prefect of the East, was deposed and exiled. The nature of Justinian's public improvements in Constantinople attests his austere character: twenty-five churches in the city and its suburbs, besides many in the provinces, hospitals, roads, bridges, piers, aqueducts, fortresses, but no theaters or baths!

*Commerce and
industry*

The commerce and industry of Constantinople in Justinian's time rivaled, if it did not exceed, that of Alexandria. China and India poured into the West silks, precious stones, lacquers, curiously wrought products of craftsmanship, perfumes, dyes, spices. From Russia through the Greek merchant colonies on the Black Sea coast came slaves, horses, furs, leather, hemp, tar, rope, and ship stores in general. The mines of Greece were exhausted by this time, but those in the mountain ranges of the Balkan peninsula were still worked; the plain around Adrianople was a fertile agricultural region; the provinces of Asia Minor were densely peopled, rich, and prosperous; the shipping trade, both coastal and overseas, of the Byzantine Empire was very large. Justinian, like his greatest predecessors, was an engineering emperor, a great road- and bridge-builder. Procopius mentions that the floods of the Cydnus River had washed away part of the city of Tarsus through which it flowed and that the Emperor, in order to prevent a repetition of this catastrophe diverted the course of the stream. The Nika riot had destroyed many of the finest structures of Constantinople. His famous architects, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidor of Miletus, rebuilt the Bibliotheca, or library, and the imperial palace, and, most important of all, created a new and glorious type of architecture in the Church of St. Sophia, whose enormous yet graceful dome—the first aerial dome of Christendom—was destined to have vast influence on the history of architecture; for the dome of St. Mark's in Venice and that of St. Peter's in Rome are children of it. Other magnificent erections of Justinian were the churches of St. Vitale in Ravenna, which served as a model for Charlemagne's cathedral at Aachen, St. Demetrius in Salonika, the basilica of Parenzo in Istria, and the convent on Mount Sinai. Every one of these to this day, both in its exterior and in the rich adornment of its interior decoration, notably the exquisitely beautiful mosaics, recalls the splendors of Byzantine art.

In addition to territorial conquests, potent and permanent legislation, and magnificent architectural monuments, in Justinian's reign Christian missions were extended in Africa into Nubia and Ethiopia, in Asia to Ceylon, in India along the Malabar coast, in Europe among the Huns of Mœsia and the Crimean Goths, in Asia Minor among the Ossetians, Isaurians, and Abasges of the Caucasus.

Justinian's codification of the Roman law and his great architectural creations have survived; his conquests were soon lost. In the reign of his nephew, Justin II (565-78), under Tiberius (578-82), under Maurice (582-

602), under the usurper Phokas (602-10), there was almost steady decline within and barbarian irruption from without.

The disintegration of the power of the Huns in the last years of Justinian gave room for the appearance of a new and kindred Asian nation, the Avars, in the plains between the Volga and the Don, whence they rapidly spread westward as far as the plains of the Theiss and Pannonia — a migration that pushed the Lombards down upon Italy in 568. For years the Avars harried the German and Slavonic nations in central Europe and on the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire, as the Huns had done before. But the bold front of the brave Emperor Maurice blocked every Avar effort to invade the Balkan peninsula, so that the Avars turned their arms upon the Lombards in Italy. In 610 they defeated the Lombards near Friuli and pillaged the province, but got no farther. From 572 to 592 there was almost continual war with Persia. Between 570 and 600 there were repeated Slavonic, Bulgarian, or Avar inroads, which cut deep into Thrace and Macedonia. In the very year after Justinian's death we find his weak successor complaining that the treasury is crushed by debt, the army unpaid and undisciplined.

Avars

Persia

The only one of these rulers worthy of being remembered is the Emperor Maurice. His political policy was to make peace with Persia, even to sacrifice Italy, and to bend all the resources of the State towards preserving the integrity of the Balkan peninsula and insuring the safety of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. A domestic revolution in Persia, by which Chosroes II (590-628), who had been expelled, was restored to the throne through Byzantine assistance, enabled him to achieve the first. But although his able general Priscus five times defeated the Avars, Maurice's military policy entailed his ruin; for in the desperate condition of the finances the Emperor compelled the clergy to come to the relief of the government and thereby incurred its deep and influential hostility, although the wealth of the Church was enormous. The monks were more hostile than the secular clergy. A favorite form of monastic enrichment was for the rich to evade taxes by deeding some of their property to a monastery, which secretly paid the donor an annuity; but the government was cheated, because the Church was exempt from taxation. Another abuse was monastic connivance with those who sought to avoid military service by becoming clerics or monks. At the beginning of every war there was a rush for holy orders. Both of these illicit practices Maurice endeavored to stop. In this wise he made enemies in both the army and the Church, which connived at his ruin, slew him and all his house, and in 602 put up in his stead the bloodthirsty monster Phokas. This is a pivotal date in Byzantine history. Lombard and papal history took a new course; the Avars, instead of being crushed, for the next two hundred years were to be a terror in central Europe, until Charlemagne destroyed them; war with

*Reign of the
Emperor Mau-
rice (582-
602)*

*Year 602 a
pivotal point
in history*

Persia was renewed and went from disaster to disaster; the Bulgarians broke down every barrier and overflowed much of the Balkan peninsula; finally the Empire was so weakened that it could not withstand the onslaughts of Mohammedanism, which, though a cloud no bigger than a man's hand in 600, became a storm by 650.

Phokas (602-10) was a centurion of the army of Thrace when the soldiers mutinied against the Emperor Maurice. With the aid of the Greens he made himself master of the capital. Almost immediately the Persians assumed the offensive, captured Dara, marched across Asia Minor and laid siege to Chalcedon on the Bosphorus. The incapable and cowardly Emperor increased the tribute paid to the Avars and instituted a reign of terror in Constantinople; for the best generals in the army refused to serve, and some of them had secretly connived with the Persian advance in order to compass the downfall of one of the most blood-thirsty tyrants in history. But Constantinople and the Balkan provinces were too paralyzed with fear to make a move. Finally a little knot of officials secretly made overture to Heraclius, the exarch of Carthage, a former general under Maurice whom that Emperor had elevated and who in 608 had openly revolted against Phokas, and stopped the shipments of wheat from Africa to Constantinople. He was of a rich and illustrious Cappadocian family. The exarch felt himself too far advanced in years to undertake the formidable task of overthrowing Phokas and delegated his son of the same name for the task. The young Heraclius, who was renowned for his stature and the nobleness of his character, in conjunction with his cousin Nicetas organized a double expedition against the tyrant. The latter was to advance upon Constantinople from Egypt through Syria and across Asia Minor, while Heraclius with the fleet of Africa was to occupy the Ægean islands and the Peloponnesus, and then the two forces together were to close upon the city. The fleet alone arrived and proved sufficient. At its approach even the Greens deserted Phokas; the populace rose in insurrection and in their fury tore the Emperor to pieces. The Patriarch Sergius seized the opportunity and invested Heraclius with the imperial insignia. A new dynasty and a new epoch opened for the Byzantine Empire (610).

But for years the clouds of adversity hung over the Empire. The treasury was empty, for before his fall Phokas, anticipating his ruin, had sunk in the Bosphorus all the ill-gotten gold in his possession; the provinces were exhausted and almost in a condition of anarchy. The Avars advanced as far as the walls of Anastasius; the Persian forces at Chalcedon attempted to effect a union with them. In 614 the Persians overran Syria and captured Jerusalem and two years later captured Egypt. All the territory of the Byzantine Empire in Asia was lost, together with the rich port of Alexandria and the wheat-growing fields of the Nile. The empire founded

*Misgovernment of
Phokas
(602-10)*

*Accession of
Heraclius
(610-41)*

*Desperate
condition of
Eastern
Empire*

by Constantine the Great was reduced to the Golden Horn, Greece, the Ægean islands, and Carthaginian Africa. On the other hand, Persia had again acquired the limits of the Persian empire of Darius the Great in antiquity. It is said that in momentary despair Heraclius was upon the point of abandoning Constantinople and the Balkans and removing the seat of the Byzantine Empire to Carthage, from which revolutionary fate it was saved by the courageous patriarch, who proffered the treasure of St. Sophia for sustaining the war. Military conscription was imposed, and even monks were drafted for the army. The Lombards were bribed to attack the Avars and thus to relieve Macedonia and Thrace from their occupation.

Twelve years were spent in relieving the European territory of danger, in painful rehabilitation of the government, accumulation of resources, and preparation of munitions and equipment for the supreme struggle with Persia. If Chosroes Parviz found his mentor in Darius, Heraclius was inspired by Alexander the Great, whose Persian campaign he almost as brilliantly duplicated. In the spring the Byzantine fleet landed the Emperor and his army in the gulf of Issus, where the Macedonian conqueror had won his first engagement, in the geometrical center of the immense territory of the Persians, and yet where the Emperor could be in close touch with the fleet and supplies from Constantinople. A defeat of the Persians at Issus, followed by Byzantine recovery of Cappadocia and Armenia, forced the retirement of the Persians from all Asia Minor. The bridge between the Black Sea and the Caspian, together with the passes and frontier fortresses, again was in the hands of the Byzantine Emperor. Leaving his army in winter quarters in Albania, Heraclius returned from Trebizond to Constantinople, at this moment beset by a new Avar and Bulgar host. In his absence his generals had enlisted the services of the hardy Christian mountaineers in the Caucasus—Lazi, Abasges, Iberians, Albanians, who made an excellent cavalry. With these new forces Heraclius, on his return to the army, compelled the Persian retirement from Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and Cilicia and Armenia were recovered. The completion of this task required three years.

*War with
Persia*

In an interval a new Avar attack, instigated by the Persian ruler, recalled Heraclius again to Constantinople. Finally in the late autumn of 626 the intrepid Emperor advanced down the Tigris-Euphrates valley into the heart of the Persian Empire—an advance that compelled Persian retirement from Syria. Once more it was Alexander's plan of campaign. Near the ruins of Nineveh, not far from Alexander's battlefield of Arbela, on December 12, 627, the Persians were crushingly defeated. Chosroes fled from the field as Darius had done at Arbela. The victor then advanced upon Ctesiphon, the Persian capital, but forbore to lay siege to it when he found himself surrounded by thousands of Christian

captives whom the Persians had deported from Syria and Egypt. Meanwhile Persia became the prey of revolution. The army mutinied, Chosroes was murdered and succeeded by his son Kobad (628-9), who made peace with the Emperor on the basis of an exchange of conquests and captives. In a short time Shahr-barz, the Persian generalissimo, usurped the throne and was murdered by his troops after two months. During the next nine years two daughters of Chosroes II, ten Persian nobles, and finally a grandson of Chosroes II, named Isdigerd, succeeded. Persia was torn within and stormed from without by Mohammedanized Arabs in the first flush of their conquests. In 641 the battle of Nehavend — "victory of victories" — destroyed the Sassanid dynasty and Persia.

Unfortunate
ecclesiastical
policy

Heraclius spent six consecutive years in re-establishing the recovered provinces in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. It was a difficult and, in the issue, a vain endeavor. Ever since the fifth century Egypt and Syria had been in a state of religious rebellion against the orthodox Christianity of the Greek Church and the Byzantine Empire. As far back as the Council of Chalcedon in 451, Nestorianism in Syria, which distinguished two persons in Christ, and Eutychianism in Egypt, which admitted only a single nature to Christ, had been condemned. The latter was a new form of older Arianism, sometimes called Monophysitism — the doctrine of the one nature — which in the sixth century acquired new force through the fervent teaching of Jacobus Baradaeus, from whom the Copts of Egypt were also known as Jacobites. It would be an error, however, to see nothing but theological dispute in these schismatic forms of belief. These heresies owed their popularity among the Syrians and Egyptians to the fact that they represented a powerful form of national opposition to Byzantine domination in these countries, upon which Hellenism and imperial rule had been imposed in violence to their natural inclination, their own institutions, and their own culture. In a word, the heresies represented racial and national opposition to foreign rule. This is the explanation of the union of orthodoxy and the imperial government. For Church and State had a common interest in suppressing every manifestation of separatism. Hence Justinian's "cæsaropapism." Hence the reason why the imperial government persecuted and exiled all sectaries; and the reason, too, why the Syrians and Egyptians so persisted in their "heresy."

However strange it may seem to us today, it was natural in the circumstances that the emperors should be intensely interested in theology and endeavor to govern the Church as they governed the State. The *Henoticon* of Zeno, in the fifth century, was followed by the famous *Condemnation of the Three Chapters* by Justinian (544), this by the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius (639), this by the *Typos* of Constantius II (648). State and Church were troubled and shaken — an agitation in which the monks exercised a most fanatical influence. No conciliation, no compromise, could

be effected when such deep-seated animosities obtained. When, in 632, the horsemen of Islam poured up out of Arabia, they easily overwhelmed these dissident lands. Heraclius lived to see the loss of all his conquests from Persia, together with that of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

The provinces of the Byzantine Empire in Europe were little less endangered in these same fateful years. The menace of the Avars was partially reduced, owing to the formation of a shortlived but powerful league of various Slavonic tribes in central Europe under a chieftain named Samo, with whom Heraclius made an alliance. But the advance guards of Serbs and Croats, hard pressed by the Avars, could not be deterred, and drifted in compact masses into Thrace and Macedonia and settled among the exhausted and depleted population there, whence they trickled over into Illyria and down into Greece and the Peloponnesus.

The establishment of the Slavs upon the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire in the sixth century was the first stage of their advance. The misrule of Phokas (604-10) marked a new stage. While Chosroes II of Persia invaded Asia Minor, the Slavs pierced the interior line of frontier fortresses that Justinian had erected in the Balkan peninsula, and occupied Istria and Dalmatia, the two Mœsias, the two Dacias, Dardania, Thrace, and Macedonia. The fate of the Balkans, if not of the Byzantine Empire, was fixed. The culminating point of this drive was the siege of Constantinople in 626. They were repulsed and retreated to the provinces that they had lately conquered. What helped to save Constantinople was the Slavs' incapacity for political unity.

*Invasion of the
Slavs*

By the end of the seventh century it seemed as though the whole Balkan peninsula was doomed to become Slavonized. Only the important cities, Constantinople, Adrianople, Salonika, Spalato, and Ragusa, were able to resist this invasion, neither wholly warlike nor yet wholly peaceful, but resembling in its nature the settlement of the Germans in the provinces of the Western Empire in the fifth century. The progressive invasion of these Slavonic tribes into southeastern Europe is an obscure and controverted question. Some historians have asserted that the entire Balkan peninsula and Greece outside of the great cities were completely Slavonized. But this is too sweeping a conclusion. Illyria, Macedonia, and Thrace were more Slavonized than other provinces, and Greece less so than the Balkans.

The history of the Byzantine Empire between the death of Heraclius in 641 — indeed, from even before his decease — and the extinction in 717 of the dynasty that he founded is a melancholy history. It recounts futile effort to withstand the assaults of Islam — Africa was wholly conquered by 709, Cyprus captured in 648, Rhodes in 653, Constantinople attacked in 667 and again in 672-3 — and Slavonic turbulence in the Balkan hinterland. In addition a new foe appeared in these latter years of the seventh

Bulgarians

century out of Russia, the Bulgarians, a people of Finnic or Tartar stock. Their oldest home was in "Old" Bulgaria, on the Volga, whence they had migrated in the wake of the Avars. As the Avars moved westward up the Danube, as the Huns had done before, the Bulgars were released from their domination and found themselves in modern Bessarabia, whence they drifted down upon the Byzantine Empire, perhaps hastened in their advance by the pressure of the Khazars. About 679 they appeared along the lower Danube, which they soon crossed, and marched upon Varna. The country was occupied by the Slavs, with whom the Bulgars speedily fraternized and soon became fused. The Bulgars acted like an alloy to harden the Slav metal, and a now formidable Bulgarian kingdom sprang up. By the beginning of the ninth century Bulgaria extended from the Danube on the north to the Balkan range of mountains on the south, and from the Black Sea on the east to Timok in the west. It thus included ancient Mœsia and part of Macedonia and Byzantine Dacia.

*Leo the
Isaurian
(717-41)*

In this critical condition of internal disorganization and external enmity the Byzantine Empire found a deliverer in a new emperor, Leo III, the Isaurian (717-41), a descendant of those wild mountaineers of Asia Minor, a colony of whom had been transplanted to Thrace. In 713 he had been made commander of the troops in the East. In the midst of the dissolution he displayed rare qualities of courage, intelligence, and energy and on March 25, 717 dethroned the feeble Theodosius and became emperor. The revolution was in the nick of time, for in the following August a great Mohammedan fleet and a great Mohammedan army beset Constantinople for the third time. The siege lasted a whole year. The feat of Leo the Isaurian in beating back the forces of Islam, far more than Charles Martel's later victory over Islam at Tours in 732, saved Christendom. In 718 he suppressed an insurrection in Sicily; in 720 he repulsed the Bulgarians' attempt to penetrate through the Hæmus Mountains, and in 726 he repelled a fourth Mohammedan assault upon Constantinople. In this campaign the Arabs also for the first time invaded Asia Minor from Syria, devastated Armenia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, and besieged Nicæa. The losses, however, were temporary, for in 740 the great victory of Akroinon in Phrygia, where the Mussulman army was almost entirely destroyed, not only crowned Leo III's reign with glory, but arrested for years Mohammedan attacks upon Asia Minor.

Reforms

The civil policy of the first Isaurian Emperor was as remarkable as his military policy. He reorganized the army; converted the old provincial organization into the theme system, whereby several adjacent provinces were united and in which civil and military functions were combined in the hands of a single governor, with the military authority the superior one; introduced order into the administration of the finances; reorganized the system of taxation; reformed the Church; restrained the power of the

great landed aristocracy; relieved the peasantry of their worst burdens; promoted agriculture, commerce, and industry. So thorough were these reforms and so subversive were they of the old order of things that the opponents of the changes dubbed him an iconoclast, although in a stricter sense, as will be shown below, iconoclasm was applied to his ecclesiastical reforms.

The reform of the civil and criminal law was incorporated in the *Ecloga* (literally, a "selection"), which was published about 740. It is written in Greek and is remarkable for its elimination of much of Justinian's law, many of the provisions of which had by lapse of time and changed conditions become obsolete. In their stead the *Ecloga* embodied many local laws and customs. A most remarkable feature is the introduction of much scriptural and ecclesiastical law to displace those portions of the former Roman law which were of pagan tradition and reflected social attitudes of the time before the triumph of Christianity. Thus the laws with reference to marriage, the making of wills, custody of children, and succession were modified to be in conformity with Christian practice. The ancient Latin *patria potestas* disappeared.

The Church was a great gainer by this legislation in the extension of its authority over persons and property and in the right of asylum that it enjoyed. The wisdom of such large privileges, in view of the already enormous power of the Church, is, however, dubious. But in one particular the *Ecloga* represented a marked advance upon the Justinian Code, in that it abolished the ancient privileges of classes before the law and made the penalties uniform for noble and peasant. A curious feature is the tendency to abolish capital punishment and instead to substitute various forms of mutilation. But, as the event proved, this humanitarian intention worked disastrously. For "the cruelties practiced in modern times in the Balkan peninsula are traceable to the effect produced by the practices of the criminal code of the *Ecloga* throughout the Middle Ages." The Agricultural Code touched the mass of the population and wrought profound social changes. Bondage of serfs to the glebe, graphically described as "nailing men to the clod," which Constantine had relentlessly ordained and Justinian affirmed, was abolished, and instead former serfs were transformed into either tithe-rent tenants or tenants who farmed the property of a great proprietor on shares. This was a blow at the rich proprietary class, the *dunatoi* (literally, the "powerful"), who vigorously fought the innovation and in the second half of the ninth century succeeded in restoring the former condition — a change destined to be of portentous political influence in the later history of the Byzantine Empire. The chief reform in the collection of taxes consisted in the institution of a capitation tax, for which birth-registration and a census were prerequisite. Evasion of military service was prevented by reinforcement of the Emperor

Maurice's old law restraining the Church from conniving with "slackers."

*Iconoclastic
controversy*

But that policy of Leo III from which iconoclasm got its name, and the reform that engendered the greatest acrimony and opposition, was the destruction of sacred images, statuary, and pictures in the churches, and the attempt to abolish these as objects of veneration.

"There had been pictures from early times, originally for decorative purposes, and afterwards for instruction, in the graveyards, churches, memorials, chapels and houses, and fixed to all sorts of furniture. Opposition had existed, but it came to an end in the Constantinian age. The people were to learn from the pictures the histories they depicted; they were looked on as the books of the unlearned. While few read the Holy Scripture, it was said, it enlightens equally old and young. But in course of time pictures of Christ, Mary and the saints acquired a pagan degree of reverence bordering upon idolatry, although this was not in the intention of their use. Extravagant use and ignorance led to abuse of this union of art and dogma."¹

Certain bishops and emperors and certain sects, notably the Paulicians, in times past had inveighed against this paganization of Christian worship. But it was with Leo the Isaurian that the issue became supreme. It was alleged then, and is believed now by some historians, that Leo III was inspired by the example of Mohammedanism, which forbids the representation of any animal, man or beast, in Islamic art. The example of Judaism probably had its influence also. For commercial reasons the Emperor was partial to both Jews and Mohammedans, of whom there were many in the Oriental provinces of the Byzantine Empire, whom he wished to make good Greek subjects, and possibly he thought that assimilation of them would be facilitated by the abolition of images. Furthermore the Paulicians were natives of Commagene, a province adjoining Leo III's own native country. The chief inducement, though, was the Emperor's wish to break the power of the Greek monasteries, whose vast wealth, exempt from taxation, whose enormous liberties and immunities, made them positively dangerous to the State. The monks were fanatical adherents of image-worship. Every city seethed with turbulence, the provinces fumed with dissension. Many of the great nobles for reasons of their own supported the monks. The Greek Church was split into two camps, the populace everywhere divided. Popes Gregory II and Gregory III sternly remonstrated with the Emperor and Gregory III excommunicated him in 731. The controversy dragged on for years and was not finally settled until the ninth century, when image-worship triumphed. The chief historical interest for us in this subject is in the bearing the iconoclastic controversy had upon Italy and the papacy. Central Italy, Rome, Ravenna, the Pentapolis rallied around the Pope; Sicily and lower Italy adhered to the

¹ HARNACK, *History of Dogma*, IV, 317 f.

Emperor. The Emperor in retaliation confiscated the papal patrimony in Sicily and southern Italy, separated the bishoprics of the south and Sicily from papal jurisdiction, and put them under that of the patriarch of Constantinople. Ecclesiastically the iconoclastic controversy tended to promote the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches and to elevate the papacy in the Latin Church. Politically the pope becomes more and more of an Italian prince, no longer subservient to the Byzantine Empire, and this change in turn inclined him to look towards the Franks in Gaul for protection against the Lombards. Politically, and culturally also, Italy was divided into a Latin center and a Greek south, without taking a German Lombard north into this account. In the ensuing years the southern provinces of Italy and the island of Sicily were heavily Hellenized by the emigration of many thousands—proprietors, clergy, monks, and common people—from the Balkan peninsula—a movement that was stimulated by the continual Slavonic and Bulgarian pressure there.

The last great achievement of Leo III had been a brilliant victory over the Arab invaders in Asia Minor in 741, which revived the drooping spirit of the hardy Anatolian population. Near the fortress of Akroenos, on the ancient road running from Tarsus to Constantinople, the Arab general Said-al-Batal-al-Ghazi, known as "Said the Terrible," was defeated and slain. Three and a half centuries later, when the Seljuk Turks overran this country, they found his memory yet a living force. Indeed, his heroic figure still survives in Turkish legend.

When Leo III died, in 741, the Byzantine Empire, torn within by factional strife and religious feud and harried from without by aggressive foes, barbarian and Arabic, nevertheless carried on effectively. Its amazing vitality is impressive. The energy of the deceased Emperor in no small degree characterized his son Constantine V, Copronymus (741-75). For three years he reigned without a capital, for the orthodox party put up a usurper, who withheld Constantinople until three pitched battles reduced him.

Then Constantine V astutely abated the danger at home by diverting the interest of his opponents to the dangers abroad. Profiting by the strife that prevailed in the Khalifate under the last princes of the Ommeyyad house, the Emperor took the offensive in Asia. In 746 he recovered Germanicia and the greater part of Commagene, two Mohammedan strongholds in eastern Asia Minor; in 748 he repulsed an Arabic attack on Cyprus. In 742 Malatia, on the upper Euphrates, was captured for a short time. But in the themes of Anatolia and Cilicia the Arabs remained inexpugnable until in 965 Nicephorus Phokas definitely reconquered Cilicia, put an end to the devastating raids of the Arabs in Asia Minor, and penetrated into northern Syria.

In the Balkan peninsula Constantine V was no less active in defending

*Byzantium vs.
Islam*

*Bulgarian
danger*

the imperial provinces in Europe against the Bulgarians. He repaired the frontier fortresses, fortified the defiles of the Balkan mountains, and, in order to Hellenize the Slavonic population already in Thrace, colonized thousands of Syrians and Armenians, driven out by the Arabs, in the land. Thus when in 755 the savage Bulgarians made a new assault upon the frontier, the Byzantine Empire found itself secure. Thessalonica vigorously resisted siege; after the defeat at Strymon thousands of Bulgarians were colonized in Bithynia. In four offensive campaigns the Emperor carried the war into the heart of the Bulgarian country (759, 760, 763, 765). "The not improbable forecast of a Bulgarian Constantinople holding the hegemony of the Balkan peninsula" was frustrated by these achievements.

Adversity of another sort befell from another direction. From 746 to 749 the plague ravaged Greece and the Balkans and, by depopulating the Empire, facilitated the spread of the Slavs over the peninsula. Finally in Italy the expansion of the Lombards and the intervention of the Franks entailed the loss of the exarchate of Ravenna, a rupture with Rome, and the reduction of Byzantine domination in Italy to the lower part of the peninsula.

Constantine V was as active a civil administrator as he was a soldier. He vigorously repressed brigandage, promoted prosperity by establishing colonies of an agricultural peasantry in depleted provinces, and continued in modified form his father's "iconoclastic" reforms, for which the monks hated him, but of which history approves. Finally it is worth recording in the annals of war that Constantine V was the first ruler who introduced the humane practice of exchanging prisoners of war (769).

*Vicious rule
of the Em-
press Irene*

The short reign of Leo IV (775-80) had nothing significant in it, but his early decease brought to imperial power one of the most fascinating and sinister women of history, the notorious Empress Irene, his widow, and regent for many years for her son Constantine VI (780-97). Conscience and principle were strangers to the mind of this Byzantine prototype of Catherine de' Medici. Even when she accomplished good, it was done with selfish intent, as when she abolished the onerous "urban tribute," similar to the notorious *chrysargyrum*, which Anastasius had abolished in 500, the heaviest and most general tax paid by the inhabitants of Constantinople, which bore hardly upon all who were engaged in commerce and industry — and who was not, in Constantinople? — and was an instrument of fiscal oppression and administrative corruption almost beyond words to describe. Irene, as one might expect from such a ruler, abandoned the Isaurian reforms and "by this policy covered herself with glory in the eyes of orthodox posterity; she received the eulogies of popes, and the monks who basked in the light of her countenance, extolled her as a saint."¹ Her favorite ministers were two unprincipled eunuchs of

¹ BURY,

the palace, who grafted prodigiously. Checkmate of another threatened Bulgar invasion and a naval victory in 792 over the Arabs at Attalia inflated Irene's arrogance and ambition to such a point that in 797 she blinded and deposed her son and reigned alone, not as a regent, but as an autocrat, in defiance of the historical tradition that a woman might not be empress in her own name and might reign only in the name of an emperor, as Pulcheria had done in the fifth century and as Irene herself had done during her son's minority.

This bold usurpation deeply offended two elements within the Empire: the army, in which the spirit of iconoclasm was still strong, especially in the Asiatic regiments; and the magnates (*dunatoi*). Perhaps the singular negotiations of the desperate Empress with Charlemagne, in which the marriage of Irene and the Frank Emperor was suggested, by which means the political unity of western and eastern Europe was to be established in a reunited Roman Empire, were the immediate occasion of the conspiracy that brought about Irene's downfall, in 802. The new Emperor, Nicephorus I, had been logothete of the imperial treasury and was an expert in finance rather than in military affairs, like so many previous emperors. This palace revolution in 802 marks a turning-point in the history of the Byzantine Empire, singularly coincident with the turning-point in Western history two years earlier — the imperial coronation of Charlemagne in Rome.

Palace revolution (802)

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CHAPTER VI.

MOHAMMED AND ISLAM. THE RISE OF THE ARABIC EMPIRE

*Passing of the
ancient Orient
with rise of
Islam*

THERE is a singular simultaneity and analogy between those great genetic movements which terminated the history of antiquity and ushered in the Middle Ages. We have seen how Roman classical and pagan civilization passed away with the German conquests in western Europe and the triumph of Christianity. We must now examine how the political empires and the civilizations of the ancient Orient passed away a little later with the rise and spread of Islam; how a New East was made soon after the New West was formed.

*Arabia before
Mohammed*

The new impulse came from Arabia. With the rise of Mohammedanism, it may be said, for the first time in history the Arabs registered as a great people. Although situated in immediate proximity to the great empires of antiquity—Chaldea, Assyria, Persia, Egypt, the Macedonian Empire of Alexander the Great, the Roman Empire—Arabia had never been conquered by any of these powers. Arabian culture, except among a few tribes dwelling along the coasts of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, had never been influenced by the great civilizations round about Arabia. The reason for this immunity is to be found in physical geography. Arabia is a peninsula of continental dimensions, surrounded on three sides by water—and no great empire of antiquity was or needed to be a naval power—and separated from western Asia, from which it depends, by a broad desert. Even if any one of these barriers had ever been successfully crossed by some conqueror, the immense stony plateaus, the deficient water-supply, the hardihood of the population, would have made failure inevitable. Examination of a relief map of Arabia shows mountain ranges paralleling the coast of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and two vast desert areas, one in the north, the other in the south. The valleys in these ranges are fertile, owing to the fact that the mountains catch the annual monsoon and precipitate the rain in it. For the same reason the region of Oman, in the southeast corner, is also fertile. Here Muscat has always been the most important commercial port in Arabia, as it commands the approach to the Persian Gulf. No lake and no stream exist, other than seasonal torrents—and for nine months in the year there is no rain in Arabia. Arabia is unique among the great countries of the world in that it has never been conquered by any outside invader. Conversely, also, the Arabs were alone among the peoples of antiquity who had never tried to conquer adjacent lands or to create

an empire, although a certain degree of commercial intercourse had from remotest times existed between Arabia and outside countries.

The ancients had imperfect and confused knowledge of Arabia, apart from the coasts, and the Arabs themselves, except for the Himyarite inscriptions of Yemen, which have not yet given up their secrets, had no written history before Mohammed. "While the Jews and other branches of the Semites had had their development, their history, their annals, their monuments, Arabia slumbered. No race, before becoming self-conscious, has slept a sleep so long and deep. Until the appearance of Islam, Arabia had no place in the intellectual, religious, or political history of the world. Arabia is so young that the sixth century of our era is her heroic age."¹ Fragments of a pre-Mohammedan poetry and legend are the only known forms of early Arabic literature. The recorded history of the Arabs dates from the time of Mohammed, but early Arabic legends and poetry preserve some memory of previous history. One of the most important events, or at least one which was deeply impressed upon the memory of the Arabs, was the breaking of the great dam of Mareb, probably in the second century, which compelled a wide dispersion of people. This was an historical fact, for on each side of the valley of this torrent the debris of this immense dike is still visible. The clan of Mareb was scattered, but one branch of it, the Khozas, established itself at Mecca for about two hundred and fifty years, when it was displaced by the Koreish, to whom Mohammed belonged. In the year of Mohammed's birth, Arabic legend or history runs, Abraha, the Ethiopian King of Yemen, undertook to destroy the idols at Mecca. But the elephant on which the King was mounted balked in front of the Ka'aba, the sacred stone, and the King, out of superstition or fear, retreated. This "Era of the Elephant," as Mohammedans designate it, is interesting as evidence that before Mohammed there was some sort of movement for religious reform.

Although singularly pure in blood, the Arabs before Mohammed's time were far from being politically united, but were divided into clans and septs, each group having its patriarchal chieftain or sheik. Even among the more highly civilized population of the towns this clan tradition dimly persisted. The nomad was known by his tribe, the townsman by his family. "Learn your genealogies," enjoined Omar. The tribes in the interior, or Bedawi were pastoral peoples, living upon their flocks and herds, but not entirely nomadic, for each clan from time immemorial possessed the right of occupation of some oasis whose date trees were the chief source of food except the flesh of animals. Arabic economy, social structure, and institutions were the natural result of the clan form of government and the economy that prevailed. Although racially homogeneous, interminable tribal wars and vendettas were common except for

¹ RENAN, *Études d'histoire religieuse*.

four months in the "sacred" spring season, when the great fairs at Mecca and Medina were held. Usually these feuds arose from conflicts over water-wells and oases, or from sheep- and camel-raiding. This hardy manner of life bred a love of freedom, a roving military spirit, courage, endurance — all qualities of formidable force when Mohammed united the tribes under his banner into a single religious and political unit. Religiously, before the coming of Mohammed, the Arabs were in a low, if not degraded, state of polytheism, though there is ground to believe that the religious condition had once been better and that at the time of Mohammed the Arabs had reached a lower religious condition than formerly. The universal respect that Mecca enjoyed as a religious capital from long before Mohammed is evidence of this. Commingled with this native religion were fragments of Judaism, corrupted forms of Christianity brought in by heretic sects that had been driven out of the Byzantine Empire, such as the Ebionites, and perhaps superstitious practices derived from India and Persia. Socially the Arabs were "more in a state of nature than of culture."

*Remote intima-
tions of
Arabic expan-
sion*

The difficulty in finding means of sustenance, united with their propensity for plundering and their nomadic habits, as far back as the early fifth century had led to sporadic and even permanent migration of the Arabs across the Syrian desert, beyond which the rich plains of Mesopotamia and the fields of Egypt tempted them. As early as 402 there was a contingent of Saracen cavalry in the Roman army in Egypt. The Theodosian Code (438) shows that Saracen prisoners of war were colonized on military bounty lands east of Syria. Late laws incorporated in the codifications of Justinian even manifest the legal influence of Arabic customary law.

Great stress has been laid by some writers upon the effects of dessication in Arabia in the early centuries of our era as an explanation of this increased nomadism among the Arabs, the contention being that the gradual drying up of pasturage and wells compelled an exodus of the Arabs from the peninsula. But the explanation of the expansion of the Arabs is to be found in historical, not physical causes, and these are all summed up in the career and teaching of Mohammed.

Mohammed

Mohammed — whose real name was Abul-Kassim — was born in Mecca, probably in 571. He belonged to the family of the Banu Hashim, which itself was a member of the influential Koreish clan. But Mohammed himself was a poor man in a city which was a merchant republic and where wealth assured social status. For the long wars between the Roman Empire and Persia had diverted the stream of trade between East and West, and the coast road along the edge of the Red Sea rivaled the sea route, thereby stimulating the commerce of Mecca and Medina. Later pious legend invested Mohammed's youth with marvelous things. Actually

we know little of his early years or of the period of his life following upon his marriage and anterior to his preaching. It was during this period of his life that Mohammed had those first profound spiritual experiences which determined his career. He was at this time forty years of age. What these influences were we can only surmise from what we know of the religious condition of Arabia at this time and from the psychology of religious experience of other great religious leaders. Historians agree that Arabia in the seventh century was in a state of religious unrest, in which Islam found a natural field of work. The old paganism had lost all its vitality. The time was ripe for it to be overthrown and a higher conception of God to be born, even as among the ancient Jews in the days of Elijah. This religion was polytheistic. Side by side with the cult of Allah, the supreme God, the worship of many tribal gods existed. These scattered seats of local worship, with Mecca, formed a loosely confederated religious system. The temple of the Ka'aba was the Pantheon of all these cults, as Mecca was the general trading center of Arabia. The commercial relations of the Arabs with the Greco-Oriental civilization of Syria and Egypt and Abyssinia, which was also a Christian country, and the presence in Arabia of numerous Jewish and Christian communities of many sects had spread abroad the idea of monotheism and familiarized the Arabs with biblical and Christian legends. A whole class of Arabic religious teachers, the hanifs, aspired to a higher form of worship. The names of some of these earnest persons, who like John the Baptist were forerunners of the great teacher, have been preserved. They show that Mohammed was not alone in the spiritual awakening which was on the way. One of these hanifs was a cousin of Mohammed's wife. They did not form a sect, but perhaps were not unlike the "schools of the prophets" of which we read in early Jewish history. They had a common spiritual yearning rather than precise beliefs.

In the first years of his preaching, Mohammed's influence did not extend beyond the circle of his relations and his friends. In 613 his followers were limited to his wife, his daughters, his freedman and adopted son Zaid, his paternal cousin Ali, his friend Abu-Bekr. A little later we find Othman ibn Affan, destined to become khalif. But when Mohammed sought to enlarge the circle of converts and to preach among his fellow citizens he discovered the disillusioning truth that a prophet is without honor in his own country and among his own kindred. The *mala* or commercial aristocracy of Mecca was at first indifferent and then hostile. They were offended at Mohammed, not only because of his preaching, but because they also feared lest he would injure trade. Islam was to them an economic and social danger. By 615 Mohammed had about forty followers. They usually met in the house of one of them. No violence was yet manifested towards them, for he was not yet declared "khali" or rejected by

*Opposition to
Mohammed*

his own family, the Banu Hashim. The ties of blood were too strong to be defied, for although few of the Banu Hashim had embraced Islam, they would have resented an attack upon him, and this would have thrown Mecca into a fierce inter-clan war. Instead the adversaries of the new religion endeavored to persuade Abu-Talib, chief of the Banu Hashim, to throw Mohammed out. But Abu-Talib's son was Ali, one of Mohammed's first converts, and he refused to do so. Foiled of this drastic mode of suppression, the prophet's enemies resorted to boycotting and social ostracism. There is reason to think that these practices were partially effective, for about this time (615-16) some of Mohammed's partisans emigrated to Abyssinia to seek refuge under the Christian Negus or King. Nevertheless Mohammed's converts increased in number, one of whom was the future great Khalif Omar. On the other hand, Mohammed's uncle Abu-Tahab became his active and bitter enemy; he is distinguished in the Koran by being anathematized by name instead of included among general opponents of early Islam. These cleavages in the Banu Hashim family group were hailed with delight by the Meccan aristocracy. The persecution entered upon a new stage. The *mala* resolved to break off all social and commercial relations with the Banu Hashim unless Mohammed was disowned. But the Banu Hashim stuck to the idea of clan loyalty and under Abu-Talib fortified themselves within their quarter of the city, where for three years (616-19) they successfully resisted every effort at dislodgment.

It was now the tenth year of Mohammed's preaching, yet he had made few converts. Then it was that he conceived the bold design of endeavoring to make conversions among other families than his own. But his propaganda among the Banu Kinda and the Banu Amir was unsuccessful. He gained one notable ally, however. Yathrib, a neighboring territory, in which Medina was the chief place, was peopled with Jews. About a century before this time the Khazrajites, a tribe driven out of Yemen, had conquered this town and reduced the Arabic population there to dependence. Arabs and Jews dwelt side by side, and the contact of the former with the latter had somewhat familiarized them with Jewish ideas of monotheism, prophecy, and Messianic belief. When Mohammed appeared in Medina, the conception that he might be a true prophet, even the Messiah of Jewish tradition, was spread abroad. The Khazrajites as a tribe embraced Islam. From this date the resolution of Mohammed to establish the seat of his preaching in Medina was formed. The growing danger of open persecution in Mecca hastened the execution of the project. Under the Prophet's orders the votaries of Islam began to leave Mecca in small groups so as not to attract attention, in April 622. Mohammed himself and Abu-Bekr did not leave Mecca until September 22, 622. This is the initial date of the Mohammedan calendar. Mohammed's flight is known as the *higra* or emigration.

The hegira opened a new era. At Medina Mohammed's primitive doctrines experienced notable changes. The necessities of his new environment, the traditions of Judaism, the conflict with the Meccans, altered and enlarged Mohammed's teachings. In Medina the first mosque was erected. It was now that monotheism became clear and emphatic; that biblical legends, Mosaic law, and Jewish beliefs began to be incorporated in Mohammed's utterances. Islam began to be formulated in dogmatic terms. Some of the first institutions of Islam were five daily prayers and one prayer in common with all believers, on Friday, which is the Mohammedan Sabbath. The call to prayer, instead of being announced by the trumpet, as among the Jews, was to be proclaimed by the voice of the muezzin; fasting was ordained during the month of Ramadan; the primitive kiblah of the Jews — that is, kneeling with the face towards Jerusalem — was changed and Mecca ordained in place of Jerusalem as the city of veneration; at Medina also most of the civil prescriptions of the Koran were proclaimed, such as the laws governing marriage, divorce, orphanage, adoption, tutelage, succession, and blood feud.

Of significant importance during this time also was the institution of the jihad or "holy war." Its appearance is the first manifestation of fanaticism in the Islamic movement, but aside from this factor another source is to be found in the blood feud, which was traditional among the Arabs. The Banu Hashim having thrown Mohammed out, a vendetta of partisans resulted. But the economic condition of the little colony of Moslems at Medina must not be overlooked in the development of a policy of war. Mohammed's followers, like himself, were poor, and plundering of caravans was an ancient habit of the Arabs. The Koreish caravans bound to and from Mecca were tempting objects; Mecca — above all, the rich group of merchants there, the *mala* — was bitterly hostile to Mohammedanism. In these mixed circumstances the jihad was a natural evolution. In the year between the springs of 623 and 624 six raids were made upon the caravans, which Allah justified by revelation to Mohammed. In the autumn of 624 the most important of the caravans, that which annually went to Syria, had escaped the attack made upon it. But in the following spring as it was returning richly laden from Damascus, having wintered at Bosra, the caravan was plundered of everything, goods and camels, at Bedr, where the road to Syria crossed that from Medina to the sea. War followed, in which the Meccans were badly routed. The victory at Bedr strengthened Mohammed's position in Medina. He was no longer a fugitive, but a victorious chief. Emboldened by success, Mohammed continued to organize expeditions against the merchants of Mecca. A general state of war existed round about the city. In the battle of Ohod (624) Mohammed's forces were badly beaten, but it did not shake his authority in Medina. On the contrary some of the more distant nomadic tribes joined the green banner of the

Warlike nature of early Mohammedanism

*Capture of
Mecca (630)*

Prophet, as much, we may think, with prospect of plunder as from religious conviction. Meantime a great coalition was formed, at the head of which was the hostile group in Mecca, to crush Medina and the whole Mohammedan movement. But Medina obdurately held out against siege. As the result of this success Mohammed now determined to conquer his native city—to return triumphantly to Mecca and make the ancient and venerable capital of the Arabs the seat of his religion and his government. With the Mohammedan capture (630) Islam entered upon a new term of its history. From henceforth for more than a century its record is one of unbroken and victorious expansion. Before his death, in 632, Mohammed saw himself “prophet, priest, and king of the whole of Arabia.” In the last year of his life he announced his intention of carrying the “holy war” beyond the confines of Arabia. It was a new departure—the design of converting and subduing the gentile nations. Omar, Abu-Bekr, and Othman enthusiastically supported the project, but there were those who dissented. A new revelation, however, confirmed their fears. The Greeks, at news of Mohammed’s approach with an army of thirty thousand men, withdrew to Syria. It was the hottest part of the year, and even Mohammed’s burning enthusiasm hesitated to cross the more burning sands of the Syrian desert. He returned to Medina after receiving the submission of the peoples of Akabah, who dwelt at the head of the Red Sea and were for the most part Christians. These people were not compelled to abjure their faith and become Moslems, but simply required to pay a special capitation tax. This is the earliest instance of exacting tribute of conquered peoples, but permitting retention of their religion. It was a policy destined to be of great influence in facilitating the progress of Mohammedanism and reconciling subjugated nations to Arabic rule.

Koran

The doctrines of Mohammed are found in the Koran, which he declared were God’s revelations to him through the angel Gabriel. Mohammed did not write them, but his faithful auditors inscribed them upon palm leaves, pieces of slate, and the shoulder bones of sheep. After his death Abu-Bekr and Omar collected and published them. The Khalif Othman in the thirtieth year after the hegira reduced the definitive text, which has never been changed. The Koran is divided into 116 suras or chapters, subdivided into 6,243 verses, 77,639 words, and 323,015 letters. The obligatory practices of the Koran are prayer, alms, fasting during Ramadan, and pilgrimage to Mecca. Every votary must pray five times each day with face towards Mecca, and wash before prayer. Two kinds of charity are recognized, voluntary (*sadaga*) and legal (*zekat*), to which latter everyone is made to contribute except the very poor. In the eyes of Mussulmans the religions of Abraham and the patriarchs, of Moses and Jesus, are degrees of divine revelation. This idea of evolution is so deeply ingrained in the Mohammedan spirit that it is impossible to convert a

Mohammedan to Christianity or any other religion, because to him it would be a reversion to an inferior form of religion. To a Mohammedan Islam is the definitive, final, perfect form of God's revelation of Himself. The point that Mohammed most emphasized was the unity of God, which to him Christianity seemed to deny in the doctrine of the Trinity.

Once having assumed its propagandistic character, Mohammedanism spread with prodigious rapidity. The successors of Mohammed were called khalifs. The authority was at once a military, a political, and a religious one. His death did not arrest the progress of the religion he had founded. In ever widening circles it spread. Within ten years Egypt, Syria, and Persia were overrun. The capture of Memphis and Alexandria made the Mohammedans masters of the Nile valley. The rival empires of Persia and Constantinople were exhausted by years of conflict, divided by factions, and torn by sectarian controversies. One battle reduced Persia. Another decade saw the Crescent advance eastward to the Caspian and the Indus. By 680 the Arabs had conquered Kos and Rhodes and unsuccessfully besieged Constantinople. In the Far East the frontiers of India were reached by 724. The swiftness of such conquests stirs the imagination and challenges the mind to ascertain the reasons of such untoward expansion. Fanaticism, able leaders, the doctrine of bright rewards and terrible punishment, will not wholly explain. We must look into the condition of the countries that were conquered.

*Conquests of
Islam*

Neither Greek nor Roman institutions had ever deeply penetrated the masses in western Asia or northern Africa. The cities alone were really hellenized or latinized. But the rural population had always held aloof from the civilization of the conquerors. The Arabs, used to a desert life, had a horror of towns and established themselves instead in the country areas or around the towns and thus from the first were in intimate contact with the rural population. In the cities and in the mountains resistance to Islam was always far greater than in the plains. Yet assimilation ended by being complete.

At the moment when Mohammed died (632) and was succeeded by the first Khalif, Abu-Bekr (632-4), both the Persian and the Byzantine empires, were well-nigh exhausted by the years of war between them. Persia especially was in a condition of anarchy. The successful expedition of Heraclius across Persia had shown the fragility and incoherence of the Persian Empire, in which a nobility and an all-powerful clergy held the royal power in check. At the beginning of the seventh century this empire abounded with forces of dissolution, and yet "the world-monarch who bears high his head, the king of kings and victorious master of the world," as the Persian king styled himself in his diplomas, was ignorant of the existence of the poor, solitary fanatic who in the solitudes of Mount Hira was in conversation with the angel Gabriel, who

Fall of Persia
(641)

Syria

promised world-domination to him and to those who believed in Mohammed. The name of the Arabs was still barely known to those who a half-century later were to prostrate themselves in the dust before the Commander of the Faithful. The single battle of Nehavend in 641 destroyed Persia and established Mohammedan domination in eastern Asia.

Even before the collapse of Persia the Mohammedan invasion of Syria was begun. After the capture of Bosra the Arabs marched rapidly upon Damascus. Werdan, the Byzantine general, vainly tried to stop their advance in the plain of Aiznadin (634) and was badly beaten. Omar's general, Abu-Obeida, had direct, personal knowledge of Syria and was supported by the irresistible Khalid, the conqueror of Mesopotamia, now known as Iraq-Arabia.

Syria under Byzantine rule had seethed with economic discontent and religious dissidence for two centuries past. There were three confessions, Nestorians, Chalcedonians, Monophysites, which had large followings and each of which had been systematically persecuted by the imperial government. As late as the time of the Crusades the memory of these persecutions was still very vivid in the minds of the Syrians. In the twelfth century Michael the Elder, the Jacobite Bishop of Antioch, writes, after recounting the persecutions of Heraclius: "This is why the God of vengeance, who alone is all-powerful and changes the empire of mortals as He will, giving it to whomsoever He will, and uplifting the humble — beholding the wickedness of the Romans, who, throughout their dominions, cruelly plundered our churches and our monasteries and condemned us without pity — brought from the region of the south the sons of Ishmael, to deliver us through them from the hands of the Romans. And if, in truth, we have suffered some loss, nevertheless it was no slight advantage for us to be delivered from the cruelty of the Romans, their wickedness, their wrath and cruel zeal against us, and to find ourselves at peace."

The Moslems treated the inhabitants of Syria with consideration and gave them that freedom of worship for which they were so eager. They also turned over the management of local affairs into the hands of the natives, exacting from them only a tribute, the *jizyah*, which the non-fighting, non-Moslem population had to pay to the Arabs for the protection given them by the latter. When Heraclius raised a large army in order to drive the Moslems out of Syria, Abu-Obeida, Arab governor of that province, wrote to the local Arab governors, ordering them to return the *jizyah* to the inhabitants, since now the Arabs could not afford them that protection, which, according to the agreement, they should receive.

It is no wonder, then, that so many cities in Syria received the invaders with open arms. The people of Emesa shut their gates before the army of Heraclius and told the Moslems that they preferred Moslem govern-

ment and justice to the injustice and oppression of the Greeks. From a document given to the city of Jerusalem by the Khalif Omar, it seems that in the Holy City also the inhabitants were not altogether unwilling to submit to the invaders. Certain oppressive measures and regulations, attributed by mistake to Omar and other early khalifs, are of later date, when the spirit of intolerance at times governed some of the Mohammedan rulers. But most of the early khalifs and their generals and governors were regarded by the natives as deliverers, and as such, indeed, they acted.

Aleppo followed the example of the other Syrian cities and made peace with the Arabs. The details of the surrender of Aleppo are quite interesting. There was a castle near Aleppo, where lived Youkinna, seemingly the hereditary governor of the city and its district. One of the officers of Abu-Obeida, Kaab, dispatched against the city, was defeated by Youkinna and was sorely pressed. Meantime the inhabitants got together and, selecting the most prominent of their citizens, who were joined later on by representatives from the neighboring villages, sent them as an embassy to Abu-Obeida, before the latter even came within sight of the city. After some negotiations, during which the Aleppians tried to bargain with the Arab general for half the amount of tribute for which he asked, it was finally agreed that they should pay that half and furnish the supplies for the Arab army. The Aleppians also promised to help the Arabs against Youkinna, who had always been regarded by the citizens as a tyrant. Youkinna, upon hearing of the treason of Aleppo, attacked the city, before its inhabitants could get help from Abu-Obeida, and killed a great number of the people. He was so enraged that he even killed his own brother John, a monk, who dared to intercede in their behalf. Abu-Obeida approached and besieged Youkinna in his castle. After two sallies from the castle, one of which was successful and the other miscarried, the castle was taken by stratagem. Youkinna thereupon offered to embrace Islam, was accepted, given his life and liberty, and entrusted with a command in the army of the invaders. It is remarkable to see the zeal with which Youkinna after that served the cause of the Mohammedans. Damascus, defended by Theodore, the brother of the Emperor Heraclius, was captured in 635. It is said that for a time after the loss of Syria Heraclius lost his reason.

The conqueror of Syria informed the Khalif Omar in a ringing war bulletin. Many such bulletins have been preserved and are valuable evidences of the spirit that actuated the Mohammedan armies and throw interesting light on the policy of the conquering commanders. The difference between commanders is sometimes striking. Thus Khalid was a fanatic; Amr, the conqueror of Egypt, on the other hand, was a man of keen intelligence, who was impressed with the Greek civilization with

which he came in contact, and sought to preserve it, at the same time that he also endeavored to conciliate the conquered native population.

Egypt

'Amr ibn el 'As, the conqueror of Egypt, was a former merchant who had traded in Egypt and knew the land and the people. Mohammed himself was not without knowledge of Egypt, for in the Koran he enjoined that his arms should be merciful there, "for there has never been enmity between Arabia and Egypt, and the two nations are sisters." In the Nile valley conditions were peculiarly favorable to Mohammedan conquest. The grinding weight of taxes that the long wars of Heraclius with Persia had imposed upon Egypt filled the population with discontent, which was increased by administrative corruption and religious disaffection.

*Capture of
Alexandria
(642)*

From the time of Zeno and Anastasius Egypt had been torn by feuds of religious and political root. The population of Egypt was a mixture of races and of nations, which were divided into two great parts, politically and religiously absolutely distinct and repellent. The mass of the people were Copts or native Egyptians, engaged in trade or agriculture. Religiously, they had embraced the Monophysite or Eutychean¹ teaching, propagated in the Nile valley by Jacobus Baradaeus, Bishop of Edessa (died 578), from which circumstance its followers in Egypt were known as Jacobites. Above them was the civil and military class (Melchites), which was Greek in race, orthodox in faith, and dominant in rule. This state of affairs led to frequent collisions and much religious and political dissension, aggravated by persecution of the Jews, grinding taxation, and official corruption. So troubled was Egypt in the time of Phokas (602-10), that for a time all native Egyptians were excluded from offices, both of the province and the State. Another condition that rendered the Mohammedan conquest easy is to be found in the fact that Greek and Roman institutions never penetrated deeply into Oriental life, either in western Asia or in northern Africa. The cities only were truly Greek or Roman. The Saracens were looked upon as deliverers. The prefect of Middle Egypt was a Jacobite, and Memphis opened its gates. In September 642 Alexandria surrendered. Amr's bulletin to the Khalif announcing the conquest of Egypt is an illuminating document. "I propose three things," he wrote, "which if executed will bring benedictions upon the heads of the faithful: (1) that the taxes be not increased; (2) that a third of the public revenue be devoted to maintenance of canals, dikes, bridges, and roads; (3) that the collection of taxes be adjusted according to the nature of the products of the country." The Arabian commander was tremendously impressed with the magnificence of Alexandria. "Know, O Commander of the Faithful," continued Amr, "that the great

¹ The doctrine of the solely divine nature of Christ, into which every human element is absorbed. Condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, 451.

city of the West has been taken by your forces with marvelous ardor and valiance. Its wealth, its beauty, cannot be expressed in words. It contains four thousand palaces and as many baths, four theaters, twelve thousand stores, forty thousand Jews, who pay tribute, two hundred thousand Christian Copts and Greeks, *who will pay tribute soon.*"

In this connection it is necessary to say that the tale that the Arabs destroyed the great Alexandrian Library is a myth. No such allegation was made at the time. The charge is of later origin and is utterly false. The Arabs were clement conquerors. Moreover, there was no great library in Alexandria in the seventh century that could have been burned, even if the Arabs had so wished. In antiquity there were two separate libraries, that of the Bruchium and that of the Serapeum, adjacent to the temple of Serapis. The former had been burned in 48 B.C. during the siege of Alexandria by Cæsar. This was a complete disaster. Nothing escaped out of the four hundred thousand rolls in it. The second library had been created by Antony, who enriched it with two hundred thousand rolls of manuscript brought from the library of Pergamos — next to the first Alexandrian library the richest library in antiquity. This second library perished during the reign of Theodosius II in the middle of the fifth century in the course of a riot between the pagan and the Christian populations, when the latter stormed the temple of Serapis, gutted the library, and fanatically burned the manuscripts in the streets. Twenty-five years after this calamity Orosius, the pupil of St. Augustine, visited Alexandria and mournfully observed the empty shelves.

Two material reasons had urged the Arabs to conquer Egypt: The Byzantines had made Egypt a great naval base, and its continuance in their possession would imperil the Arabic possession of the coast towns of Syria and perhaps make it impossible to hold them. Another reason was that Egypt insured to the conquerors an enormous amount of booty and a vast amount of future revenue. It was to the Arabs even more than Syria a land of milk and honey — and wheat.

Egypt had for centuries been the granary of the East. In earlier days Rome had fed at its crib, and in later centuries Byzantium had drawn heavily upon its resources for grain. Great warehouses were established on the Hellespont where the grain-ships from Egypt unloaded their cargoes, to be later forwarded to the city on the Golden Horn. The Arabs made in Egypt many improvements on the agriculture of the native Copts and raised greater amounts than ever before. Much sterile land was brought under cultivation by means of waterworks and canals to flood the higher ground. To deprive the Eastern Empire of this grain was a severe blow to its national life.¹

The Arabs, too, needed Egypt. Mecca had been, and became more and

¹ A. J. BUTLER, *The Arabs Conquest of Egypt*, II, 49.

more, dependent upon Egyptian wheat. The increasing number of pilgrims required more grain, and enormous magazines were erected in the holy city. Caravansaries for the use of the pilgrims were set up, and the ancient canal of the Ptolemies between the Nile and the Red Sea was reopened to facilitate this commerce.

Cyrenaica

West of Egypt Cyrenaica, the old Roman province along the Mediterranean littoral, fell victim to Arabic conquest. Since the fifth century it had been all but abandoned by the imperial government, too feeble and too engaged with the Germans and the Huns to protect it, and the wild nomadic tribes of the Libyan Desert had continually beset it. The misery of the country in the reign of Theodosius II has been graphically described by Synesius, the Bishop of Ptolemais. What of civilization survived in Cyrenaica in the sixth century was all but destroyed by the Persians in 616, at the time of their brief occupation of Egypt. In consequence the population was reduced and impoverished, the administration a shell, when the Arabs, in combination with the Libyans, whose deserts and desert life were so similar to the tradition of the Arabs, fell upon the province. An identical fate overcame the adjacent province of Tripolis. By 647 the Mediterranean coast from Egypt to Tunis was Mohammedanized.

*Arabic sea
power*

The Arabs very early perceived that possession of the sea was necessary to assure their hold upon Syria and Egypt. The conquest had delivered into their hands important ports, huge quantities of ship stores, and skilled shipworkers. They soon sought to profit by them. In 640 Muawwiyah, the Mohammedan general in Syria and ancestor of the Omeyyahad or Omeyyad dynasty later established at Damascus, built a fleet out of timber from the Liban (Lebanon), with which he attacked Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades. It is said that the remains of the famous Colossus at Rhodes, which had been overthrown by an earthquake, were at this time sold to a Jew from Emesa. The dispersion of the fleet of the Emperor Constantinus III, the son of Heraclius, in a naval engagement off the Syrian coast in 642 opened the entrance of the Hellespont to the Mohammedans.

*Byzantine
Africa*

It was next the turn of Carthaginian Africa. The conquest here was longer and more difficult. Justinian, after the conquest of the Vandals, as we have seen in a former chapter, had reconstituted the recovered provinces in the form of an exarchate, the capital of which was Carthage, fortified the towns, and girdled the Numidian frontier with border posts. Yet in spite of formidable physical resources, the condition of the imperial government in Byzantine Africa was as precarious as it had been in Egypt. In the reign of Constans II, the country had become a center of doctrinal, political, and economic opposition to Constantinople. The quarrel over monothelitism weakened the government by creating discontent among clergy and people. The patrician Gregory connived with the Berbers and was vanquished in 647 in the first Arab invasion. The Arabs re-

tired, but the disaster disorganized the administration. The invasions of the Arabs were not resumed until 665, and it was not until 668 that the khalifs definitely decided upon the conquest of Africa. In 669 Okba profited by the turmoil to invade Byzacena. The Arabic advance was slow, however, owing to the fact that the Saracens had no siege artillery and further that the Berbers sided with the Byzantines. It must be remembered, too, that the Arabs were now bending their chief effort upon Constantinople, which was besieged for five years (672-7). These things explain the Arabic lack of progress. The Arabs were yet unused to the method of assaulting walled towns, and consequently the conquest was retarded. The Arabs attacked from the desert side, where the conqueror Okbar-ben-Nafi had founded Kairwan in 675, destined henceforth for centuries to be the Mohammedan capital of Ilfrikia (Africa). Carthage was taken in 695, lost in 697, and retaken in 698. But Leptis held out until 709. The warlike hill people of Morocco, the Berbers, whom Rome had never subdued, were conquered and Mohammedanized at this same time. Okbar was the first Mohammedan governor of Africa. He was soon succeeded, in 698, by the celebrated Musa, a Berber chieftain, famous in history as the Mohammedan subjugator of Spain.

*Founding of
Kairwan
(675)*

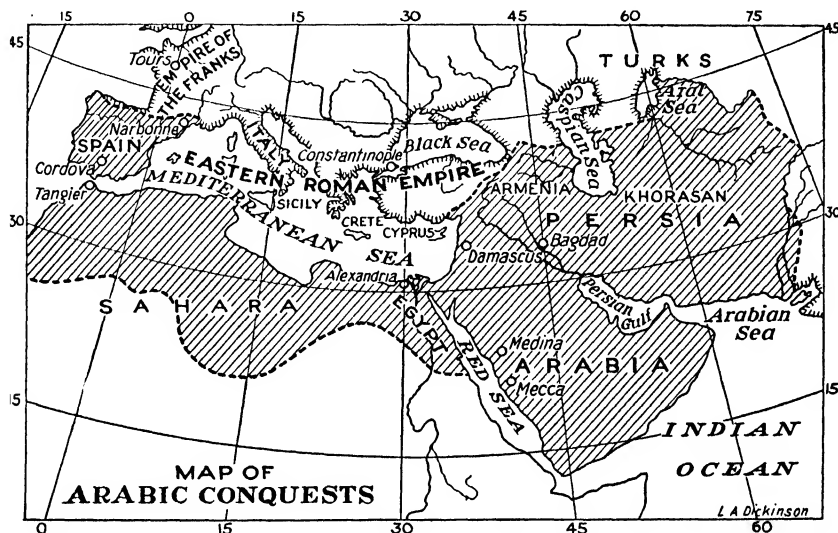
The extinguishment of Christian civilization in northern Africa was less due to the prowess of the Mohammedans than to the indifference and corruption of the African clergy. The Christian communities survived in other lands conquered by the Mohammedans, in Syria, Egypt, Spain. External causes are not sufficient to explain the obliteration of Christianity in northern Africa. The real reason is to be found in the important historical fact that Christianity had never obtained a deep and penetrating hold upon the population there. As Rome had never succeeded in wholly eradicating the old Punic spirit and culture, so Christianity had never succeeded in overcoming the deep, latent genius of the land. The Donatist heresy had proved it in the fourth century, and succeeding schismatic movements reinforced the condition of futility. The Church fell because it was the Church of party factions and not of the people, an institution of the government, not of society. The ruin of Donatism had afforded African Christianity an opportunity that it failed to seize, and the chance never came again. Hence Christianity never was strong in Africa. The Moor, the Berber, the Numidian were still pagan when the Saracens arrived. Roman civilization and Catholic Christianity were never more than a thin veneer of culture in the land. The cities were Europeanized to some degree; the wide country areas were and always remained Punic and pagan at heart.

The only portion of the Byzantine Empire outside of Europe that successfully resisted the Mohammedan invasions was Asia Minor, where in 740 the first victory of the hardy and heroic Anatolian population over

the invaders was achieved. Not until the time of the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century did Mohammedanism acquire formidable hold upon Asia Minor.

*Mohammedan
Conquest of
Spain (711)*

At this point it becomes necessary to pick up the thread of the history of the West Gothic kingdom in Spain, which was dropped in a previous chapter at the death of Athanagild, in 567.¹ Except for the history of the Vandals in Africa that of the kingdom of Visigothic Spain is the wretchedest of all the German kingdoms. Unlike that of the other kingdoms



the throne of the West Goths never became hereditary, and in consequence the crown was constantly the object of eager aspiration on the part of ambitious Gothic nobles. The Gothic aristocracy was composed of turbulent nobles who were enormous landholders, surrounded by a body of formidable retainers and so quasi-independent in their possessions.

¹ Visigothic Kings in Spain.

Euric, 466-83
Alaric II, 483-506
Theodoric and Amalric, 506-22
Amalric alone, 522-31
Theudis, 531-48
Theudigisel, 548-9
Agila, 549-54
Athanagild, 554-67
Leova I, 567-72
Leovigild, 570-86
Reccared I, 586-601
Leova II, 601-3
Witterich, 603-10
Gundimar, 610-12

Sisibut, 612-20
Reccared II, 620-1
Swinthila, 620-31
Sisinand, 631-6
Chinthila, 636-40
Tulga, 640-1
Chindaswinth, 641-52
Recceswinth, 652-72
Wamba, 672-80
Erwig, 680-7
Egica, 687-701
Witiza, 701-10
Roderic, 710-11

Between them and the nobles of Roman lineage, who also were quite as powerful, constant feud existed. The clergy, too, was divided into two rival groups, the Arian and the Catholic. Education, wealth, and tradition was behind the latter, however, and their influence was so great that in 586 King Reccared abjured the Arian faith and became a Catholic. The effect was that the great nobles and the high clergy henceforth were united together to abase the crown. The councils were not always religious synods, but political bodies, which made the kings their creatures and really governed the realm. The constitutional history of Visigothic Spain, so to speak, is found in the church councils, of which there were many — Seville in 590, Saragossa in 592, Barcelona in 599, and no less than eight at Toledo. Their legislation shows that the roots of Spanish bigotry are very old. Heretics and Jews were mercilessly pursued and made to suffer confiscation of property or exile. In the reign of Sisebut (612-20) ninety thousand Jews were compulsorily baptized; the rest were deprived of their property and driven into exile. The effect of this action upon Spanish industry and commerce, never large under the West Goths, was prostrating. But worse was to follow. Most of the exiles found refuge in Africa, where their descendants fraternized with the Mohammedans when they appeared a century later, and powerfully contributed to Musa's campaign in Spain. The legend that the immediate occasion of the Mohammedan invasion of Spain was the appeal of a Count Julian, whose daughter King Roderic had outraged, to Musa for vengeance may be discounted. Mohammedan religious enthusiasm, militant imperialism, Berber hope of loot, and Jewish revenge were the true causes of the downfall of Visigothic Spain. In 710 Musa petitioned the Khalif Welid, at Damascus, for permission to cross the straits and sent first a band of four hundred horsemen under a Berber lieutenant named Tarif ibn Malik Abuzura, who landed in Andalusia in the same year at the place ever since called Tarifa. In the following spring (711) a far more famous captain crossed with a force of twelve thousand Berbers. This was Tarik, whose capture of the citadel on the great rock which guards the straits, where long stood a pillar to Hercules, converted the ancient name of the place to Djebel Tarik, the Rock of Tarik, whence the name Gibraltar. A single battle at Xérez, on the borders of the river Guadalete, destroyed the West Goth kingdom. Town after town, province after province, was overrun by the conquering hosts of Mohammedans, whose seat of government, at first fixed at Seville, in 715 was transferred to Córdoba. "The campaign was irresistible. Some of the towns held out until their poor resources were exhausted, but others in consideration of generous terms of peace were only too glad to obey the summons to surrender." By 725 Moorish outriders had rounded the east end of the Pyrenees and raided Frankish Gaul as far north as Autun,

forerunners of the host which Charles Martel encountered at Tours in 732. Arabic history credits Musa with the grandiose ambition to conquer Europe and to return to Syria by way of the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor. Be that as it may, it is certain that the Khalif grew alarmed at the enormous power of his lieutenant and recalled Musa in 713 to Damascus.

*Mohammedan
expansion in
the Orient*

In western Asia the Arabic conquest of Persia led to rapid penetration of the vast hinterland beyond, long overrun by Turkish tribes which had joined the banner of the Prophet. The ancient cities situated in the oases of this vast and semi-arid territory, reminiscent of Alexander's once mighty sway — Merv, Bokhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, and Balkh — were stepping-stones in this progress. By 724 the Mohammedans were at the western gates of the Chinese Empire and the Indus River. Here for many years the advance of Islam was arrested. But the route via the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean could not be obstructed. Just as the Arabs in possession of Egypt became a maritime people in the Mediterranean, so also they became a seafaring people in the Far East. Makran and the Malabar coast of India were soon colonized, and instead of Chinese junks appearing in the Persian Gulf, now Arab dhows began to appear in the China Sea. Ere long Mohammedan colonies were settled in Hangchow, Canton, and other ports of China. Around the mosques in these two important cities "the little colony of Arab traders grew and flourished, living in perfectly friendly relations with their Chinese neighbors, their commercial interests being identical . . . and speedily multiplied, partly through new arrivals, partly by marriage with the Chinese and by conversions from among them." In this same eighth century the Arabs also penetrated above Upper Egypt into Nubia, and from Tripoli, Kairwan, and Fez began to penetrate the Sahara, and so for the first time in history bring Negroland into contact with the civilizations of the Mediterranean.

By the middle of the eighth century the Mohammedan empire extended from the Atlantic on the west to the Indus. The territories of three empires were comprehended within its immense ellipse — Persia, Byzantium, and Rome. Islam was planted in three continents. "A people hitherto known only for its poverty, its want of all material resources, its brigandage, was suddenly become master of the most fertile countries of Asia and Africa" within the lapse of a century. The Mohammedan conquests were much less cruel, much less destructive of life and property, than is usually thought. "Their policy and practice were more merciful than that of any of the great northern hordes; there was no depopulation, and hence no great space to be filled up by new occupants." The Arab conquest brought about a change of masters, but did not make a profound change in the life and habits of the conquered populations, who actually were better off under Islam than under Christian or Per-

sian rule. "Islam, which swept violently over Christianity . . . was a real deliverer; for in spite of its defects and barrenness it was a more spiritual power than the Christian religion, which in the East had well-nigh become a religion of the amulet, the fetish, and conjurers."¹ The reason for this lightness of Mohammedan rule lies partly in the fact that Mohammedanism was compelled to adopt the form of government and the institutions of the peoples that it had conquered; partly in the measured religious toleration permitted by the device of "tribute," according to which every people upon payment of a surtax was allowed to retain its own religion, language, and customary institutions. All non-Mohammedans were judged by their own laws. In Syria and Egypt the Arabs preserved most of the features of the former Byzantine administration, Greek still remained the official tongue for years, taxation was lighter than under the previous regime, fiscal abuses and corruption were guarded against.

It is of importance at this point to examine the nature of the Mohammedan government and to note the process by which the Mohammedan empire, though retaining the religion of Islam, yet broke up into rival states. Mohammedanism was split soon into various schismatic sects, but these cleavages have in no way impaired the expansive power of Islam. They have had political, but not religious, effect, and provoked the formation of a crowd of Mohammedan states often in conflict, but nevertheless continuing to maintain and to spread the doctrines of Mohammedanism. The idea of country is unknown to Oriental peoples, and the sole bond capable of establishing a community of interests is religion. Not content with regulating the duties of men to God, Mohammedanism also determined the relations that unite men among themselves. The success and the failure of Islam in great part was due to this fusion of civil and religious regulations. The Koran is at once a Bible and a civil code. The manners and customs of the Arab people were made a part of its religious content. It is impossible to tell where religion ends and civil legislation begins.)

*Nature of
Islamic gov-
ernment*

The test of Mohammedanism began with Mohammed's death. Mohammed left no male heir and designated no successor. At once the conflict between an elective and a hereditary principle arose. The Shiites (from *shi'a*, sect), whom, perhaps, we may define as legitimists, wished to limit the khalifate to the blood or family of Mohammed. The Sunnites (so-called from the *sunna*, or traditions, which became a part of the Koran, but were rejected by the Shiites, or "orthodox" Mohammedans), on the other hand, were hostile to the hereditary principle and advocated an elective succession. If we look closely at these parties and their principles, we shall see that, politically speaking, the Sunnites represented the

*Beginning of
doctrinal and
political
cleavage*

¹ HARNACK, *History of dogma*, IV, 269.

The Ommeyyad dynasty

patriarchal tendency in the Mohammedan empire. The choice of the Prophet's companions fell upon Abu-Bekr (632-4), Mohammed's father-in-law, who took the titles of *Khalifat-rrasul-Ali* (meaning "Successor of the Sent of God") and *Emir-al-Munemin* (meaning "Prince of the Faithful"). The Shiites put up Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, husband of his daughter Fatima, as counter-khalif. The Sunnites continued to hold power under the rule of Omar (634-44), who was killed by a Shiite workman at Kufa, and the weak Othman (644-56). The latter's unpopularity brought Ali to power (656-61), only to be assassinated in turn by Muawwiyah (661-80), head of the powerful Ommeyyad family, who led a revolt of the Syrian provinces. By this time Syria, Egypt, and Persia had been conquered, and Damascus became the capital of the Mohammedan empire. The Ommeyyad dynasty continued to hold power until 750 (661-750). But their rule was bloodily contested by the Shiites.¹ Yezid I (680-3) pillaged Medina and besieged Mecca. Muawwiyah showed high ability as an organizer, appointed *cadis*, or judges, teachers to interpret the Koran, and built mosques for the congregations. He died while warring with Constantinople.

Meanwhile the orthodox Khalifate held its own in Arabia, Egypt, and part of Persia, until the coming of the powerful Ommeyyad Khalif, Abd-el-Malik (680-705), who laid siege to Mecca a second time. Abd-el-Malik warred with the Empire while his lieutenant, Musa, conquered Alceña and Spain.

Rise of the Abbassid dynasty

Despite their glorious conquests the Ommeyyad power was weakened. In the West the Berbers in the time of Hashim (724) and in the East the Turkish provinces broke away. Welid II (743), inflated with power, married his own half-sister, ravished his own daughter, squandered the treasure of the State, and was finally assassinated by his cousin, Yezid III (743-4). Numerous princes of the dynasty struggled for the throne, all of them save one at last (750) to be overcome by ruin at the hands of the great Abbassid dynasty. This family was descended from Abu-l-Abbas, who had now become the representative and leader of the Shiite party, holding to the legitimacy of the family of the Prophet, advocating strict adherence to the Koran, and denying the authority of the Sunna. The conspiracy broke into open war in 746 and culminated in 750 with the murder of Merwan II and ninety princes of the house, all save Abd-er-Rahman, grandson of the former Khalif Hashim, who escaped to Spain and established there in 756 the Ommeyyad Khalifate of Córdoba.

Formation of the two hostile khalifates of Baghdad and Córdoba

The main history of Mohammedanism thenceforward revolves around the mighty Eastern Khalifate, whose seat of empire in 750 was moved from Damascus to the new capital of Baghdad, in the heart of the former

¹ They are sometimes also called Fatimites, from Mohammed's daughter, and sometimes Alides, from his son-in-law.

Persian Empire. Abu-l-Abbas reigned four years (750-4) and was succeeded by his brother Al-Mansur (754-75). Under Al-Mahdi (775-85), who spent the treasure of his father in vast public works, the brilliant period of the Abbassid Khalifate began, which reached its height under Harun-al-Rashid (786-809).

KHALIFS

Abu-Bekr, 632-4	Welid II, 743-4
Omar, 634-43	Yezid III, 744
Othman, 643-56	Ibrahim, 744
Ali, 656-61	Merwan II, 744-50

OMMEYADS

Muavia, I, 661-80
 Yezid I, 680-83
 Muavia II, 683
 Merwan I, 683-84
 Abd-el-Melik, 680-705
 Welid I, 705-15
 Soliman, 715-17
 Omar II, 717-20
 Yezid II, 720-4
 Hashim, 724-43

ABBASSIDS

Abdallah Abu-l-Abbas, 750-4
 Al-Mansur, 754-75
 Al-Mahdi, 775-85
 Al-Hadi, 785-6
 Harun-al-Rashid, 786-809
 Al-Amin, 809-13
 Al-Mamun, 813-33
 Al-Motassem, 833-41
 Wathek, 841-7
 Al-Motawakkel, 847-61

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LOMBARD, PAPAL, AND BYZANTINE ITALY (568-756).
 FOUNDING OF THE TEMPORAL POWER
 OF THE POPES

*Early history
 of the Lom-
 bards*

THE Lombards were the last nation of the German race who established themselves within the Roman Empire. They came as conquerors into Italy in 568. Originally from the valley of the Oder, the migratory impulse had moved them, though later than others of their race. Early in the sixth century they are found in Pannonia, where they absorbed the shattered nations of the Rugians and Heruli, which were there. Like other barbaric peoples around them, they sold their arms to Justinian, and Italy was a familiar country to many of them when they were forced out of Pannonia.

*Lombard
 conquest*

The people of Aquileia fled to the lagoons, on whose islands the future Venice was already beginning to rise. In 569 the invaders spread over the valley of the Po, almost without conflict. Pavia succumbed after a three years' siege and became the capital of the Lombard kingdom, which by 573 included all the plain of the Po and central Italy down to Beneventum. Alboin, the first Lombard King, died in 573 of poison administered by his wife, Rosamund, a Gepid princess who hated him for the murder of her father, Kanimund, whose blood he drank from his victim's skull. For ten years after the death of his successor, Cleph, (575), the Lombards remained without a king, the government resolving itself into the more primitive Germanic cantonal form under local dukes.

The invasion of the Lombards, following so soon upon the wars of Justinian, from whose effects Italy had not yet recovered, was terrible for the Italian people. Many sought refuge in the islands or along the coast — that portion best protected by the fleets of the Empire. Many of the cities disappeared.

In the face of the formidable danger the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (582-602) reorganized the administration in the peninsula. It is interesting to observe how similar conditions and similar causes produced the same effect in Byzantine Africa and in Byzantine Italy. We may profitably compare the Exarchate of Ravenna with the Exarchate of Carthage, for both were created at about the same time. In each country constant threat of invasion and loss of territory developed the preponderance of the military over the civil authority.

Perhaps it would eventually have gone as hard with the Lombards as with the East Goths before them in Italy if a combination of intricate and untoward events had not frustrated the intentions and practices of the Byzantine government. From the moment of the Lombard invasion the Byzantine emperors sought to make an alliance with the Franks against them. Justin II (565-78) made a treaty with Sigbert of Austrasia, and Gontran of Burgundy; Tiberius (578-82) treated with Chilperic. Maurice (582-602) prevailed upon Childebert to invade Italy (584-5) in return for fifty-eight thousand pieces of gold. But the campaign was so ineffectual that Maurice demanded restitution of the money. At the same time that the Franks entered Italy from the west, the Greek fleet assailed the Adriatic coast. Modena and Mantua were taken; Parma, Rhegium, and Piacenza seemed doomed to be wrested from the Lombard — when, without the formality of consulting his ally the Frank King made a truce for eleven months with Authari (583-90), the Lombard King. Nevertheless, the Empire had recovered a considerable portion of northern Italy. Childebert feigned anger at the conduct of his army, which became real when the exarch again called upon him for aid. Childebert made three campaigns into Italy. Once he was defeated; once the Lombards bought him off; the last time the exarch failed to co-operate with him, so that the Frank army raised the siege of Milan and, after three months of ineffectual war, exhausted by the climate and reduced by disease, crossed the Alps.

Byzantine alliance with the Franks

Nevertheless, the Empire did not wholly abandon Italy. The presence of an energetic exarch, Romanus — the one so attacked by Gregory the Great — who imported Slavonic and Bulgarian mercenaries, revived the hope of the Empire. About 650 a Greek fleet ravaged the coast of Beneventum, and thirteen years later (663) the Emperor Constantius II made a vigorous attempt to recover Italy. Embarking at Tarentum with a great army, he attacked Beneventum. In the danger the Lombards concentrated their power by reviving the kingship. One of their ablest kings was Rothari (636-52), former Duke of Brescia. He vanquished the exarch in 638, annexed the Ligurian coast in 640, acquired a foothold in Venetia, and gave the Lombards their first written law (643). His death threw the kingdom into dissension, owing to the struggle of the dukes for the crown and the antagonism of the Arian and Catholic faiths, the latter of which was making swift progress among the Lombards.

Progress of Lombard conquest

We must interrupt the narrative of Lombard history at this point in order to consider the nature of the Lombard conquest and the effect of the Lombard invasion upon the rest of Italy.

It has been contended by some historians that the population in northern Italy had been so decimated during the Gothic wars, and the material

Nature of the Lombard domination important for future of Italy

civilization so destroyed, that the Lombards entered a practically abandoned country. Certainly the chroniclers have given us a picture of desolation unsurpassed by that of any other invasion. The countryside must have been fearfully reduced. But the rural peasantry had not all been destroyed, nor did all the proprietary class flee away. Some of the population fled to the fortified cities — the fact that Pavia resisted for three years shows that some degree of municipal life survived. Some fled to

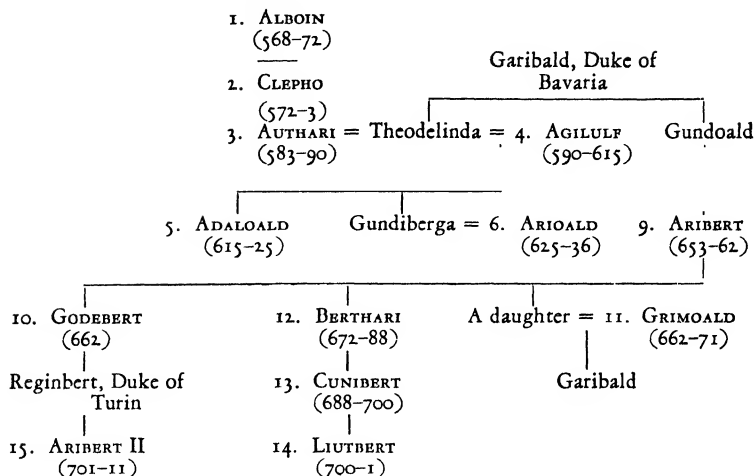


other parts of Italy — the lagoons of the Adriatic or Rome. Some landed proprietors and some peasants either chose doggedly to remain and stick it out or else were coerced to remain by the conquerors. Their lot, however, was worse than that of the Roman civilian population in Gaul and Spain under Goths and Franks. For the Lombard conquest in Italy was a far more drastic event, the most severe of all Germanic occupations. In other German kingdoms the invaders had enforced a partition of the land, taking from one-third to one-half for themselves and leaving the residue to the Roman proprietor, and no change had been made in the

status of the servile peasantry. But the Lombards seem to have taken all the land, reducing the proprietary class to dependency and thrusting down the body of the peasantry to a worse condition of serfdom than obtained under the later Empire or in other German kingdoms. This extreme condition, however, seems to have characterized only the first two generations of the Lombard conquest. For the Code of Rothari (636-52) reveals a somewhat relieved, though by no means mild, condition, and that of Liutprand (712-44), a hundred years later, shows a Christo-German and Roman civilization on a par with the civilization of any other country in western Europe.

Of all the German peoples (except the English, in Britain) the Lombards clung most tenaciously to their German institutions, and most slowly and reluctantly yielded to Roman influences. The fact that they had come into Italy as invaders and not as "federates" of the imperial government, that they had no tradition of long contact with the southern civilization, as had the Goths, and that they numerically were the smallest German nation to enter the Roman Empire perhaps naturally made them harden their conquest and cling longest to German ways in self-defense. This adherence to German tradition appears sharply in the preservation of the elective character of the Lombard kingship when most other German kingships became hereditary. Indeed, for ten years (575-85) there was no king at all among the Lombards, the government resolving itself into that of local dukes. Compared with the constitution of the other German realms, that of the Lombards was singularly rudimentary, although it did not and could not remain purely Germanic in its nature, but exhibits some changes wrought by the conquest and occupation, and other changes due to the incorporation of Roman administrative practices. The king declared the law, but confirmation by an assembly of the warrior class was necessary. Government was through the medium of the dukes, who were at once executive, judicial, and military officers, checked by royal *gastaldi*, in whose hands fiscal matters and control of the royal domain was directly entrusted. The power of the great dukes was the most particular defect of the Lombard State. Continual dissensions engendered by them hampered the king, prevented territorial and political unification, and afforded opportunity for Byzantine intrigues secretly to enter — an opportunity that was more frequently given owing to rebellions which troubled the regular succession. So great at times was the division of the Lombard realm that Gregory the Great once wrote — perhaps, however, with some self-consciousness and exaggeration — "If I had wished to work the ruin of the Lombards, today they would have neither king nor dukes nor counts, and their State would be divided by infinite confusion."

THE LOMBARD KINGS IN ITALY



Kings not connected with this house were (7) Rothari, 636-52; (8) Rodoald, 652-3; (16) Ansprand, 712; (17) Liutprand 712-44; (18) Hildebrand, 744; (19) Ratchis, 744-9; (20) Aistulf, 749-56; (21) Desiderius, 756-74.

Indubitably the most important historical effect of the Lombard invasion was that Italian unity, which Justinian had restored, was irremediably broken and not again realized until the nineteenth century (1870). Roughly we may distinguish three different territorial areas: the Lombard kingdom, which nowhere touched the sea until the capture of Genoa in 640, and the two outlying duchies of Beneventum and Spoleto; Byzantine Italy; and the city and territory of Rome, which at least in a *de facto* capacity was independent. But this nominally tripartite division fails to convey the extreme territorial dislocation of Italy. A glance at the map will show that the Byzantine dominions were so widely separated that there was no communication between some of them except by sea. The fleets of the Byzantine Empire were more important to the preservation of its domination in Italy than its armies.

All the scattered territories pertaining to the Byzantine Empire were collectively comprised within the Exarchate of Ravenna; but in a narrower sense the exarchate was confined to the province which the exarch directly governed and of which Ravenna was the capital. The rest were governed by military dukes. The emergence of these dukes marks the obliteration of the old Roman provincial administration, and the development of a medieval condition in Italy. In the seventh century Italy was almost completely transformed, politically, institutionally, socially, ecclesiastically, culturally. The invasion of the Lombards compelled a new grouping of territories and a new type of administration. Instead of the ancient

provinces we find an Exarchate of Ravenna, a duchy of Venetia, a duchy of Pentapolis, a duchy of Rome, a duchy of Perugia, a duchy of Naples, a duchy of Calabria, a duchy of Liguria — until it fell into the hands of the Lombards in 640. No one of the other territories was ever conquered by them, and they survived down to the fall of the Exarchate, in 754. The exarch was the governor-general of all Byzantine Italy. The dukes were governors of the separate provinces, now called duchies, and combined civil and military authority in their hands. In all essentials the duchies were like the themes of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor, with the exception that the exarch was less able to control these duchies than the emperor was to control the themes.

It was long believed that the Exarchate was created by Justinian immediately after the conquest of the Ostrogoths. This is an error. Although we cannot determine with certainty exactly when the Exarchate was instituted, the date can be fixed approximately between the years 572 and 584. This means that the brave and energetic Emperor Maurice established it, as he established the themes in Asia Minor. But the power of the exarch, though never merely nominal, was much abridged by the inclination of the dukes towards independent local sovereignty. Byzantine Italy exhibits one of the most curious origins of feudalism.

*Formation of
the Exarchate*

The influence of this nobility was balanced by the influence of the Church. The same causes operated to develop an ecclesiastical aristocracy. The necessity of protection, poverty, despair, hope of solace, drove thousands into the arms of the Church. The bishops of Italy, like the lay aristocracy, were proprietors and rulers. The bishop appointed the municipal magistrates in his city in conference with the local notables; he superintended public works, collected taxes. Chief among such bishops, of course, was the pope.

*Importance of
the Church in
Italy*

The core of Italian history in the seventh and eighth centuries is found in the history of the papacy. The material grandeur of Rome had greatly declined since the pontificate of Leo the Great in the middle of the fifth century. "Time, war, flood, fire, had dealt upon the seven-hilled city's pride" with devastating effect. But morally, despite her ruin, Rome rose to hitherto unreached heights of influence under Gregory I, the Great (590-604). The senate and the consulate had both disappeared. The old fourteen "regions" into which imperial Rome had been divided had ceased to be applicable to the changed conditions in the city after the sack by Totila in 547. "When the city was repeopled, it was inhabited in new parts and whole districts were left derelict. . . . The ancient regions now meant nothing for the administration of the city."¹ The political, but not military administration of Rome, and its ecclesiastical direction, was now in the hands of the pope. Medieval Rome was divided into twelve

¹ LANE-POOLE, *The Papal Chancery*, 11.

regions, militarily organized with their *scholæ militiæ*, as the exarch had already organized Ravenna. It was an imitation of the Byzantine system.

The decay of commerce and industry, everywhere manifest in Italy at this time, was most manifest in Rome. Ravenna and Ancona on the Adriatic, Bari, Tarentum, and Naples in the south, thanks to the fleets of the Byzantine Empire, which patrolled the seas, still retained some commercial relations with Constantinople and the ports of the Levant. But Rome, always a consumer and not a producer, and an inland city, was now commercially and industrially reduced to lowest terms. The only merchants were a few Syrians selling silk and incense. The only industries other than domestic were those of weavers, dyers, sandalmakers, a few gold- and silver-smiths, all of them employed by the Church. Dire poverty prevailed among the Roman population, now fearfully reduced from its former great figure. The inhabitants, when they did not depend wholly upon public assistance, no longer the care of the State, but the anxiety of the popes, tilled patches of garden amid the ruins and pastured their goats and longhorned cattle upon the slopes of crumbled palaces, now sunk to shapeless mounds.

The pope was not only bishop of Rome, but proprietary lord of an immense amount of territory round about Rome and, indeed, spread over much of the peninsula and Sicily. Although in theory a subject of the Byzantine Empire and under the immediate authority of the exarch at Ravenna, the pope was largely independent of either. "Gregory the Great in Rome was building, without sound of axe or hammer, a stronger house than Cæsar's."¹

Pope Gregory
the Great
(590-604)

This typical medieval form of the papacy acquired its shape and substance during the pontificate of Gregory I, who has been called the last of the church fathers and the first medieval pope. He is certainly the first pope who exercised a wide and general influence upon the Latin Church both doctrinally and administratively. Indeed, nothing that pertains to his pontificate is without importance. To this great and singularly attractive figure we must now give some special attention.

Gregory was born in Rome of an old and rich senatorial family, long attached to the Church, and identified with the government of the city. At thirty years of age, in the reign of Justin II, he was prefect. When he inherited his father's fortune, he founded six monasteries in Sicily — this was the age of monasticism — and that of St. Andrew in Rome, devoted the residue of his wealth to charity, and retired from the world as a monk. But he was too valuable a man to be permitted to lead a cloistered life, and Benedict I (574-78) sent him to Constantinople as papal legate. When he returned to Rome, he again entered the monastery of St.

¹ WADDELL, *The Wandering Scholars*, 23.

Andrew, where the rigor of his discipline became famous. In 590, when Pope Pelagius II died, the clergy, the Roman senate, and the people clamored for his election, though Gregory earnestly protested and never ceased to deplore the action that drew him from his retirement into the heavy and exacting duties of the papal office.

It was a trying time for the papacy. The invasion of the Lombards had driven out thousands of fugitives, who flocked to Rome for food and shelter. Rome was menaced with both war and famine. The exarch was short of soldiery and short of funds, owing to the Emperor Maurice's need of money and troops nearer home in order to protect the Balkans from the Avars. The Italian dukes and the aristocracy were busy extending and consolidating their own local powers. In his relations with the court of Constantinople Gregory I was firm yet diplomatic until Maurice struck at the abuses of monasticism, curtailed the endowments of the monasteries, and forbade men capable of military service from evading it by becoming monks. Then the Pope's wrath broke forth. The most regrettable episode of Gregory I's pontificate is the approbation he expressed over the murder of Maurice, and his jubilation at the accession of Phokas (602), one of the most infamous rulers the East was ever cursed with. He even went so far as to erect a marble column in the forum, which still stands, in commemoration of this event.

This strained relation with the Byzantine government was made more acute by Gregory I's uncompromising attitude with reference to papal authority. He steadfastly asserted the ecclesiastical supremacy of the see of Rome over all other sees and endeavored, though unsuccessfully, to extend the appellate jurisdiction of the papacy over the Eastern bishops, even the patriarch of Constantinople. It is to be observed, however, that Gregory I was not an advocate of a monarchical papacy, but believed that the sovereignty of the Church reposed in the councils-general of the Church, of whose findings the pope was the executive. This was the constitutional theory of church government in the Middle Ages down to the middle of the eleventh century, when the revolution wrought by Leo IX and Gregory VII began.

No pope labored harder than Gregory I to suppress schism and heresy. In the Balkan peninsula, in spite of his efforts to suppress it, the schism caused by the condemnation of the "Three Chapters" persisted, especially in Istria, nor could the emperor, even Phokas, be persuaded to use force to crush it. But the great heresy which excited the Pope's animosity and for the destruction of which he ceaselessly labored was Arianism. This was now wholly a Western and German heresy. It had been destroyed in Africa with the fall of the Vandals in 534. The West Goths in Spain had abjured Arianism under King Reccared in 589, the year before

Gregory I's accession. The Lombards in Italy, however, were still Arian. Not the least of Gregory's achievements was the conversion of the Lombard King through his wife Theodelinda (590). Lesser heretic groups that gave the Pope anxiety were remnants of Donatists in Africa and some Manichæans in Sicily. There were also many Jews in Rome and the cities of southern Italy, and in the remoter mountainous regions of Calabria and Sardinia paganism still persisted. The Pope's bitterest hatred was cast upon heretics; he advocated and practiced the most extreme measures of repression — (*verberibus et cruciatibus*), flogging and torture. With regard to Jews, he preferred corruption to force, and so remitted to converted Jews the taxes due to the Church from them. He was not deceived in this policy, perceiving that many such "conversions" were hypocritical and for economic self-advantage, but comforted himself by the reflection that the children of such converts would grow up to be sincere Catholics.

No pope before Gregory I had ever maintained so wide or so voluminous a correspondence. His letters run into the hundreds (838) and deal with almost every conceivable form of human interest. With the Catholic Frankish sovereigns he was especially intimate and he wrote frequently to them upbraiding them for their vices. The disciplinary nature of his letters to the bishops is striking. This great Pope's interest in and influence upon Western monasticism, and his promotion of Christian missions in pagan lands will be considered elsewhere. But two fields of Gregory I's activity must here be noted, his influence upon theology and church worship, and his administration of the patrimony of the Church of Rome.

Gregory I was not a great original theological thinker. He followed St. Augustine closely, but he had a rare gift of popularizing the abstruse theology of the mighty African doctor in homiletic form. Ritual, worship, church music, were a passion with him. Nine hymns of the Latin Church are attributed to his authorship. His interest in perfecting the liturgy has given him the surname of *pater ceremoniarum*, or father of ceremonies. In the form in which it has come down to us, the Sacramentary contains a number of prayers already in use long before Gregory I's time, but some of the offices or services, as matins, lauds, prime, tierce, nones, vespers, and compline, may preserve vestiges of his influence and interest. In the history of early church music Gregory I ranks next to St. Ambrose. He is the traditional deviser of that sonorous musical rhythm called "plain-song," of which the Gregorian chant is the most striking example. Modern research has proved that this kind of church music long antedated the time of Gregory I. Nevertheless the Antiphonary of Gregory I still remains the foundation of the music of the Roman Church. In fine, the musical influence of Gregory I seems

to have been that of a reviser and adapter of anterior music and as a hymn-writer.

The pope was not only the most influential bishop in Italy. He was also the greatest landed proprietor. In the time of Gregory I this proprietary power tended to become transformed into a political authority. The pope's authority eclipsed that of the duke who nominally governed Rome and the territory around it, extending from Viterbo to Terracina and from Narni to the coast. In spite of his high-sounding title, "*gloriossimus*," he was so insignificant that Gregory I scornfully described him as "a useless and pettifogging thing." The landed endowments of the Church of Rome collectively comprised what was called the *Patrimonium Petri*, or patrimony of St. Peter, which developed into the States of the Church. Gregory the Great was the true founder of the temporal power of the popes, who emerged as feudal princes in the middle of the eighth century. The nucleus of these domains was the lands in and around Rome which had been given as endowments to the Roman see by Constantine and his immediate successors, but they were very greatly increased in the two succeeding centuries. By 600 the pope possessed patrimonies in almost every province of Italy, and even outside of the peninsula, in Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, southern Gaul, Istria, Dalmatia, Illyria. The largest block was in Sicily, where over four hundred wheat farms belonged to the papacy. It has been calculated that, all together, these lands included eighteen hundred square miles of territory, of which the pope was possessor and proprietor. In the time of Gregory the Great all the patrimony in the north had been lost to the Lombards, and their slow extension down the center of the peninsula imperiled the lands in middle Italy. It was this danger, perhaps as much as their Arianism, that caused the pope's deep resentment against the Lombards and induced him to keep on good terms with the exarch and the Byzantine emperor, on whose military support he relied to prevent the Lombard advance.

*The papal
patrimony*

Gregory I was a singular combination of theological wisdom, spiritual feeling, and worldly, practical efficiency. His ability as an administrator was very great, and if he did not originate, he certainly established the administrative system of the papal patrimony, which lasted all through the Middle Ages. This management was inherited from the time of the Roman Empire and was in all essentials a continuation of the proprietary regime of the fourth and fifth centuries. The *fundi* or estates in the same province, each having a local steward (*conductor*), were grouped together into larger units called *massæ* under the higher supervision of a *rector* and were named from the province or the most important town near which they were located. The rectors were clerics, but the bailiffs and stewards often were laymen. The rectors exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction over the servile and slave tenantry on these estates.

"The rector had to consider questions as various as the price of corn, the merits of pastoral as opposed to arable farming, and the character of the candidates for a vacant bishopric." He was entrusted with the collection of the rents and revenues, with the duty of punishing any disorders or attempts of the *coloni* to remove from the patrimony, with information to the large landowners, imperial officials, and local bishops, with the duty of supplying the Roman court with articles of produce, or complying with any similar demands made upon him. The Church was a hard taskmaster. The lot of serfs and slaves on the papal patrimony was at least as bad as that of those on lay properties. Sometimes these lands were leased for a term of thirty years (*locatio*) or for three generations (*emphyteusis*), but not more. The revenues were paid in produce or in coin, depending upon local economic conditions. But most of the papal estates were administered directly. This was especially so of the Sicilian wheat lands, the most lucrative possession of all. The number of letters written by Gregory I to the rectors of the Sicilian patrimony far exceed the number of all such letters directed to other managers.

In comparison with the revenues of any other Italian proprietor the income of the pope must have been very large; it has been estimated to have been as much as a million dollars in modern currency. Gregory I was a keen business man and watched the market. We find him shipping Sicilian wheat to Constantinople in time of scarcity, Sardinian timber to woodless Egypt, copper from the mines of Sardinia and iron from Bruttium for the Byzantine arsenals and shipyards. The demands made upon the papal income were many and heavy. It not only supported the Roman clergy and maintained the churches, schools, hospitals, orphanages, and monasteries there, but supported many of the clergy and ecclesiastical establishments elsewhere in Italy. The care of the poor was an enormous burden, heavier because of the refugees driven down from the north of Italy by the Lombard inroads. The demolition of the Roman city was such that little was done to remedy it. The aqueducts were broken, the sewers choked.

Gregory the Great perhaps may be denominated as the first medieval man. Evidences of it are his intense interest in theology, his credulous belief in miracles, his detestation of the classics, his ardent admiration of monasticism. As a Roman noble, as Bishop of Rome and Pope, he was proud and autocratic. As a Christian he preached humility — it was with him that the papal title "*servus servorum Dei* (servant of the servants of God)" was adopted — as a church ruler and landed proprietor he was masterful. His treatment of the peasantry on the church lands was harsh, yet his humane spirit is perpetuated in the story in the *Golden Legend* of his praying for the soul of the Emperor Trajan and gaining his admission to paradise. His virtues and his weaknesses were of the

spirit of his age. But he never did anything by halves. His sermons and his letters reveal him as an earnest, somewhat austere personality, always intensely human. In the few moments of leisure that ill health and exacting duties left him, he sometimes could unbend and be simple and childlike, as, for instance, when one day a wandering minstrel appeared at the gate of the papal palace "with an ape and began to play upon an instrument," and Gregory bade him enter and gave him food and drink. The organ-grinder and his monkey are evidently an old Italian institution.

The seventh century in Italian history, or more particularly the years lying between the death of Gregory I in 604, and 712, which marks the accession of Liutprand, the greatest of the Lombard kings, was an interlude between two periods of active Lombard advancement. During this period the Lombards consolidated their former conquests rather than made new conquests, framed their administrative institutions, codified their law, and re-established the Orthodox Church within their kingdom. Roman civilization made great progress among them. They ceased to be barbarians. But this arrest of Lombard expansion was in part due to new and more energetic measures taken by the Byzantine government. A long row of fortresses guarded the strategic road from Ravenna to Rome. Between Rome and the Adriatic possessions of the Empire communication was maintained by the recovery of Perugia from the Lombards and the erection of citadels along this route. Rome itself was girdled with fortified towns—Civitavecchia, Sutri, Orte, Narni (lost in 712), Tivoli, Anagni. Fortunately for the maintenance of this protective system, the two Lombard dukes in the south, those of Beneventum and Spoleto, did not make common cause with the Lombards of the north, but devoted themselves to rounding out and consolidating their own territories.

*Progress of
civilization
among the
Lombards*

This political and military dependence of the papacy upon the Byzantine Empire was curiously inconsistent with the papal claims to ecclesiastical supremacy, with the doctrinal suspicion with which the popes regarded the Church in the East. But the anti-Hellenistic tension was moderated by the fact that hellenism, not latinism, was ascendant during these years in Italy, even in Rome. Many of the bishops were Greeks or hellenized Syrians; Greek monks propagated hellenism, and many monasteries which followed the Basilian Rule instead of the Benedictine Rule were established, two of these being in Rome itself. The Benedictines did not settle in Ravenna until 767, and Ravenna was far more a Greek than an Italian city in its culture. In the thirty years between 685 and 714 seven popes were Greek or Oriental: John V was a Syrian, Conon was a Thracian Greek, Sergius I a Syrian, John VI and John VII were Greeks, Sisinnius a Syrian. The long pontificate of Gregory II interrupted this sequence for fifteen years, but the series was resumed

*Relations be-
tween the
papacy and
the Byzantine
emperors*

after him with another Syrian, Gregory III (731-41), and finally Zacharias, a Calabrian Greek (741-52). Thus the government of Italy and of the papacy was frequently in the hands of friends of the emperors. The years were not without profit for the papacy. Boniface III (607) obtained from the Emperor Phokas imperial recognition of the primacy of the Roman Church; Heraclius gave Pope Honorius all the ancient public buildings in Rome that were the property of the State — a sad fact, for many of them were destroyed to build churches out of their remains; John V secured important imperial donations to the papal patrimony and reduction of taxes.

But an abrupt change in Italian politics came early in the eighth century. Relations between Rome and Constantinople were sharp and acrimoniously severed, owing to the iconoclastic policy of Leo the Isaurian. Apparently the actuating motive of the papacy at this juncture was to cast off the yoke of imperial authority and to convert its quasi-temporal power in central Italy into a real temporal power. It was a daring design, but the risks were great, and, as the issue proved, the popes were incapable of carrying it through alone. How far conscience and how far ambition actuated Gregory II in the bold course he adopted is difficult to determine. But it is certain that he seized upon the iconoclasm of Leo III to provoke a separatist revolution in Italy. In 725 the Pope prevented an imperial levy of taxes in Italy. This was the first open sign of revolt. For some time central Italy experienced the horrors of civil war. The exarch was in straitened circumstances, with few troops and little money, since Leo III required both to meet the crisis at home. The militia of the towns, supplemented by the forces of the local nobles of the exarchate, were ill disciplined and mutinous. The nobles for the most part saw in the conflict an opportunity to cast off all superior political authority over them and to make themselves entirely independent. Others were partisans on one side or the other, as advantage seemed. All fished in the turbulent waters. One of the dukes, named Exhilaratus, attempted to rouse the peasantry of the Roman Campagna against the Pope and was killed; another was captured and his eyes were torn out. In Ravenna the Greek party and the Italian party battled in the streets.

But another factor soon entered into the controversy. This was Liutprand (712-44), the greatest of the Lombard kings. It was an opportune moment, when it seemed as if Italian unity under Lombard domination might be realized. The fusion of the Lombards with the conquered Italian population was almost completed by the eighth century; the Lombards were Catholic; their language was more Italian than German in nature; their law had been much modified by the influence of the Roman law; the Lombards were now a civilized people; commerce, industry, building, education were pursued among them; the court life in the capital at Pavia

*Reign of
Liutprand
(712-44)*

was more refined than that of the Frankish kings. That neither Liutprand nor his successors realized Lombard "manifest destiny" and united the Italian peninsula under their rule was due to the opposition of the papacy. Liutprand's design for Lombard expansion entailed the extinguishment of the Exarchate and also the incorporation of portions of the duchy of Rome in order to effect a union with the two dukedoms in the south. There was no question of a loss of the papal patrimony in this design; on the contrary, the Lombard King heaped donation after donation upon the Church of Rome and restored the ancient papal patrimony in the Cottine Alps. But the Pope, bent upon establishing his temporal power, played a double game, supporting Liutprand when the Lombard policy injured the Byzantine position in Italy, intriguing against him when Lombard success seemed likely to jeopardize his own political ambition.

Soon after the publication of the imperial edict of 725 the Lombards began hostilities against the Byzantine government in Italy. The Spoletans captured Narni, Liutprand took Classis, near Ravenna. When the exarch marched upon Rome in order to compel Gregory II to submit to the capitulation tax, he found himself confronted by Lombard and Roman military forces. Later Liutprand invaded Emilia. How far was the papacy responsible for all this tumult? After inciting it, the Pope seems to have had some misgivings as to whether he could ride the storm. He needed Lombard support to make head against the Emperor, but regretted the necessity of the alliance and betrayed the Lombard King when he could with safety.

The politico-territorial ambition of the Pope, although yet veiled, cannot be doubted. In 728 Liutprand captured Sutri, a fortified place and garrison point in the duchy of Rome, situated south of Viterbo. It was not a part of the papal patrimony, though the Pope may have possessed estates in the vicinity. The Pope demanded that it be given *beato Petro*, to St. Peter, and Liutprand, rather than make a breach with the Pope, complied. At the same time the Pope intrigued with the dukes of Beneventum and Spoleto to alienate them from the Lombard alliance. It is evident that Gregory II played a bold but subtle game, utilizing his ecclesiastical pre-eminence, his already considerable political authority, and his undoubted popularity with the Italians as a whole, who disliked both Greek and Lombard, to convert himself into an Italian prince if possible. The papal domains were vast and widespread; since the time of Gregory the Great the pope had been sole ruler of Rome, though not of the Roman duchy. How far the Pope was responsible for this condition of civil war and how far that condition was independent of his conduct, is difficult to determine. Except in the southern provinces the former imperial authority passed over almost entire to the pope. The Roman Gregory II was succeeded by Gregory III, a Syrian. He was less of a politician than his predecessor and much more a theologian, but adamant also in his opposition to iconoclasm. In 731 he

*Papal policy
and papal
diplomacy*

summoned a council, which ninety-three western bishops attended besides numerous nobles, for church councils were not exclusively ecclesiastical bodies at this time; Church and State, the Church and feudalism, were too interwoven to permit of separation of the two classes. The Pope was not merely playing the game of an Italian prince; he was assuming the spiritual headship and direction of Western Christendom. The Emperor retaliated by confiscating the Sicilian patrimony of the papacy, besides the estates in Naples, Calabria, and Gaeta, and severing the bishoprics of southern Italy and Sicily from Roman jurisdiction, attaching them instead to Constantinople. Leo III thereby confined the opposition of the popes to the Latin provinces of Italy. He sacrificed central Italy to save southern Italy and the Orient to the Byzantine Empire, by detaching all the Hellenized portion of the peninsula.

But the papacy was not independent. The Lombard was still left to deal with, and the Pope would make no peace with him. Between 732 and 735 Liutprand took Ravenna, and the exarch found refuge in Venice. Gregory III offered his support to him. Meanwhile he strengthened the fortifications in and around Rome, and by money persuaded the Duke of Spoleto to surrender the castle of Gallese to him. This gave the Pope control of the communications between Rome and Ravenna. Legally the position of the Pope was anomalous; practically it was quite otherwise. The exarch was powerless to coerce the Pope. The Duke of Rome was a nonentity, too insignificant a personage for the Pope to fear. The duchy — which Gregory III boldly separated from the exarchate — at this time territorially was composed of ancient Latium, and southern Tuscany was actually, though not theoretically, under papal domination. The Pope considered as his own the territory he so hardly withheld against the Lombard encroachment. In this manifestation the papacy was exhibiting that same inclination towards feudal localization of power which the great Italian nobles exhibited. He telescoped the interests and the property of the Church in Rome with those of the State and labored to convert the Roman territory into a principality. Already as early as Gregory III we find the phrase "*Sancta respublica*" used to denominate it when the States of the Church were yet in process of formation and still somewhat nebulous.

The Byzantine emperor had been ousted from central Italy by the Pope. But the Lombard was still to be checkmated. The Pope could not engage the Lombards single-handed. He needed outside military assistance and turned to Karl Martel, the great Frankish mayor. It was the year 739. But Karl Martel had many anxieties at home without seeking new responsibilities beyond the Alps. The Saracens still occasionally raided the far south of Gaul, even Provence — Arles was occupied by them in 737 — and continued to do so until the capture of Narbonne, in 759. The Frankish clergy was hostile towards the mayor because of his seizure of the

lands of the Church from military necessity. Moreover, Liutprand was Karl Martel's ally, for it was the Lombard King, not the Frankish mayor, who drove the Saracens out of Provence. Consequently the three papal missions petitioning for Frankish intervention in behalf of the Pope were coldly received. Meantime, Liutprand having crushed the Duke of Spoleto, advanced towards Rome and ravaged the Campagna. At this critical juncture Gregory III died (741), in the same year that Karl Martel also passed away. The new pope was Zacharias, a Hellenized Syrian. His policy was that of his predecessor, but the conditions changed. The exarch effected a return to Ravenna, where he made common cause with the Archbishop against the Lombards. Liutprand hesitated whether to direct his arms against the exarch or against the Pope. Finally he chose the former alternative and made peace with the Pope. We do not know his motives. He may have had religious scruples about making war upon the papacy. It may be that it seemed prudent for him first to crush the exarch, who could still rely upon some scant Byzantine support. The accession of Pepin the Short in the Frankland could hardly have given him anxiety. At any rate, the Pope was given a breathing-space; for the Lombard King died in 744, before he could attack the exarch. For five years there was a respite in Italy (744-9). Liutprand's successor, his nephew Hildebrand, was dethroned within a year; Ratchis, Duke of Friuli, who became king, was a passive follower of the Pope and retired into a monastery in 749.

Then came abrupt change. His brother Aistulf (749-56) was an ambitious king who revived Liutprand's plans for the Lombard unification of Italy. He increased the army, even exacting military service of those who did not own land. In 751 he seized Ravenna and the Pentapolis. In the face of this new Lombard aggression the Pope and the Emperor for the moment abated their mutual antagonism. For the time being accord between Constantine V and Zacharias against the Lombards seemed practicable. Constantine V was a politic ruler, neither fanatically iconoclastic nor the friend of monks. He regarded the Church with a layman's eye; its organization was a part of government, and as a part of the imperial system he was its master. His religious policy was one of expediency. He wished to establish religious unity in the Byzantine Empire for the sake of political security and was willing to make minor concessions to every sectarian group. But he clung to the principles of iconoclasm in the council of 753. He would not condemn iconoclasm nor abate his *cæsaro-papistic* pretensions. This was the rub between the Emperor and the Pope. Stephen II was the successor of Zacharias, born a Roman and reared from boyhood in the Lateran. The Church had been committed by Christ to the apostle and his successors, not to the emperors, to be guided and governed. Rather than imperil the papal claims by accepting imperial

assistance against the Lombards on such compromising terms — or perhaps in order to destroy the imperial domination in central Italy and to make himself an independent Italian prince? — the Pope turned towards the Franks, though avoiding formal rupture with the Emperor.

The intricacy of the international politics of this time — Byzantine, Papal, Frankish — is very great and the obscurity is all the greater, sometimes because of the brevity, perhaps deliberate suppression, of information by the chroniclers; sometimes because of their partisan character, which in special incidents seems to extend even to mendacity. Every principal in the issue was playing a deep game for big stakes. The Patrimony of St. Peter by this time had become a state of which the Pope was ruler; all he needed was a political title to confirm his proprietary authority. But the Emperor could not make such concession without derogating imperial authority in Italy. If it could not be acquired by legal procedure, then resort to revolution was necessary. The Pope alone and single-handed was unable to carry through such a project. To what power could he look for support? On the other hand, the Emperor had too great need of troops and money in the Balkans and Asia Minor to spare much of either for support of his exarch at Ravenna against the Lombards. To whom could he turn as an ally? Both Emperor and Pope appealed to Pepin the Short, the new Frankish King for support. The former sent the *silentarius* John to Rome, outwardly to make the idle gesture of trying to pacify the Lombard King, secretly to instruct the Pope to act as his agent in negotiation with Pepin. This fact — it seems a fact — is not stated in so many words by any chronicler, but may reasonably be argued from the sequence of events. Apparently the Pope was given an imperial diploma to give to Pepin conferring the Byzantine title of *patrician* upon him.

But the Pope had other designs of his own to which he was determined to make the Frankish King a party, and to be sure that nothing would go amiss resolved to go himself to Gaul to confer with Pepin. Or did he go as an imperial envoy? "It is not hard to believe that the Pope may have persuaded the imperial government that his journey into Francia was an expedition in its interest, or that he may even have sought its authority for the gift of the patricial title; it is easy to see that the papal biographer might suppress a fact which by the time he wrote had grown uncomfortable."¹ And it is immensely significant that when the patricial title was conferred, it was not the ancient one of "patrician," but "*patrician of the Romans*." Whether Stephen II did or did not go to Gaul as the envoy of the Emperor is open to question. But there is no doubt that he played his own game and euchred the Emperor.

In 753 political conditions had changed in Frankish Gaul, and the

¹ BURR, in *Cambridge Medieval History*, II, 585.

situation was singularly favorable to the success of the Pope's overtures. Pepin the Short had conciliated the Frankish clergy by restoring a portion of the church lands that his father had confiscated; Boniface had powerfully contributed to papal domination north of the Alps by initiating the great missionary movement in Germany for the conversion of the Saxons and Frisians; he had reorganized and reformed the Frankish Church, and brought it into immediate allegiance to the papacy; finally his was the prevailing influence that had secured papal sanction for the deposition of the Merovingian dynasty and the elevation of Pepin the Short to the kingship.

*Relations of
the papacy
with Pepin,
King of the
Franks*

Early in 753 the Pope secretly sent a message to Pepin by the hand of "a certain pilgrim" asking that envoys be sent to escort him into the Frankland. Is this an evidence of the Pope's devious diplomacy, that he should have chosen a mere pilgrim instead of openly sending an official envoy? It would seem a somewhat strained method of communication, although at this time an almost unceasing stream of pilgrims from Gaul and England to Rome flowed along the roads. The unknown pilgrim delivered his message in the spring and Pepin replied through two other pilgrims, one of whom was the abbot of Jumièges, that the requested escort would shortly be sent.

In the autumn two Frankish ambassadors, Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, the King's chancellor, and the Duke Autcharius, arrived in Rome as Pepin's emissaries, come to conduct the Pope into Gaul. The papal party left Rome on October 14, 753, escaped the pursuit of the Lombards, and arrived at the royal villa of Ponthion, near Soissons, on January 6, 754. The Pope spent the winter in the abbey of Saint-Denis. On July 28 he recrowned Pepin and conferred the patriciate upon him as well. In the meantime papal pressure had been exerted upon the King, certainly to induce him to intervene in Italy to liberate the papal territory from the menace of the Lombard invasion, probably also to extinguish the Byzantine sovereignty in the duchy of Rome and the exarchate. Aistulf was now deeply alarmed over the prospect of Frankish intervention and dispatched into Gaul Pepin's brother Carloman, who had exchanged the life of a prince for that of a monk in Monte Cassino. But Carloman was immediately put under arrest and imprisoned in a monastery at Vienne, where he soon afterwards died. The Frankish King was under too heavy obligations to refuse the Pope's petition. In the spring of 755 a Frankish army crossed the Alps and invaded Lombardy. Pavia was besieged. Aistulf fled to Ravenna. This was followed by Frankish overrunning of the Exarchate in the next year, this time Pepin in person commanding the expedition.

*Frankish in-
vasion of Italy,
(755)*

Then ensued an astonishing event. The Frankish King conferred upon the pope the territory of the Exarchate as a temporal possession, with rights

*Founding of
the temporal
power of the
papacy*

of sovereignty as an Italian prince. It was a goodly state, extending from Ravenna and Comacchio down the Adriatic coast to Sinigaglia and thence across the Apennines to Narni. Together with the duchy of Rome, already the pope's in a *de facto* capacity, it formed the single most powerful State in Italy. The Lombard kingdom was forever blocked from any extension southward. Pepin gave his conquests not to the *Respublica Romana*, but to St. Peter, thereby firmly assuring the pope's sovereignty by identifying the new State with the *Patrimonium Petri*, and, as it were, throwing the papal claim back as far as the Prince of the Apostles. The Petrine authority was given temporal in addition to spiritual authority to sustain it.

*Forged
Donation of
Constantine*

But what shall be said of the statecraft that effected this consummation? In the Frankish kingdom all the details of this project which culminated in the founding of the temporal power of the papacy were carefully arranged and recorded in a document known as the Pact of Kiersey, so called because it was made at a royal villa of that name. But behind this document there seems to have been another document, or at least a legend or tale, which perhaps then was reduced to written form for the first time, although no text anterior to 774 alludes to it. The argument for its usage in 754 rests upon singular analogies of language and sequence of identical ideas between it and the Pact of Kiersey. This document was the famous Forged Donation of Constantine. For many years a legend had been current in the West that Constantine, while still a pagan, had been healed of leprosy by Pope Sylvester II, that he had thereupon professed Christianity, and in gratitude had removed the imperial capital to Constantinople, leaving Rome and all Italy to the papal dominion. This wild legend seems to have been skillfully utilized by some influential person in the pope's entourage to justify the extinguishment of the claims of the Byzantine Empire in Italy and to establish the temporal sovereignty of the papacy. No actual text of this notorious donation is older than the ninth century, and this text, perhaps significantly, is found in a formula-book of Saint-Denis, sandwiched between a letter of Pope Zachary and one of Pope Stephen II. "Whether the pope was author, accomplice or victim of the fraud cannot be guessed. . . . But minute study of the strange charter's diction seems now to have made sure its origin in the papal chancellery during the third quarter of the eighth century . . . while to an ever-growing proportion of the students of this period the historical setting in which it alone can be made to fit is that of Stephen's visit to the Franks, or of the years which closely followed it."¹

It is a singular fact that no Byzantine historian of this period mentions the donation of Pepin. If any perceived the importance of the fact, he failed to see that the council of 753 was responsible for the imperial loss of central Italy by throwing the Pope into the arms of the Frankish

¹ BURR, in *Cambridge Medieval History*, II, 586.

King. Nevertheless the Byzantines were not indifferent to the loss. It was a deep blow to the prestige of the Empire and hurt both its pride and its power. It discredited iconoclasm, whose purpose had been to consolidate the Empire and which instead had disrupted it.

Thus, in 756, one epoch in the history of medieval Italy terminated and another opened. For two hundred years and more the pope had fished in the troubled Italian waters and had proved "a timelier fisher" than all others, whether emperor or Lombard king or Frankish king. The Lombard conquest, though entailing much anxiety to the popes, started the papacy upon a tortuous diplomacy, which eventually set it free from its position of dependence on Byzantium and made the pope a temporal prince. The popes left theological discussion to the East. They were not interested in theology. They were politicians.

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GAUL IN THE TIME OF THE MEROVINGIAN FRANKS (561-751). THE CIVIL WARS (567-687) AND RISE OF THE AUSTRASIAN MAYORS

WE must now resume the history of the Franks, whose heroic era of expansion and conquest terminated in 561.

*Social classes
and structure
of society
among the
Merovingian
Franks*

Frankish society formed a transition between latest Roman society and that of the feudal age. Under the later Roman Empire we found the senatorial landed aristocracy, a few freemen, serfs (*coloni*), and slaves. The Germans brought in some nobles of their own race, freemen, serfs (*liti*), and slaves. These several classes tended to fuse together according to their status. Two hundred years later, in Merovingian society, in the broad we discover two great groups: a proprietary noble class and dependents of various degrees; or, what amounts to the same thing: those who are free (whether nobles or freemen) and those who are not. Liberty and property gradually fused together to make the upper stratum of society; lack of freedom and poverty to make the lower stratum of society.

In Merovingian society six several classes may be distinguished, according to condition or status: clergy, nobles, freemen, townsmen, *coloni* or serfs, and slaves. These classes were sharply differentiated in the law, and the wergeld or penalty for taking the life of any of them was rigidly evaluated in the codes. Fines for almost every conceivable form of physical injury were provided.

The highest class was composed of Roman proprietors and of the "companions" of the conquering kings. In process of time these two classes fused to form the antrustionate, or all those high nobles who were "in the trust of" the king, among whom also royal officials, guardsmen, etc., were included.

Simple freemen tended to decline in numbers, the weaker sinking to serfdom, the stronger rising to petty nobility. The natural tendency was for every man to seek his lord or protector, to whom he "recommended" himself. At first this relation was a personal one only, but as all nobles from highest to lowest were in some degree landowners, in course of time this relation became one of property as well as of person. In return for his protection the greater noble was given both personal and pecuniary service by the lesser noble attached to him by the tie of "recommendation." Out of this second form of social organization vassalage ultimately developed.

Christianity accomplished little in softening the rough nature of the Franks. Roman society had been prepared by a long process for the change from a pagan to a Christian civilization. But the Franks had no such spiritual education and had embraced Christianity as a kind of occult, supernatural power, which it was not good to offend and might be wise to accept. What the historian Socrates relates of the conversion of the Burgundians is probably more or less applicable to the conversion of all the Germans. "The Burgundians, in fear of the Huns, resolved to commit themselves to the protection of some god, and having seriously considered that the God of the Romans powerfully protected those that feared him, they all with common consent embraced the faith of Christ. And, having been baptized, they all confidently marched against the enemy."

Thus Christianity did not reform German society; it merely changed it and led it into new channels. Germanic society was not yet a state, but only an attempt to start one. It depended on personal obligations or relations between men, and not on official duty, for the maintenance of law and order. In converting the imperfectly formed society, with its still barbarous tendencies, the Church found an exceedingly difficult task, which needed centuries to accomplish. In this society certain of the barbarian traits were still in full play. The Germans refused to believe in the Lamb of God who allowed Himself to be slaughtered. The sins of others did not concern them much. The idea of sin was a very simple one, confined to such things as the breaking of one's word. The perfect liberty of the individual to do what he had received the gift and power to do was reasonable to them. In the struggle of the Church with pagan ideas we find the doctrine of self-humiliation struggling with that of self-respect. The virtue of feeling opposed that of the will. Yet there was a fusion of ideas when Christianity and mythology met. The Christian faith was not pure when it reached the Germans, for already some pagan forms had been introduced. While this weakened Christianity, it made it more acceptable to the barbarians, who could not have understood it otherwise. The fusion of Christian and German ideas produced new social attitudes. The Church was forced to sanction wars against unbelievers. Christ was a great war-chief, and all who accepted baptism became members of His host. While the early Christians believed in the power of prayer to make the impossible possible, the German believed in his sword to slay the enemies of Christ and win a way to heaven. The new faith became one of action, not of thought or inner life. A gift to God was a favor that God must return, while observance of Sunday, fasts, etc., was a means of gaining the goodwill of God. The Church could not change the distinction between free and unfree and the equal right of legitimate and illegitimate children, but it could recommend the liberation of slaves, ameliorate

family wars, and give protection to the weak and friendless. The Frank nation became Christian as a part of Roman culture, not through a spiritual experience. It learned to recognize the claim of the Roman Empire to universal dominion in worldly affairs and that of the Church in spiritual affairs.

Political
theory

The hope that a few Roman writers, such as Salvian and St. Paulinus of Nola, had expressed in the fifth century, that the Germans would make a new and constructive contribution to Christo-Roman civilization, was frustrated by the increasing degradation of society, both Roman and German, in the ensuing century. The Franks had eagerly adopted the Roman administrative system as far as they were able, which was not far. For "a large and sprawling imitation was the result in which the proportion of Roman-descended elements is remarkable." The Roman idea of the State could not survive the universal decadence. We see this inability to understand Roman civilization and abuse of the great heritage out of the past in the disappearance of the grand old Latin word *respublica* in the historical sources of the time, because it was incapable of being understood. To the Merovingian kings the kingdom was a piece of property which Clovis had won by the sword, to be held and handled like other pieces of property. The biographer of St. Trivier deplores the Frank kings' indifference to the law (*jus*), their abuse of the welfare of the State (*respublica*), and their bad practice of putting their own interest and personal power (*propria potestas*) above everything. The deliberate way in which the Frank kingdom was parceled out again and again is an illustration of this attitude. When the "Christian" Frank called other German peoples barbarian, it was because he was proud that he had become Romanized, although he had slender understanding or appreciation of the real nature of Latin culture.

"The Frankish dynasty exhibits alternately a consolidated and unified government under some strong ruler, who dies too soon, leaving his kingdom in separate parcels to his sons, who proceed at once to bickerings, plottings, assassinations, and wars. They are, nominally at least, Christian monarchs. Some are more pious than poisonous; some are more poisonous than pious; and some are pious and poisonous in like degree. They are all particularly impressed with the divinely appointed character of their own administrations. Said King Chlothacarius on his death-bed: 'Vua! What do you imagine the celestial King is like who brings to an end a mighty monarch such as I!'"¹

Partition of
561

The history of the Merovingian Franks from 561, when Chlotair I died, after having divided his kingdom between his four sons, to 687, which marks the permanent ascendancy over the crown of the Austrasian dukes and mayors of the palace, is a long, violent, and melancholy record

¹ E. K. RAND, "The Brighter Aspects of the Merovingian Age," *Proceedings of the [British] Classical Association*, XVIII (1921), p. 166.

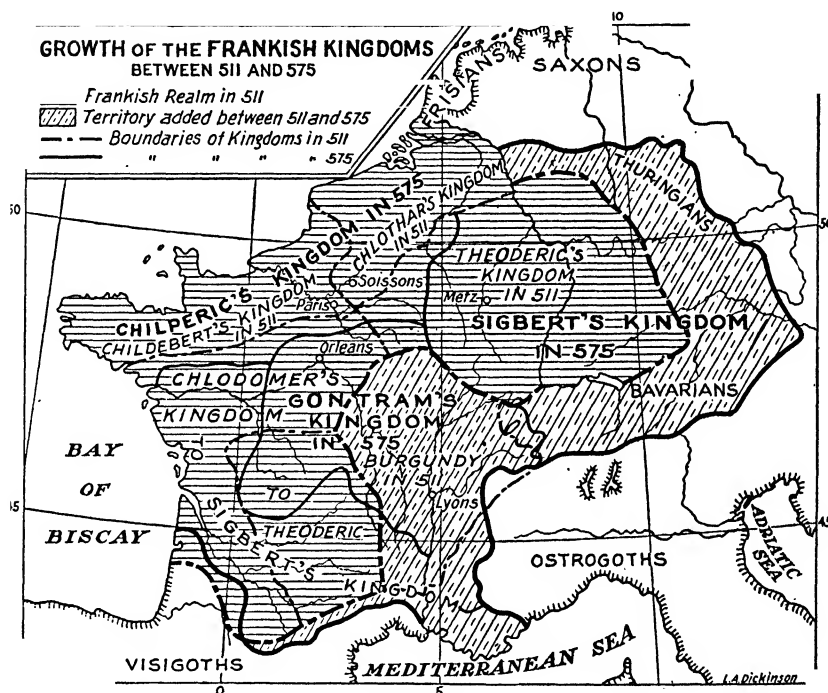
of civil wars, murders, and rapine. Yet the tale must be told at some length, for below the over-current of battle, brutality, and sudden death flowed an under-current of potency and promise, which came to the surface in 687, bearing on its bosom new men, new institutions, and a new civilization, truly constructive in nature, the triumph of which inaugurated a new and great period in medieval history.

In the division of 561, although the capitals of the four kingdoms remained the same as in the partition of 511, the boundaries of the respective realms were different from the boundaries in 511. It is significant, too, that Paris was neutralized and was common to all the kingdoms. Charibert, the youngest of the four brothers, died in 567 and his kingdom was partitioned among his brothers, a division provocative of immense trouble in the future. Southern Gaul, Aquitaine, and Provence were partitioned between the three surviving kings, a partition which led to inextricable confusion and much bloodshed. Avignon, Auvergne, Tours, and Poitiers fell to Sigibert; Arles, Agen, Angoulême, and Périgueux to Guntram; Bordeaux, Limoges, and the valley of the Garonne to Chilperic. Thus no king could reach his dominions in the south without crossing the territory of another. Moreover, the intensely Romanized population of these regions resented this allocation of the land in which they lived to a plurality of rulers, and the bishops were no less irritated by the division. Sigibert, the eldest, was King of Austrasia; Chilperic, the second son, was King of Neustria; Guntram, the third, was King of Burgundy. In 566 Sigibert married Brunhildis, a daughter of Athanagild of West Gothic Spain, who abjured Arianism. The Latin poet Fortunatus, a court flatterer, composed an epithalamium in honor of this event. Brunhildis was a strong-minded, courageous, and statesmanlike woman, who completely dominated her husband and was soon involved in a struggle with his brothers and against the Austrasian nobles. "If his energies had been more occupied in extending his empire to the east instead of fratricidal wars, his fate and that of Gaul might have been happier." The beauty and ability of the Spanish princess excited the envy of Chilperic, who thereupon married Galswintha, the younger sister of Brunhildis. Chilperic was the ablest of the three Frankish rulers — he tried his best to preserve the Roman system of taxation and was sensible of the danger lying in the growing wealth and power of the Church — yet he was a barbarian, with a mere veneer of Roman culture, writing execrable Latin verse and with a singular taste for theological controversy. In personal character he was cruel, treacherous, lustful, avaricious, and superstitious.

Chilperic had had a mistress named Fredegundis, whom he had put away when he was married. She was a woman of low birth, but of beauty and a cunning ability, in almost every way the replica of Chilperic. Furious at her repudiation, she compassed the murder of Galswintha within

*Beginning of
the Frankish
civil wars*

a year, and Chilperic married the murderess. The murder at once precipitated a blood feud (the ancient German *faida*) between Sigibert and Chilperic, for Brunhildis immediately demanded blood satisfaction (wergeld) for her sister's murder. War ensued, in which the ambitious landed nobles (leudes) and the equally ambitious landed bishops participated for their own aggrandizement. Guntram of Burgundy, "a complex character with some redeeming qualities," cruel and sensual, but less ambitious than his brothers, and a timeserver, endeavored to mediate and



proposed that the five cities of the south — Bordeaux, Limoges, Cahors, Béarn, and Bigorre — which had been given to Galswintha as dowry (*Morgengabe*) should be surrendered to Brunhildis in liquidation of the wergeld. This proposal was rejected. The civil war thus was a family blood-feud and a war for territorial aggrandizement in one.

In 573 an army of Chilperic captured Tours and Poitiers. Sigibert retaliated by invading Neustria with his army, many warriors in which were pagan Germans whom he had recruited from far beyond the Rhine. He seized Paris and blockaded Chilperic in Tournay. The Neustrian nobles, or at least a faction of them, offered the crown of Neustria to Sigibert. At this moment Sigibert was assassinated. Fredegundis was herself suspected of the crime; some suspected Brunhildis, Sigibert's own wife; others Gundobald, an alleged illegitimate son of Chlotair I, whose wayward life is a

*Progress and
nature of the
civil war*

singular chapter in this singular age, and whom a faction of the restless Austrasian nobles who resented Brunhildis' strong hand over them now pushed forward as a pretender; while others backed Chilperic against his brother. The situation by 575 was a crisscross of family feud and factional strife. The death of Sigibert delivered Chilperic and Fredegundis from their imprisonment in Tournay, and Brunhildis fell into their power. But the indomitable Queen had managed to keep her five-year-old son Childebert out of their clutches by putting him in the care of the Bishop of Metz. Brunhildis, for a wonder, instead of being killed, was exiled to, but not imprisoned in, Rouen.

At this juncture a queer beam of romance is thrown across the page. Chilperic had a son named Merovech by a former discarded Queen Audovera, whose life as a wanderer and pretender was only less adventurous than Gundobald's. In Rouen Brunhildis, who has some of the qualities of Lady Macbeth, met Merovech and married him, although she was his aunt by marriage and the union was illegal in canon law. But the laws of God and man were equally defied in this iron age. What was Brunhildis' motive? Fredegundis, shrewder than her husband, divined that this marriage was no madcap love-affair, but a deep political design, and the immediate arrest of the two was commanded. Brunhildis escaped to Metz; Merovech was tonsured and immured in a cloister, from which he was spirited away by friends and sought asylum at Tours. What followed has the dark glamour of Macbeth's interview with the Weird Sisters or his battle on the blasted heath. Merovech reached Tours at the hour of high mass and approached the altar, where he sought to find refuge, a hooded figure, with his sword clanking on his thigh. The deacon administering the sacred bread to those kneeling before him, perhaps recognizing him and certainly suspicious, refused him the wafer, whereupon the impetuous youth leaped to his feet and strode violently into the presence of the Bishop, no less a person than Gregory of Tours, the first historian of the Franks, and demanded an explanation. The Bishop, making a virtue of necessity, commanded that Merovech be permitted to take communion.

Chilperic and his ferocious consort soon learned of the pretender's whereabouts and plotted to destroy him. The Bishop courageously refused to surrender him and thus to violate the Church's right of asylum, and Chilperic wasted the episcopal and abbatial lands around the city. Leudastes, the Count of Tours, was ordered to waylay Merovech, who felt himself safe as long as he did not venture out of the city. The plan failed, but some of Merovech's retainers were killed. Merovech revenged them by plundering the King's physician, who was passing through Tours and who only escaped being murdered by fleeing to the altar in the cathedral. A new attempt was then made through Boso, a friend of Merovech,

who was bribed to betray him. But this project miscarried. The angry yet superstitious King then caused his royal letter to be laid upon the tomb of St. Martin with a blank sheet to receive the saint's reply. When no answer was vouchsafed, Boso was instructed not to allow Merovech under any circumstance to escape to Metz and rejoin Brunhildis, as he planned to do now that the treasure of the court physician had provided him with funds to hire bravoës to accompany him. But it was a superstitious age, in which ancient pagan and newer Christian beliefs preyed upon human credulity. Merovech sent a henchman to consult a witch, who returned a favorable oracle; but, to be doubly assured, he had resort also to Christian divination. He spread the Psalter, the Book of Kings, and the Gospels upon the tomb of St. Martin and for a whole night watched and prayed beside the martyr's remains, and spent three days more in fasting and prayer. Then he opened the book in hope that divine assurance would be given him, and read the sinister words: "Therefore has your God delivered you into the hands of your enemies." Nevertheless Merovech made the venture, was pursued and hunted down, and, rather than be taken, ordered his faithful servant to stab him.

The feud between the two branches of the Merovingian house now ceased for nine years (575-84), during which time Brunhildis in Austrasia and Chilperic in Neustria governed their kingdoms with fair success, though not without measures of violence. In both realms the sovereigns struggled to maintain the power of the crown against the nobles. In 584 as he returned in the dusk from hunting in the forest of Chelles, Chilperic was mysteriously murdered, leaving a son, Chlotair II. New tension was developed. The child, who was but four months of age, was placed under the protection of his uncle Guntram of Burgundy, who attempted to seize the heritage of Charibert which his murdered brother had possessed. Fredegundis, however, was able to retain Rouen, Rennes, and Angers for her son, as well as the kingdom of his father.

Pact of Andelot (587)

In 587 matters were brought to a head in a pact signed at Andelot between Childebert II of Austrasia and Guntram of Burgundy, in the presence of Brunhildis and a great assemblage of bishops and nobles of these two kingdoms. After providing for many exchanges of territory and readjustments of frontiers in order to avert further dissension, a series of important clauses relative to the leudes or *fideles* of the kings and the liberties of the bishops followed. Banishment was pronounced against every great noble or bishop who had broken his oath of loyalty in time past to one or the other of the two kings, each of whom swore not to lure away the leudes of the other by promises of land or office. Finally, in order to assure themselves of the adherence of their *fideles*, Childebert and Guntram guaranteed their nobles the unmolested possession of all gifts of land (*benefices*) made before the death of Chlotair I, in 561, and promised restitution to

those who had been deprived of such estates during the past strife. For during the war the kings had reduced the royal domains by making concessions of lands to churches and lay lords whose aid they thus sought to secure, and sometimes had endeavored to recoup themselves illegally. Often a noble forfeited his lands for cause, as, for example, deserting his king; but often, also, forfeiture was without just motives and through violence. Church lands as well as secular lands suffered in the confusion.

These provisions are of great significance since they foreshadow two essential elements in the later feudal regime and show that already a quasi-feudal condition, political and social, existed in Merovingian times. But historians are divided as to the exact degree of development of this personal and property relation. Some see in these provisions a tendency on the part of the crown to make hereditary those grants of land which hitherto had been conceded only for the lifetime of the beneficiary and in consequence were revocable by the crown at his death. Others argue that the Pact of Andelot assured no new advantage to the great nobles, that the kings merely promised in future to respect proprietary grants that had been made to them in time past. Both opinions seem exaggerated, the former because it minimizes too much the quasi-feudal condition of Merovingian society. Contemporaries must have attached great importance to the treaty of Andelot, for the historian Gregory of Tours inserted the whole text in his *History of the Kings of the Franks*. If the exact significance of certain provisions escapes our understanding, nevertheless the quasi-feudal nature of Merovingian government and social structure is evident.

*Foregleams
of later feuda-
lism*

It was the customary practice to recompense political and military service with grants of land, chiefly from the royal domains. Unfortunately the class so rewarded fell into the habit of considering these grants as the condition of their fidelity and refused to serve the State unless so rewarded. "No benefice, no service," they said. It is easy to perceive the prejudicial effect of such policy upon the royal authority. Instead of commanding by authority, the king was compelled to persuade, to bribe. Instead of government by compulsion we find government by accommodation.

Guntram of Burgundy retained the position of arbitrator between his two nephews until his decease, without male heir, in 593, and in compliance with the terms of Andelot Childebert II united Austrasia and Burgundy. Four years later Childebert II and Fredegundis both died. The former left two sons, Theudebert II of Austrasia and Theodoric II of Burgundy, while Chlotair II reigned in Neustria. The heroic Brunhildis urged her grandchildren to war against Chlotair II. But conflict broke out between the two brothers. Theudebert II was beaten, and confined in a monastery, and Theodoric II seized Austrasia. In the following year (613) he died, leaving four sons, none of whom ever was a king. Brunhildis,

*Death of
Brunhildis*

now eighty years old, attempted to rule Austrasia and Burgundy, but was betrayed by the nobles into the hands of Chlotair II, by whom she was tortured for three days and then torn to pieces by horses. The odds against her had been too great. Her protection of a Gallic bishop named Protadius, whose life was a reproach, had alienated the Church from her, and though she sacrificed him (605) to save herself, the clergy remained hostile to her. But the bishops were not actuated entirely by sentiments of virtue. The incident was a pretext. It is to be borne in mind that most, if not all, of the bishops by this time were of noble family, and by birth as well as by feudal proprietorship their sympathies and interests were allied with those of the great nobles. The most influential of the bishops was Arnulf of Metz, of whom we shall soon see more.

*Character of
Brunhildis*

The bloody career of Brunhildis is one of the most curious episodes of medieval history; but if we took literally the records of her deeds, we should get a very false idea of the actual character of this celebrated woman. Brunhildis was a woman of genius, will, and cultivation and appreciated the danger that threatened the crown through the lawless ambition of the landed aristocracy. She spent her life in a courageous conflict with it and thereby incurred its implacable enmity. We must not, however, make the error of idealizing Brunhildis. She was a woman of great ambition and violent passion, in an age of iron, but superior to the average ruler of the time. Perhaps a comparison might be made between her and Catherine the Great of Russia.

*Peace of
Paris (614)*

Thus in 613, for the second time since the partition of the Frankish realm by Clovis, the kingdom was again united. The triumph was not Chlotair II's, however, but that of the great Austrasian aristocracy who had overthrown Brunhildis. All along, the conflict had not been one so much between the kings as between the kings and the great nobles who egged the kings on, and alternately supported and betrayed them for their own ends. In 614 the Perpetual Constitution of Paris confirmed the fruits of the revolution to the nobles and high clergy. The nobles were assured indisputable possession of their lands, restoration of those lost by forfeiture of war, indemnification out of the fisc for damages suffered. The crown was deprived of power to appoint bishops, who in future were to be elected by the clergy of the diocese. While nominally this provision seems to be a guarantee of the liberty of the clergy and the purity of episcopal elections, the motive of the bishops, who were great landed proprietors, really was to make themselves as independent of the crown as the lay nobles. The trial of clerics before lay courts was forbidden and no clerk might "commend" himself to the king — another provision making for the independence of the Church. The crown was prohibited from increasing taxes and tolls, or from employing Jews in the collection of them. Property left intestate accrued to the Church, not the crown. It

*Triumph of
the aristocracy
over the
crown*

is evident that henceforth the kings were to be the creatures of the double aristocracy, lay and ecclesiastical. The king reigned, but he did not govern.

In order to assure the permanence of their triumph the leader of the Austrasian aristocracy, Pepin of Landen, assumed the court office of mayor of the palace. This first Pepin, the ancestor of the future Carolingians, belonged to a powerful family whose properties were situated between the Meuse and the Moselle and in the Hesbaye. Actually they comprehended much of modern Belgium. The surname Landen was not attributed to him until many centuries later, but it aptly describes his eminent position. He had been, with Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, the chief of the conspiracy in 613 that overthrew Brunhildis and called Chlotair II of Neustria into Austrasia. He became mayor of the palace in 615 and governed Austrasia under this title until his death.

The office of mayor of the palace originally was one held by humble servitors under the Merovingians. He was the superior of the domestics of the palace. In course of time his principal duty came to be to supervise the stewards and bailiffs who administered the crown lands, and in this capacity the mayor became the chief fiscal officer of the king, with a large amount of patronage in the form of offices and land grants in his hands, so that ultimately the mayor arrived at the status of first minister of the crown. Pepin of Landen was virtual ruler of the Frankish realm until his death. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Anselgisil, son of Arnulf of Metz,¹ whose son Grimwald in turn succeeded to the mayoralty. Each of the separate kingdoms had its local mayor, but the Austrasian mayor was over all.

For three generations, from 614 to 656, the Austrasian house ruled the Frankish kingdom or rather the agglomeration of kingdoms, for Chlotair II (died 629), for Dagobert I (629-39), and for his degenerate successors. Except for a successful campaign against the Saxons the residue of Chlotair II's reign was without incident. In 622 he associated his son Dagobert I with him and gave him Austrasia in response to a demand of the nobles for a ruler of their own. The motive of this request was not long in being revealed. Dagobert demanded the restoration to Austrasia of those territories of which it had been deprived in the civil war, and Austrasia was restored to the limits it had possessed in the reign of Sigibert. It was a victory of the Austrasian aristocracy, not for the king. In 629 Chlotair II died and Dagobert became sole ruler of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy. Only Aquitaine and Gascony formed a separate kingdom under his brother Charibert. The latter died soon, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, and Dagobert acquired the southwestern realm.

¹ Many bishops in this age were married. Celibacy was not imposed upon the episcopate until the Hildebrandine reforms in the eleventh century.

The King's favorite residence was at the Villa Clichy, near Paris. He founded and liberally endowed the famous abbey of Saint-Denis. Dagobert has a legendary reputation as a law-giver and justiciar, due to the laudation of the monks of Saint-Denis, whose *Annals* magnify his deeds and extol his character. Actually Dagobert was like his forbears, sensual—he had three “lawful” wives at once besides numerous concubines—cruel, rapacious, grossly superstitious.

*First war with
the Slavs
(630)*

The important achievements of Dagobert's reign were not his deeds, but those of the stalwart mayor of the palace, who controlled the fisc, administered justice, commanded the armies. The most important events had to do with the eastern frontier. A renegade Frankish merchant who traded among the Slavs became the rebel chieftain of the Bohemian and Moravian Slavs and in this capacity attacked the Thuringians, who were a vassal people of the Franks. In 630 three armies were sent against him. That of the Austrasians was defeated, but the Alemannian and Bavarian armies were victorious. Nevertheless Samo maintained his power and was so redoubtable that the Emperor Heraclius made an alliance with him to keep the Bulgarians in check. Nine thousand of these took refuge in Germany, where they were brutally massacred by the Austrasians. In order to repel the invasion of the Wends,¹ as the Franks called all Slavs, without discrimination of tribes, the tribute of five hundred cows that Chlotair I had imposed upon the Saxons was remitted (631). There was border war, too, with the Bretons and the Gascons, which was but slightly abated by the homage of the Breton King Judicael (635) and the Gascon Duke Aigyna (636).

Unfortunately for the history of the Frank kingdom, the necessity of defending the eastern frontiers against the attacks of the Wends had compelled Dagobert to give Austrasia a separate government and thus divide once more the realm which had been united in 613. He made his minor son, Sigibert III, king in Austrasia, who reigned at Metz in 633. The act sowed seeds of a new civil war.

In 638 Dagobert I died and was succeeded in Austrasia by Sigibert III, and in Neustria and Burgundy by Clovis II, his brother. Unrest and dissension soon was manifested in each of these provinces.

A notable administrative effort of Dagobert was an attempt to recover from the nobles, and even the Church, a portion of those lands of which the crown had been despoiled in the course of the civil wars. The king's means to govern gradually declined with the loss of these lands. By this time, exhausted by the gifts made to numerous followers and by donations made to the clergy in order to preserve their favor, the Merovingian kings were almost bereft of resources. Forever giving and never

¹ The word “Wend” simply meant “foreigner” or “outlander,” like the word “Welsh” in England.

recovering, the Merovingians lost their most real means of government, with the shrinkage of the crown lands. They saw the moment approaching when all possibility of governing and ruling would be taken from them.

For a time the Queen-mother, Nantechilde held her own against the nobles through Erchinwald, the Neustrian mayor, who was faithful to the dynasty and yet did not antagonize the nobility. In Burgundy, however, the nobles, who since 626 had been without a mayor, were more independent, and the aristocracy exacted an oath of Flaochat, the Queen's mayor, not to deprive them of their lands or honors. Nevertheless, a certain patrician¹ named Willebad refused allegiance. A conflict took place near Autun (September 642) between the allied mayors and the malcontents, who were defeated. Flaochat died of fever eleven days after his triumph, and Burgundy was for a time annexed to Neustria.

Meanwhile in Austrasia the mayoralty was in the hands of Grimwald, Pepin's son, who well-nigh absorbed the royal authority there. He presided in place of the king at the royal tribune and gave judgment. He distributed appointments and gifts. But the power of the mayor in Austrasia and the hereditary tendency of the office excited the jealousy and apprehensions of the Austrasian nobles, as in Burgundy. Radulf of Thuringia led the revolt, and a battle was fought on the Unstrut River. Grimwald's power was triumphantly assured, and Sigibert III became more than ever a nonentity. He died in 656, leaving a child of three years, Dagobert II, to rule.

The opportunity was too tempting to Grimwald. He exaggerated his own power — his defeat of Radulf perhaps had made him too self-confident — and, moreover, he failed to appreciate the influence that held the Merovingian king in awe with the Franks, however bad or weak that king might be. The weight of tradition and the sanction of the Church were behind the dynasty, and such forces, though impalpable, could not be ignored. But Grimwald's ambition led him to attempt the deposition of the King (656). Poor little Dagobert II was shorn of his kingly locks — the badge of royalty — and sent in care of a Poitevin bishop to a monastery in Ireland. Grimwald's own son, Childeburt, was declared king. This usurpation stirred the Austrasian nobles, who resented the growing supremacy of the mayor of the palace. Clovis II, the Neustrian kinglet, sent an army into Austrasia to co-operate with them. Grimwald and his son were taken captive and sent to Paris, where they died under torture. For a moment there was one king, Clovis II, and one mayor, Erchinwald, in all the Frank realm; but in the same year the King died (656), a worn-out libertine, leaving three sons. Neustria, with the Burgundian appendage, and Austrasia

¹ This title was used by nobles of Roman extraction, as by Hector, Count of Provence and "Patrician" of Marseilles.

fell respectively to Childebert (660-73) and Chlotair III (656-70). Of Theoderic III, the youngest, we know next to nothing.

*Ambitious
policy of
Ebroin*

The attempted revolution of Grimwald was a turning-point in the history of the later Merovingian monarchy. The reaction towards the dynasty occasioned by that act, united with the death of Erchinwald, in 657, and the succession of minor kings, afforded an opportunity for the crown, under a strong mayor, to shake off its dependence upon the great landed aristocracy and again to become a power. The man of the hour appeared in Ebroin, mayor of the palace in Neustria (657-70, 673-81). He was a man of force, eager, ambitious, and not disposed to hesitate at the means used to attain his ends. We know nothing of him, however, save from his enemies; but if we read between the lines of the chronicles, it is easy to see that the old battle of a strong kingship against a potent aristocracy -- of centralization as over against local privilege -- is being fought out again, with Ebroin as the advocate of the crown.

His means and methods were those of Fredegundis; his aims were those of Brunhildis. He sought to make the counts and dukes dependent upon the royal authority, refused to let the great nobles control the counts in the provinces, and even went so far in his zeal for things absolute as to abrogate the principle of "personality of law," by which every citizen, Roman or German, was judged according to his own law, and endeavored to establish a uniform territorial law in place of the Germanic practice. Instead of choosing agents of the government from powerful families, in order to assure the dependence of the administration upon the crown he selected men from the class of freemen, who were steadily diminishing under the pressure of feudalism and increasingly being obliged to "recommend" themselves to those more powerful -- that is to say, to lose the possession of their lands. In the Roman portion of Gaul the aristocracy was not so firmly established as in the north and east. The conflict, therefore, seems to have been a struggle between Neustria and Austrasia, but in reality it was a struggle for the crown, aided by simple Frankish freemen, against the feudal nobility, politically and militarily most powerful in Austrasia. For a time (657-70) Ebroin fared well. After Grimwald's death the nobles were without a leader; but Ebroin's high-handed conduct gradually developed organized resistance. A new leader of the nobles appeared in Leodegar (St. Leger), the Bishop of Autun. The circumstance is significant, for it shows how profoundly involved the Church was in the prevailing regime, and how worldly the clergy had become. Barbarism had penetrated into the highest ecclesiastical offices in the sixth and seventh centuries. Leodegar was an adventurous, sanguinary, rapacious feudal chieftain, with nothing but the alb between him and the world. The smoldering discontent broke into flame in 670, when Chlotair III died, and Ebroin declared his brother, Theoderic III, king, without even the formal-

ity of convoking the nobles. Ebroin was seized in the insurrection, tortured, and imprisoned in the monastery of Luxeuil, while his protégé was sent to Saint-Denis. Childeric II of Austrasia was declared king of all the Frank dominions, under direction of Wulfwald, who had been his mayor in Austrasia. The acts of Ebroin were annulled, and the King took a solemn oath to respect the charter of 613.

But the yoke of Austrasia bore hard upon Neustria and Burgundy, and the death of the King in 673 afforded opportunity for the nobles there, under leadership of Leudesius, a son of Erchinwald, to draw Theoderic III (673-91) from the obscurity he had been in. Austrasia responded by raising Dagobert II (674-79) — the same who had been banished to Ireland in 656 by Grimwald — to the throne. Leodegar escaped from his imprisonment and joined the Neustrian party. Meanwhile Ebroin had escaped and rallied a band of bravoes and outlaw men around him.

*Renewal of
civil war
(673)*

The anarchy of the times struck the chroniclers with terror. In the confused fighting every principle is lost to view. Ebroin pursued his purposes relentlessly. Dagobert II was assassinated in 679 and his mayor Wulfwald died, not without suspicion of poison. Neustria was invaded; Leudesius fell into Ebroin's hands and was put to death. Many of the Franks fled for safety even into Gascony. Leodegar was besieged in his episcopal city, Autun, and, in desperation, distributed the wealth of his church to the populace to buy their adhesion. But the city was fired and pillaged by the Neustrian forces, the bishop escaping immediate capture only to meet his death soon after by order of Ebroin and to win unmerited a martyr's name in monkish annals. Ebroin, in spite of many enemies because of his outrages, was sole master of Neustria and Burgundy.

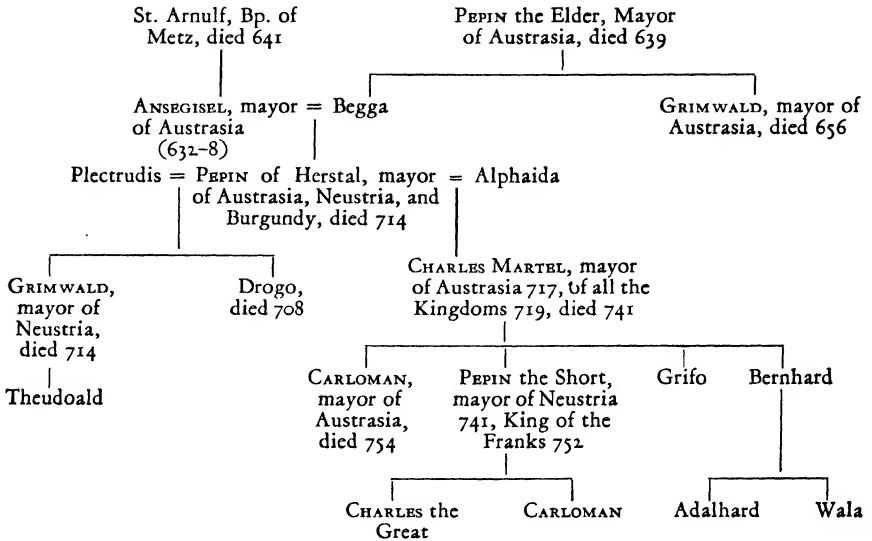
But in Austrasia a genuine law-and-order movement had gathered head under the leadership of the famous Pepin of Herstal¹ and his brother Martin, grandsons of old Pepin and Arnulf of Metz. Heir to the now hereditary ducal title in intensely German Austrasia, with Alemannia, Bavaria, and Thuringia dependent, possessed personally of immense domains upon the lower Meuse and Rhine rivers, with that personal force which was so marked a characteristic of the house, Pepin of Herstal was the man of destiny in the Frank State. The brothers had once unsuccessfully resisted Ebroin in a battle in the Laonais (680) and the subsequent death of Martin, who had found refuge in Laon, but who was not wise enough not to believe Ebroin's promises, hardened the determination of the Austrasian Duke. His task was simplified by the murder of the treacherous mayor in 681. For six years longer, however, matters dragged along in Neustria under the mayors Waratto (681-6) and Berthar, his son-in-law. But things were unbearable. The Austrasian nobles, driven to desperation by ban and confiscation, rallied. Finally the clash

*Pepin of
Herstal*

¹ Near Liège. The name signifies "the station of the army."

the battle of Testry (687) came in 687 at Testry (west of Saint-Quentin), where the Austrasian aristocracy under Pepin overthrew the Neustrian nobles under Berthar.

THE GREAT MAYORS OF THE PALACE



The victory of Testry was of decisive importance for the future of the Frank State because it determined the ascendancy of the great landed aristocracy in the government of the realm, and established the mayoralty hereditarily in the house of Pepin of Herstal. In reality by that event two offices were combined: that of the mayor, which carried with it control of the crown, and that of duke of the Franks, which implied headship of the landed aristocracy and was vested in Pepin's family. As mayor of the united realm, Pepin now assumed control of affairs for Theoderic III. The eclipse of the Merovingian was almost total.

Reconstruction under Pepin Herstal

The condition that faced Pepin was appalling. The effects of the anarchy were everywhere felt. Brittany had cast off the allegiance it had promised to Dagobert I; Aquitaine was rebellious; even Burgundy and Neustria submitted to the mayor only out of necessity. Pepin was wise enough not to waste his energies upon unessential things. The north-west and the south were suffered to go. Lupus, the Gascon Duke, expelled the Frank counts and created a principality of his own in southern Aquitaine and in Gascony. The cities, too, revolted. Lyons had recognized no Frank overlordship since 674. In Auxerre a warlike bishop created a miniature state of his own and was not disturbed.

The supreme interests of the Frank State were on the border, and to matters there Pepin devoted himself with wise instinct. Almost all the

vassal or tributary tribes beyond the Rhine had cast off the Frank yoke. The dukes of Alemannia, Bavaria, and Thuringia, who were hereditary princes after the second half of the seventh century, are spoken of by the chronicles at this time as independent. Each of them had to be reduced. In Frisia the means was more peaceful. Christianity was first preached in Frisia in 677, when Wilfrid, the Anglo-Saxon Bishop of York, on his way to Rome was shipwrecked on the Frisian coast and spent the winter there. In 689 an Irish priest named Wigbert — he had adopted a Frankish name — began to labor among them. In 691 St. Willibrord, another Englishman, crossed the sea and was supported by Pepin of Herstal. Willibrord founded the bishopric of Utrecht and was a missionary among the Frisians for fifty years.

Long and fiercely did Pepin of Herstal fight the battle of civilization and Christianity and law and order. When he died, in 714, the work, advanced but not finished, was carried further and higher by his son, Karl or Charles Martel (714-41).

But Charles did not gain his leadership without a struggle. When Pepin died he designated his little grandson, Theudoald, as mayor in Neustria in name of a minor king, Dagobert III (711-16), both under the regency of his wife, Plectrudis. The Neustrian nobles, jealous of Austrasian dominion, in a last hopeless flurry seized the occasion to assert their old time independence. The melancholy history of former minorities seemed about to be repeated. The weakness of Pepin for his own flesh and blood almost sacrificed Frankish unity. But Austrasia was again to demonstrate its preponderance. Under the leadership of Charles Martel, who was the natural son of Pepin, the Austrasian nobles took the field. The situation was a critical one. The narrow policy of Neustria was emulated by Burgundy and Aquitaine, while the discontented Frisians, Saxons, and Bavarians again threw off the allegiance Pepin of Herstal had reimposed. But the event of Testry was repeated at Vincy (between Arras and Cambrai) in 717. Again the might of Austrasia united the Frankish State. Chilperic II (716-20) was king in the west, Chlotair IV (717-19) in the east. Charles was mayor in both kingdoms. When they died, the kingdoms and the crowns were united under Theoderic IV (720-37).

*Charles
Martel
(714-41)*

Internal peace being restored, Charles Martel turned his arms against the rebellious vassal peoples. Five campaigns against the Saxons (718, 720, 722, 729, 738), two against the Frisians (719, 738), one against the Alemanni (730), and two against the Bavarians (725, 728) subjugated them.

But the presence of a great and immediate danger on the south partially embarrassed Charles's efforts beyond the Rhine. This was the Saracen. In 711 the Mohammedans had conquered Visigothic Spain. Nine years later they rounded the Pyrenees, captured Narbonne, and

*Saracen in
sion*

beleaguered Toulouse, in spite of the brave efforts of Odo, Duke of Aquitaine. In 725 a formidable Saracen host stormed Carcassonne, subjugated Septimania, and penetrated even into Burgundy, where they destroyed Autun. In order to save himself, Odo gave his daughter in marriage to Othman, the Arab leader. But such connivance of a Christian with the infidel brought down the wrath of the Frank crown upon him. Charles during this time had been fighting the Saxons and Bavarians. In 731 he crossed the Loire. Odo fled into Gascony. In the same year Othman died and was succeeded by Abd-er-Rahman II. The new Saracen leader was an energetic warrior. In 732 he passed the Pyrenees at the west end, by Pampeluna, crossed the Garonne in the face of Odo's resistance, captured Bordeaux, and, flushed with victory, pressed on into Poitou. The stubborn pride of the Duke of Aquitaine was broken. He appealed to Charles Martel for aid. The Frankish leader had need of every available fighting man, simple freemen as well as nobles, and did not fear to lay his hand upon the lands of the Church. Much against their will the bishops were compelled to surrender some of their lands, which were distributed as military tenures, the recipients of which were required to come to the field with mounted retainers. On the broad plain between Tours and Poitiers the armies met (October 732). Their character differed widely. The Mohammedan host was largely made up of light-armed Numidians and Moors. The Frank host was entirely a foot force, armed much like the ancient Roman legionaries. Their orders were to stand on the defensive and keep in solid phalanx. For seven days the two armies faced one another. At last the patience of Abd-er-Rahman gave way. The Saracen cavalry assailed the "shield-wall" of the Franks in vain. Abd-er-Rahman was killed, but his men fought on until night fell to cover their retreat.

*Battle of
Tours (732)*

The importance of the battle of Tours has been very much discussed. In the minds of some, it saved the West; for others, the campaign was a simple pillaging episode, and the Arab invasion was rather arrested by the outbreak of civil strife in Spain than by the Frankish arms.

The battle of Tours was the high-water mark of the Saracen wave, but we must not exaggerate its effects. It is easy to magnify its importance by picturing it as a strife between the East and the West, between the Semite and the Aryan, between Islam and the cross; but the men of that day did not see it in that light, and we must not be sure that we do. Sober thought rejects the idea that a religion and a civilization so different from those in the West could have permanently overcome the strong moral force inherent in Roman and German life. The battle of Tours might have arrested, or even diverted, the progress of Western civilization: it could not have permanently altered it. Moreover, the peril from the Mohammedans was not by any means removed. In 737 they took Avignon on the Rhone; Arles had been taken in 725 and was recaptured

*Continuance
of the Saracen
peril*

in 736. The valley of the Rhone—Avignon, Arles, Marseilles—was recovered and then doubly secured by a Frankish-Lombard alliance (739). Provence was annexed to the Frankish kingdom. Only Gascony escaped Charles's direct control. Here the son of Odo (died 735), Chunoald, held out until recognized as duke of Aquitaine under Frankish suzerainty (736).

The last days of Martel were distinguished by a request from the Pope for aid against Lombard encroachment (739); but Charles was little inclined to give ear to the petition, as the Lombard King Liutprand was his ally. Moreover, the Church in Gaul was hostile to him, on account of his seizure of the church lands during the Mohammedan invasions.

This confiscation marks a revolution in the military as well as the land system of the Franks. The Frank army experienced a notable transformation. The cavalry, the value of which the wars with the Saracens had shown, henceforth became the principal military reliance, and the foot soldiers were relegated to a secondary rôle. The recruiting of the army was thus rendered more difficult; for, though the *levée en masse* of all freemen, which was the practice under the Merovingians, sufficed for an infantry, it failed to support a cavalry, whose equipment was much more costly, and hence the crown was compelled to resort to other measures. Military necessity was without doubt the principal cause for the secularization of the lands of the Church made by Charles Martel and his successors in order to secure a body of cavalymen well equipped. The Church had violently protested, and argued that church land was inalienable; but Charles was firm. It was yet a theory of the public law that the king had eminent domain over the Church's possessions, but few kings dared exercise the prerogative. At last, instead of confiscation, a compromise was hit upon by which the seized estates were held of the Church *in precario*—that is, the State assumed the usufruct and paid the Church a nominal sum (*census*) in recognition of the ecclesiastical title. The scheme was not a new one. It had been in private practice since the later days of the Roman Empire, both with the Church and with great landed lords. The difference was not in the principle, but in the authority that exercised it and the extent of the application; for the conduct of Charles Martel and his son Pepin the Short made dependent land tenure (holding *in beneficio*) almost universal and powerfully stimulated feudal usages. Military service especially was so accentuated that not without reason has it been said that Charles Martel "put the medieval knight upon horseback."

Military service made dependent upon land tenure

Progress of feudal ideas

Charles Martel died in 741, leaving the realm he governed to his two sons as mayors, Pepin and Karlman. For four years he had ruled without a king, and at his death, like a king, he partitioned the kingdom, giving Pepin Austrasia, Alemannia, and Thuringia; Karlman, Neustria and Burgundy. Bavaria and Aquitaine remained under native dukes. For

a short time the enmity of the brothers threatened to disturb the realm; but in 747 the younger brother renounced the world, entered a monastery, and left the united direction of the kingdom to Pepin.

*Pepin the
Short
(741-68)*

Pepin the Short early adopted a policy the wise effects of which were soon evident. He sought to conciliate the Church, which the drastic policy of Martel had antagonized, by seeking to arrive at a clearer agreement respecting the confiscated estates of the Church and by identifying the government's interests with those of the Church. It was many years since any synod had met. In that time the clergy had woefully deteriorated. Drunkenness and licentiousness were common in the highest offices of the Church; the parish priests were vagabond. Many of the clergy spent their time in hunting or in waging private war. The very hierarchy was broken. In the south the name of no bishop of this epoch has come down to us, if there was any. In the north many vacancies existed. A single bishop for two sees was common. Many episcopal places were filled by laymen.

*Church re-
form*

The work of church reform was carried out under the direction of St. Boniface, an English monk, in four synods held between 742 and 748. Luxury and license were proscribed; false priests were driven out; the Benedictine Rule was reimposed upon monasteries; and the administration of the Church was more nearly perfected. At the Council of Frankfort in 742 every city was again given a bishop, and the metropolitan bishops — henceforward called *archbishops* — were given direct and superior charge, while the influence of the pope over the entire Frankish hierarchy was acknowledged. The wisdom and directing genius of Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary Bishop, who had established five bishoprics in Germany — Würzburg, Regensburg, Freising, Salzburg, Passau — and founded the monasteries of Hersfeld and Fulda, in Hesse, was an important factor in Pepin's success.

Having thus consolidated the Church, Pepin's next step was to conciliate the nobles, who were suspicious of the power of the mayor. This was done by setting upon the throne a last frail Merovingian prince, Chilbert III (743-51), who was discovered half-forgotten in the solitude of a monastery.

Meantime, in 742, the Gascon Duke Chunoald had raised a rebellion involving almost all of Aquitaine, and the Saxons and Alemanni revolted. Both movements were crushed. Part of Poitou was directly annexed, as punishment for the former, and the latter were forced to give hostages. A more formidable revolt by Odilo of Bavaria in the next year resulted in a fierce engagement on the Lech, culminating in the death of the Bavarian Duke and the routing of his army, which with difficulty escaped across the Inn River.

Vast events in Italy were also shaping Frankish destiny. The time was

drawing nigh when the Austrasian mayor was to claim the reward of the work of his house: the unification of the Frank nation; the conquest and conversion of Germany; the reform of the Gallo-Frank Church; the liberation of Christendom from the Saracen. Nothing save moral sanction of the act deposing Childebert III was requisite, and that the Church stood ready to give. The king, who reigned by divine right, might also by divine right, revealed through the instrumentality of the pope, cease to reign. But papal sanction of the deposition of the ruling house in Gaul was not due to disinterested motives. At this juncture the danger from the Lombards was at its height, and the Pope was desperately in need of armed assistance, which could be secured only from the Franks. The papal appeal found Pepin of favorable mind to render aid. The desire of each — Pope and King — for what the other possessed, entailed a mutual obligation. Zacharias justified the deposition (751), and his successor, Stephen II, when in Gaul seeking Frankish aid, recrowned Pepin. Pepin repaid the debt by delivering the papacy from the despoiling Lombard and bestowed upon the Pope the rich cities of the Campagna and Romagna (754).

*Relations b.
tween Pepin
and the
papacy*

*Deposition
Merovingian
dynasty (75*

The revolution occasioned no excitement and little comment among the chroniclers of the time. In 751 the *Annals of Lorsch* read: "Burchard of Würzburg and Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Denis, were sent to Pope Zacharias with an interrogation respecting the kings in the Frank land: whether or no it were right for them to rule, since they had no royal power; and Zacharias the Pope gave injunction to Pepin that he should be called king who had the power rather than he who was without any royal power; and so, by apostolic authority, he ordered that Pepin be made king."

The picture which Eginhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, gives of the last Merovingian prince calls in very aptly. He says of the Merovingian dynasty: "Although to all outward appearance it ended with Childebert III, it had long been devoid of vital strength, and conspicuous only from bearing the empty epithet 'royal.' The real power and authority in the kingdom lay in the hands of the chief officer of the court, the so-called mayor of the palace, who was at the head of affairs. There was nothing left the king but to be content with his name of king, his flowing hair and long beard, to sit on his throne and play the ruler, to give ear to the ambassadors that came from all quarters, and to dismiss them as if on his own responsibility, in words that were in fact suggested to him, or even imposed upon him. He had nothing that he could call his own beyond this vain title of king and the precarious support allowed by the mayor of the palace in his discretion, except a single country-seat that brought him but a very small income. There was a dwelling-house upon this and a small number of servants attached to it, sufficient to perform

the necessary offices. When he had to go abroad, he used to ride in a cart drawn by a yoke of oxen, driven by a peasant plowman. He rode in this manner to the palace and to the general assembly of the people that met once a year for the welfare of the kingdom, and returned home in the same way. The mayor of the palace took charge of the government and of everything that had to be planned or executed at home or abroad."

So Pepin the Short was raised to the Frank throne.

*Importance of
the alliance
between the
Frank kings
and the
papacy*

These are the historical facts in connection with the coronation of the Carolingian house. One can hardly exaggerate the importance of this alliance between the Frank monarchy and the papacy. The two greatest powers in Western Europe had combined to establish a new dynasty and the temporal power of the popes. In this double transaction there is no doubt that the initiative of the alliance was taken by the Pope, owing to his fear of the Lombards and his repulsion from the Byzantine Empire owing to the iconoclastic heresy.

Thus in the middle of the eighth century the long process of disintegration in western Europe was arrested. A new and warlike state came into being which directly ruled all Gaul, Germany, except Saxony and northern and central Italy. Side by side with this State was the Latin Church, with an even wider sway, for it prevailed also in Britain and in Christian Spain. The papacy was detached from its former dependence upon the Byzantine Empire and became attached to the reorganized Frank State, itself ere long to be elevated and transformed into an empire.

*Last years of
Pepin the
Short*

The subjugation of Saxon, Bavarian, and Lombard at last left Pepin free to turn his arms towards the south, and during the latter years of his life he was occupied in almost incessant war with Waifar, the Gascon Duke, son of old Chunoald, and in a single campaign (759) against the Saracens, from whom Narbonne, the last bulwark of Islam north of the Pyrenees, was wrested. In 760 he sent word to Waifar demanding the restoration of the lost Frankish churches, together with their endowments. Waifar was defiant. The counts of Poitou and Auvergne supported him, and together they carried the war into Champagne, even pillaging Autun. Pepin replied by reprisals in Nevers, Auxerre, Berry, Bourbon, and Auvergne, finally taking Bourges and Clermont, the star cities of the region. In despair Waifar ordered the walls of all the cities in Aquitaine—Poitiers, Limoges, Périgueux, Saintes, and Angoulême—to be thrown down and the vines to be destroyed. Sullenly he retreated to the fastnesses of the far south, there to be murdered at last by his fickle followers (768), leaving the land desolate, but conquered. Aquitaine was made an organic portion of the Frank realm, and a series of Frank counts was established in place of the semi-independent dukes of former times. But the spirit of the south was never broken. The fire of the national hope smoldered still, to break out time and again in the years to come.

In 768 Pepin also died — a war-worn veteran, old before his time, leaving a name of greater renown than any of his predecessors, a kingdom larger and more compact, and a policy the wide ends of which were not yet known. The mists of after ages have closed in and partially hid him, and the figure of his greater son, Charlemagne, has overshadowed him; but, heroic in manner and in mold, to eyes that have the gift of historic vision the figure of Pepin the Short looms pillar-like and grand in the light of the eighth century.

This chapter may be concluded by some account of the institutions and civilization of the Franks. Because the Franks established a permanent state, whereas the other Germanic kingdoms disappeared, they were destined by the force of things to make the transition between the ancient world and medieval history. But this good fortune was attended with some evil consequences. Roman civilization was in a condition of decadence at the time of the Frankish conquest, and the Franks were greatly corrupted by the contact. When their occupation of Gaul was completed, they were not spread uniformly and with equal density over the country. They were not settled in a compact mass, and not everywhere. The north, and especially the northeast, was much more Germanized than the south; in Provence and Aquitaine the Franks were a mere gloss, as it were, on the parchment. The kings had no thought of applying a formal government to their dominions, like Theodoric in Italy. The original nature of their Germanic institutions had been profoundly altered during the conquest, and the Roman institutions which they found in Gaul were in a condition of ruin. Their government was a makeshift combination of these two elements, and it is only in a loose sense that we may say that the administrative system in the south was more Roman than that in the north. Little that was German retained its fundamental racial nature or characteristics after the fifth and sixth centuries. All else was so modified by fusion with Roman institutions or so changed by practices and experience born of the conquest that it retained almost nothing of primitive German principle.

*Institutions
and civiliza-
tion of the
Franks*

Everywhere the kings distributed lands and offices to their followers, but, as many of the Roman aristocracy yielded allegiance to them, they too were given lands and offices. The counts were almost as frequently chosen from the Roman nobility as from the Frankish. In truth, the Franks in the sixth century were no longer truly German, nor were the Gallo-Romans truly Roman. The ancient Germanic spirit and the ancient Latin nature had alike vanished, and a new barbarized civilization formed of the fusion of the two ingredients slowly came into being. In Germany conditions were still different. Except that military service was exacted of the Thuringians, Alemanni, and Bavarians, they were left to the rule of their tribal dukes. In the Merovingian period we find no Frankish count or other administrative officer beyond the Rhine.

Blend of Roman and Frank

As the Franks were not conquerors in the subjugating sense that the Lombards were in Italy and the English in Britain, but fraternized and amalgamated with the Latin population, there was no privileged caste among them. It is true that the life of a Frank was protected by a higher wergeld, but the distinction was merely one of pride. In the same way the Franks resented the imposition of the old Roman direct taxes upon themselves as a sign of submissiveness, so that these were levied, until they disappeared, only upon the Latin element of the population. But the Franks had no prejudice against the Gallo-Romans, and all honors and preferments in government and Church were open to them. No racial antagonism divided the double population. The Latin language was the language of the Merovingian government. The Catholic religion was also the religion of the Franks.

Kingship

The royal authority was a singular blend of the ancient Germanic kingship, Roman pseudo-imperialism, and theocratic ideas of kingship derived from the Book of Kings. The king when "elected" — though the election was a traditional Germanic form only and in practice the Merovingian kings succeeded by hereditary right — was raised upon a shield in the old German way; but he was clad and crowned like a Roman emperor and anointed by the bishops like an ancient Jewish king. No abstract conception of royalty existed among the Merovingians. Every relation, political, social, military, was a concrete one. In reality the kings were chieftains of a grand rout of landed nobles (*leudes*) bound to them by personal ties, not held by authority and sense of obedience.

Court

Court life, the entourage of the king, and etiquette were a pinchbeck imitation of Roman imperial grandeur. The *palatium* or palace was a great rambling villa or manorhouse built of wood and usually close to a great forest, as at Clichy, for the Merovingian kings were passionately fond of hunting; but it was called "sacred," as though it were as formal and formidable a palace as that of Diocletian at Nicomedia. It was always crowded with a mob of hangers-on, place-hunters, guards, officials. The kings had a *consistorium* to assist them in government, a court, and dignitaries, most of whom, like the mayor of the palace, bore Roman titles. They issued edicts and decrees like the Roman emperors; they unsuccessfully endeavored to continue the Roman system of taxation; they appointed counts in the provinces, whose seats usually were in the cities, a circumstance that led to frequent collision between them and the bishops; they were addressed as "Your Excellence," "Your Serenity," "Your Glory," "Your Magnificence," even as "Augustus." The early Carolingians, who less aped Roman ways, were proud of the title "*Vir Illustris*."

Laws

The Roman provincial was as free before the law as his Frank neighbor. Only two inequalities existed. He was in principle liable to the taxes of the Roman system as long as they existed; and the wergeld of a Roman

was lower than that of a Frank. Each subject "lived his own law," whether Roman or German. Law was personal, not territorial, in its application. It could not have been otherwise. Individuality was so deeply ingrained in the German character that the German would as soon have thought of being separated from the breath he drew as to think he could be separated from his law. It was part of him, his unchangeable birthright, and he carried it with him wherever he went. In compliance with this idea the Franks respected the laws and customs of the peoples they conquered — Bavarians, Frisians, Burgundians, Saxons, Thuringians. This idea of the personality of law prevailed until the very end of the Middle Ages and materially contributed to the formation of the mediæval *coutumes*. The defects of the system were recompensed in a degree, since the toleration of their institutions partially reconciled the conquered peoples to Frank domination, and by the incomparably greater advantage that the ideas of personal liberty, which Rome had not known, were kept alive.

"The great bulk of the laws concerned chiefly such questions as the practice of compurgation, ordeal, wergeld, sanctity of holy places, persons, or things, the immunity of the lands belonging to churches, and the tables of penalties for crimes in their several aspects, as offenses against the peace, the family, and the individual." At first among the Franks, as among other Germans, most crimes were not considered as public delicts, but as personal offenses. Punishment was left to the family of the victim (until the law of Childebert II, in 596, put an end to the clan relation). But the old German feud (*faida*) could not be entirely suppressed, and the perpetuation of the idea was responsible for much of the private war of the Middle Ages. Instead of retaliation, composition (werfeld) for the injury or offense might be accepted.

The numerous and exact provisions regarding deeds of violence show how violent was the society of the time. Among the early Germans ideas and practices were primitive in regard to law. Conceptions of legal evidence were narrow; the burden of proof rested on the defense.✓

The theory of proofs with Romans followed the Roman criminal practice, which even in its best days was characterized by the use of torture, and which the Frank criminal law and the Church adopted. The Germanic system of proofs included compurgation, ordeal, and trial by battle. Compurgation was the sworn assertion of a number of men in good standing in the community where the accused lived that they believed him innocent of the charge. Originally the compurgators were members of the family of the one accused, but as the solidarity of the family declined, they came more and more to be twelve representative men of the hundred. In case of a freeman, compurgation was conclusive, although the principals sometimes preferred to settle the matter in a judicial duel. Judgment by ordeal was more common with the unfree and slaves and

did not obtain after the thirteenth century; but trial by battle was exceedingly popular and natural in an age as militant as the medieval. Crude as these methods were, however, they must not be judged too harshly. The modern system of proofs and witnesses requires a highly wrought state, a well-developed administrative system. In a state whose institutions are in process of formation, and in which the individuals, owing to the persistence of primitive influences, are banded together by natural or artificial ties for mutual maintenance and protection, such practices cannot obtain. The Frank State was in precisely this nascent condition. Outlawry and execution were the heaviest legal penalties. The criminal might be hanged or beheaded if a man, drowned or suffocated if a woman. To stone a person was punishment executed by the people itself. Even a bishop was once stoned to death. The Church used its right of asylum to protect the innocent and to mitigate punishment. "Graces of mercies" were fines, mutilation, exile, imprisonment in a cloister or a castle, enslavement. The Salic law provided a carefully defined and graduated tariff for injuries. The articles of Title XVII are examples:

Salic Law

"(1) If anyone have wish to kill another person, and the blow have missed, he on whom it was proved shall be sentenced to 2500 denars, which make 63 shillings.

"(2) If any person have wish to strike another with a poisoned arrow, and the arrow have glanced aside, and it shall be proved on him, he shall be sentenced to 2500 denars, which make 63 shillings.

"(3) If any person strike another on the head, so that the brain appears, and the three bones which lie above the brain shall project, he shall be sentenced to 1200 denars, which make 30 shillings.

"(4) But if it shall have been between the ribs, or in the abdomen, so that the wound appears and reaches to the intestines, he shall be sentenced to 1200 denars, which make 30 shillings, besides 5 shillings for the physician's pay.

"(5) If anyone shall have struck a man, so that blood falls to the floor, and it be proved on him, he shall be sentenced to 600 denars, which make 15 shillings.

"(6) But if a freeman strike a freeman with his fist, he shall be sentenced for each blow up to three blows, to 1200 denars, which make 30 shillings."

The distinction between classes is shown in the following articles of Titles XIV and XLI, in which punishment is regulated according to degree of personal liberty, race, the nature and extent of proprietorship, or the importance of office:

Title XIV

"(1) If anyone have assaulted and plundered a freeman, and it be proved on him, he shall be sentenced to 2500 denars, which make 63 shillings.

"(2) If a Roman have plundered a Salian Frank, the above law shall be observed.

"(3) But if a Frank have plundered a Roman, he shall be sentenced to 35 shillings."

Title XLI

"(1) If anyone shall have killed a free Frank, and it have been proved on him, he shall be sentenced to 8000 denars, which make 200 shillings.

"(3) But if anyone has slain a man who is in the service of the king, he shall be sentenced to 24000 denars, which make 600 shillings.

"(5) If anyone have slain a Roman who eats in the king's palace, and it have been proved on him, he shall be sentenced to 12000 denars, which make 300 shillings.

"(6) But if the Roman shall not have been a landed proprietor and table companion of the king, he who killed him shall be sentenced to 4000 denars, which make 100 shillings.

"(7) But if he shall have killed a Roman who is obliged to pay tribute, he shall be sentenced to 2500 denars, which make 63 shillings."

The material resources of the crown consisted of the products of the royal domain, the profits of justice, requisitions in kind, goods offered by subjects, and local services. The taxes of the Roman epoch, the capitaxation and the land tax, gradually disappeared, and direct taxation, save as preserved in local customs and feudal dues, ceased to exist. But these revenues served principally for the personal expenses of the king and his court. They were not for public use, for at that time services to the State were not rewarded by the State. Freeman came to the army each with his own weapons; public works were done by local effort and private service. The sale of market privileges was a special source of revenue. Markets were appointed at regular times, either weekly or monthly, and in some places annually, and could be held only in places which tradition had established or which the king authorized. It was of special interest to the fisc to have no unlicensed markets. Many taxes were collected in kind, as they were in late imperial days; for example, one-fifteenth of harvests, one-tenth of swine. We find one-tenth of all sowed and one-fifteenth of all planted specified in the sixth century, which is a reminiscence of the old Roman tribute. The Roman poll-tax was too personal an exaction for the Franks, and its abolition by the mayors was a popular act. Other sources of income were tribute, presents, spoils of war, treasure-trove, fines and compositions, forfeited or heirless land, the revenues from mines and salt-pits.

The annual gifts brought to the king by the nobles and presented to him at the spring assembly, although originally voluntary, in course of time became obligatory. Even the monasteries were obliged to submit to this informal taxation. These offerings consisted of gold, silver, precious stones, vestments, trappings, horses, and the like. The king distributed

them as presents to his immediate friends, or used them to recompense those to whom he felt indebted, or to assure himself of the fidelity of those of whom he was in doubt.

The count gave two-thirds of all fines exacted to the public fisc; the residue constituted his salary. The danger of unjust judgments arising from this practice is manifest, and the kings had often to restrain the rapacity of their officials.

Based on the old Roman postal service was the king's right to demand support (*servitium*) for himself and his court, or hospitality for officials, when traveling. The abuses arising from this custom in course of time were regulated by royal capitularies, which specifically defined the *tractoria* which the king's officials had the right to exact. As direct taxation declined and at last disappeared, the most important source of income of the king was the crown lands, part of which was administered directly for the king's benefit, part rented for money or for service. Pepin the Short made the supervision of the stewards on the royal domains a duty of each count within his county.

The surplus produce of the royal domain was used for provisioning the army or sold at the king's command. The bailiffs made semi-annual reports to the mayor of the palace. Those stewards of manors that were also royal residences were naturally of some rank, and such places became government storehouses, or market-places, or mints and even grew into towns.

The financial system of the Franks was wholly Roman. Its basis was the gold solidus (shilling), which was coined in one piece and fractionally in pieces of one-third value. Eighty-one solidi made one pound of gold, which was composed of 12 ounces or 327 grains. The silver piece was a denarius (whence *d.* for "penny"), forty of which were equivalent to one gold solidus. The steady decrease of the precious metals, however, gave these coins an abnormal value. Gradually they became less pure, and finally gold ceased to circulate, being drawn off to the East for commercial purposes, or else hoarded or smelted. In the latter part of the seventh century much commerce reverted to the primitive practice of barter in natural products. This primitive practice, indeed, was general in Austrasia, which was not familiar with the silver denarius even, and probably never saw the gold solidus. In course of time the transition from gold to silver was effected, not by law, but by a natural displacement. In the eighth century the silver denarius ceased to be coined, but an imaginary unit, of about one-third the value of the former gold solidus, became the standard of value. The earliest direct evidence of this change is in 743. No gold coin was issued by the Carolingian monarchs.

Coinage

Social classes

The social cleavage was not a vertical one between Franks and Gallo-Romans, but horizontal, between a landed aristocracy of Gallo-Roman and Frankish extraction and the mass of the peasantry, part of whom were

descended from the Roman servile and slave classes, part of whom were serfs or broken freemen of Frankish extraction.

Thanks to the documents, we may attempt to estimate the population, its economic situation, its usages, and its civilization. The population was not numerous. It was very thinly scattered. Most village names in the north of Gaul do not appear until late in the seventh century. As to those towns that were in the Roman territory, we have little evidence of change; the old Gallo-Roman towns survived as places, but had lost all organic life.

When Gregory of Tours, the first Frank historian, was writing, about A.D. 600, Gaul was still in contact with the Orient, and the Mediterranean ports had not lost all importance. But when the Mohammedans of Africa and Spain established their sea-power in the western Mediterranean, that commerce, and indeed almost all commerce, shrunk to local dimension and activity. Western Europe lapsed into the agricultural stage, large proprietary domains absorbed small landholdings, freemen declined in numbers, and serfdom increased. The old Roman administration became nothing but a mass of revenues, largely pertaining to the great proprietors. Urban life disappeared, fields grew up even within town walls, ancient buildings were abandoned and fell into ruin. After the beginning of the eighth century not even the memory of Roman municipal life survived.

The Frank realm had no ethnic unity; the populations of various origins coexisted without any common tie. They had nothing in common save the exaction of obedience to the same ruler, the king of the Franks. The subjects retained the names of their peoples, their language, their private law, their customs. Each people was judged according to its national law; if a Burgundian committed a crime in a Frank land, he was judged according to Burgundian law. The national law of each individual passed to his son. The Jew was like the foreigner: he had no law. Eight peoples thus lived, grouped together, but quite distinct: the Franks, Burgundians, Goths, Alemanni, Bavarians, Thuringians, Frisians, and Gallo-Romans. Each of these peoples occupied certain regions, which we are able roughly to determine with the aid of the names that have survived. The names of persons indicate nothing conclusive, for they were chosen according to taste. Franks often chose Roman names, and Romans Germanic names. The names of villages are of different sorts. The oldest are names drawn from the soil. In the seventh and eighth centuries they are the names of men, ending with the syllable "-heim" or "-hausen," and can be traced as far as the Loire River, from which circumstance we conclude a heavier Frankish colonization to that point.

The Franks only in part adopted the Roman usages; their manner of life remained German. The Romans also retained their system of living, their style of dress, their kind of eating. The Franks retained their habit of living in the country; they hunted much; they always wore their hair

*Habits and
customs*

short, and a mustache was the fashion in face adornment. They preserved their national dress, perhaps largely on account of lack of money, for the richest of the Franks adopted Roman ornaments. As to arms, they carried the mace, the sword, the spear, especially the lance, and the battle-axe. The rich wore the long sword. Their defensive armor included a buckler made of wood fortified with metal; the wealthy wore a casque and greaves. The warriors for the most part fought on foot. A horse was a highly esteemed possession.

The moral depravity prevailing among the upper classes—kings, nobles, and bishops—staggeres the imagination. Drunkenness, sexual excess, murder, lying, cupidity, gluttony, were almost universal. Some striking examples of these evils have already been given in the narrative of events. Fredegundis and Dagobert are not unique, but types of general moral degeneracy. Charibert had two sisters as his mistresses, one of whom was a nun, and was in no way disturbed by being excommunicated. Gregory of Tours with unfeigned simplicity writes of “one of the queens of Charibert.” Dagobert had three wives at the same time. In fact the Church tolerated, if it did not countenance, polygamy. The moral depravity of the Merovingian kings ultimately entailed the ruin of the house.

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CHAPTER IX

MONASTICISM

*Origins of
monasticism*

MONASTICISM was a form of the Christian life not known to the Church before the third century. In the East it was not general before the fourth century. In the West it was only sporadic in the fifth and not general before the sixth century. It was of oriental origin and is one of the most striking evidences of the influence of oriental religious ideal and practice upon Christianity. Wherever and whenever found, asceticism and isolation are at the root of monasticism. There were two stages in its growth: the anchoritic, hermit, or solitary form of life; and the cenobitic or community form of life. It was once thought that the persecutions of the third century, by driving thousands into the desert and solitary places for refuge, gave the initial impulse to monasticism. But this is an error. History shows that monasticism appeared as a religious phenomenon after the persecutions and not during the persecutions. It was a new form of devotion and sacrifice, which acquired great extension after martyrdom was no longer possible. At bottom the new passion for an ascetic and isolated life was a psychological revolt against the semi-pagan and materialistic life of the Roman Empire in the fourth century. The sharp contrast between the plain and simple religious teachings and practices of the New Testament and the dogmatic intolerant theology, hierarchized structure, and worldly life of the clergy in the fourth century disillusioned sterner souls, who fled to the desert to be away from the temptations of the world or to find peace of mind and heart in solitude. Renunciation of property, home, and kindred became a new ideal of self-sacrifice and religious expression; poverty and austerity were linked together with sanctity; hardship and solitariness were a form of expiation for sin; mortification of the flesh ministered to the growth of spiritual life. In this sense St. Paul of Thebes (251-356?) and St. Anthony (251-356?) were the earliest Christian hermits or anchorites of whom we have knowledge. Romantic piety has so invested both of these personages with legend that it is difficult to distinguish between fact and fiction. Their alleged longevity imposes upon credibility. Who still believes that the former lived for ninety-seven years alone in a cave?

In extreme form anchoritism was a species of religious hysteria, even mania. Paul and Anthony were lunatics in their excessive austerities, dwelling with vermin and sitting amid filth, eating revolting food, or starving for days, in the absurd belief that such mortification of the flesh edified the spirit. They made an orgy of asceticism and isolation; fancying themselves austere, they were really self-indulgent in these practices.

Ignorant and illiterate, they were without education or culture; their phantasmagoric imaginations confounded sensuousness with sensuality, "counting beauty an enemy to holiness." They condemned cleanliness and comfort as self-indulgence, and exalted privation and poverty as expiations.

*Institution of
cloister life*

A return to reason and a revolutionary change in monastic history was brought about in the fourth century by the substitution of cenobitic or cloister life for the earlier form of hermit life, by St. Pachomius in the Thebaid (died 349?). He seems to have been a native of Lower Egypt, born of rich and pagan parents, and is said to have been a soldier in the army of Constantine in the war with Maxentius, during which he was converted and retired to the desert to live the life of an anchorite. But he was soon disillusioned; he was too sensible not to know that man is a social animal and that, as in solitary imprisonment, men went mad under anchoritism. Accordingly, about 340, with a few disciples, Pachomius retired to the island of Tabenna in the Nile and there built a *koïno-bion* or common establishment, in which it is said the cells were arranged after the plan of a Roman camp, and instituted a series of regulations imitating the organization and discipline of the Roman legions, in which absolute obedience, silence, manual labor, and religious exercises were enjoined. Thus cloistered monastic group life supplanted anchoritism and eliminated by its rationality and system the gravest abuses of the latter. If we are to believe Palladius, a contemporary historian who visited Egypt about 390, there were fourteen hundred monks in Tabenna and seven thousand in subsidiary houses.

*Egypt the
cradle of
monasticism*

It was not long before monasticism passed the boundaries of Egypt and spread over the eastern provinces of the Roman world. In 358 a sister of Basil the Great founded a community of nuns near the village of Anesi in Pontus on lands pertaining to the family. Soon afterwards Basil established a colony of monks in Cappadocia. Others were soon founded in Syria, Palestine, and Greece. The rules that he drew up for these institutions became the basis of the Basilian Rule, which governed Greek monasticism throughout the Middle Ages and still prevails in the Greek Church.

*St. Basil
(329-79)*

The life of St. Basil (329-79) is luminous for the light it casts upon the history of the Church and society in the fourth century. He was born at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, of a wealthy family, which had been Christian through several generations. Piety and religious mysticism seem to have been hereditary in the family. His mother Emilia, his sister Macrina, and his two brothers, Gregory of Nyssa and Peter of Sebaste, are all saints of the church. His grandmother was a pupil of Gregory Thaumaturgus, himself a disciple of Origen. Basil's father, an advocate and professor of rhetoric, sent his son to Constantinople to be educated, where his master was the celebrated pagan rhetorician Libanius. For five years (351-6) he

studied in the schools of Athens, where two fellow-scholars were Gregory Nazianzen and the future Emperor Julian. In 357, having become interested in monasticism, of which he had doubtless heard much, Basil traveled through Lower and Upper Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia, conversing with anchorites and visiting Tabenna. In 370 Basil became bishop of Cæsarea and threw himself eagerly into the Arian-Athanasian controversy and at the same time actively promoted the endowment of monasteries, his means of persuasion sometimes being so coercive that he alarmed and angered the rich. Even Gregory Nazianzen deplored some of his measures, as, for example, his exaction that those who entered a monastery should not assign their property to their heirs without discrimination, but "dispose of it only to those who would use it for the glory of God." St. Basil was a rare combination of idealism and practicality and had an intuitive perception of the religious and economic power of the new monasticism. He condemned complete isolation and substituted cenobitic for solitary life; he abandoned the desert and established his monastic colonies near, though not in, towns; he suppressed self-flogging and degrading macerations of the flesh; the body was to be disciplined, not abused; he supplanted mortification by useful employments calculated not only to make the monasteries self-supporting, but to make them able to succor the poor and afflicted. Exaggerated and exhausting austerities made men incapable of service. Contemplative life was promoted, but active, physically vigorous life was enjoined. Labor was not to be neglected under pretext of devotion. Monastic industry was to be practical, as farming and gardening, weaving, leather- and wood-working, stone-cutting, building. The possession of personal property was forbidden to the monk. Only his clothing and shoes were his own. His vestments ought to indicate simplicity, humility, and poverty; his food was to be nourishing, but not rich. Silence was strictly enjoined except during open hours. Ribaldry was forbidden, but light laughter was the sign of a serene and happy heart.

Although monasticism made for itself a legitimate yet singular place in the religious life and the economic and social conditions of the fourth century, in its protest against the worldliness and office-seeking of the clergy and its advocacy of a religious life untainted by luxury and indulgence, nevertheless monasticism had its own evils and abuses. At bottom it was "a selfish unselfishness," in that the primary purpose of every monk was to save his soul by avoidance of temptation. He was less interested in saving others than in saving himself. His charity and humanitarianism were selfish, for their aim was to acquire credit in heaven for "good works" done on earth. He labored not because labor is a healthy occupation, or in order to assist others, but to discipline his body and reduce the fires of passion within him by hard toil. He deserted the world because he was afraid

*Revolutionary
effects of
monasticism*

to live in it and unable to withstand its temptations. In spite of the exaltation of the movement by great churchmen like St. John Chrysostom, monasticism in a number of ways was a deranging and disintegrating force in society. The synod of Gangres in 362 justly complained of the break-up of families and the impoverishment of many wrought by the movement, while the government showed alarm over the numbers withdrawn from shops and crafts, and legislated to prevent evasion of military service through becoming monks, especially when there was most need for troops. Moreover, the monks were far more fanatical than the secular clergy and incited the populace to violence and riot against heretics and pagans. Their intolerance was extended to everything that savored of pagan tradition and culture. It is significant that the birth and development of monasticism synchronizes with the last struggle of dying paganism against Christianity. It must be remembered that literary culture, art, philosophy, science—all the higher civilization of antiquity—was intimately bound up with pagan tradition. Monastic intolerance confounded all this magnificent heritage with paganism and condemned the whole without discrimination. The spoliation of the temples, the destruction of exquisite works of ancient art, the burning of libraries—notably the second Alexandrian Library—the persecution of peaceful and cultivated philosophic scholars, the ban upon classical literature, the ruffianism of mobs—such as that which tore Hypatia to pieces—all these sinister and malignant deeds, were instigated by fanatical monks.

*Creation of
the regular
clergy*

Monasticism created a new type of clergy, the “regular” clergy, or those living under the rule, who are to be sharply distinguished legally and historically from that other and older type, the “secular” clergy, so called because, unlike the monks, they mingled with secular life and were seen of men, as cloistered monks were not. The secular clergy were bishops, deacons, and parish priests.

But, sharp as was the distinction between these two types of clergy, and intense as was the rivalry between them for preferment and wealth, each inevitably influenced the other, or the one followed after the other in some ways. For example, endowments of land and other forms of wealth were showered as copiously upon abbots in the fifth century as they had been upon bishops in the fourth century. The most remarkable illustration, however, of cross-influence is the growth of the ideal of celibacy in the Church, owing to the example of monasticism, although intimations and even injunctions of celibacy may be found before monasticism arose. The strange and enigmatic utterance attributed to Jesus in Matthew xix, 11-12, with the oracular conclusion: “He that is able to receive it, let him receive it,” was both literally and mystically interpreted by some early Christian ecstasies, such as Origen, who mutilated himself. St. Paul, in I Corinthians vii, 1-9, apparently regarded continence as a counsel of perfec-

Celibacy

tion and distinctly said that it was "not of commandment." Nevertheless he cast the weight of his great influence in favor of celibacy in the famous text: "He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord" (vii, 32). Jesus and Paul regarded celibacy as only possible in virtue of a gift, a charism. But the drift of early Christian thought was towards idealization of celibate life as holier than the secular way of living (cf. Apocalypse xiv, 1-4), and in consequence the tendency to impose celibacy upon the priesthood is manifested in the legislation of the early councils.

The evidence is clear that in the first three centuries of the Church marriage was not considered incompatible with the office of the priest. But it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to adduce a text that approves of the marriage of a priest *after ordination*. From the fourth century onward ecclesiastical opinion was strongly opposed to married bishops, though allowing marriage to the lesser clergy. Yet we have the rare case of Synesius of Ptolemais, who refused to be made a bishop in 410 unless he could keep his wife. Finally in 691 (692?) the Trullan council erected custom into law, permitting deacons, subdeacons, and priests to be married, but requiring married bishops to put away their wives and prohibiting unmarried bishops to marry. This legislation is still the basis of legislation on the subject in the Greek Church. "In the East the parish clergy have always been married; the bishops formerly married have long since been exclusively of the unmarried clergy. The clergy who do not marry become monks."¹

The Latin Church, on the other hand, has always been less compromising. In the West the celibacy of the clergy as a body was an ideal from the beginning of the fourth century, and became a principle by the middle of the fifth century under Leo the Great, though it was not enforced as a universal obligation until the reforms of Gregory VII (1073-85). The councils of Orange (441), of Arles (452), of Tours (461), and of Toledo (653, 659) emphatically asserted the principle that priestly authority and marriage were incompatible. In the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, in the theory of ecclesiastical law at least, celibacy was required, although the law was as much honored in the breach as in the observance. The only region of western Europe where this injunction did not apply was the Lombard kingdom in Italy, where the church of Milan, relying upon the authority of St. Ambrose, its first great bishop, long resisted the injunctions of Rome and retained a married priest class until the eleventh century.

*Attitude of
the Latin
Church to
celibacy*

Inevitably monasticism was destined to spread from the Greco-Oriental East to the Latin West, but its appearance there was about a century later. Four great names are connected with the inception of the movement: St. Cassian (about 360-435), St. Martin of Tours (about 316-97), St.

¹ AYER, *Source Book of Church History*, 411.

*Beginnings of
monasticism
in the West*

Cæsar of Arles (died 542), and St. Benedict (about 480–543). There were some hermits in the West before Cassian's time, notably in Gaul, but Cassian may be truly regarded as the founder of Western monasticism. He was probably a native of Provence. His youth was passed in a monastery in Bethlehem, after which he seems to have passed fourteen years in the Thebaid. In Constantinople in 403 he fell under the spell of St. John Chrysostom and in 415 returned to the land of his birth and established two monasteries near Marseilles, one for men, the other for women. Before he died it is said there were five thousand monks in Provence living under the discipline he instituted. In his most important work, the *De institutis renuntiantium*, Cassian provided the earliest monastic rule of the Latin Church. The apologetic nature of a portion of this treatise shows that monasticism had yet to make its way in the West. It had a very great influence upon the development of Western monasticism. St. Benedict ordained daily reading of it in all Benedictine abbeys, and in the thirteenth century one of St. Thomas Aquinas's favorite lectures at the University of Paris was upon this work. The influence of Cassian perhaps would have been wider than it was in Gaul if it had not been that he fell under suspicion of sympathizing with Pelagianism, the first important Western heresy.

*St. Martin of
Tours*

No such cloud overcast the career of St. Martin of Tours, whose aura has never been tarnished and around whom clusters a mass of myth and legend. He was a native of Pannonia, where his father, a pagan in religion, was a legionary tribune. At ten years of age he was converted to Christianity. When he was twelve years of age, he wanted to retire into solitude, but was prevented, and at seventeen, in pursuance of the imperial law requiring the enrollment of the sons of soldiers in the legions, he entered the army. After two years of military service Martin was released and betook himself to Poitiers to receive the teaching of the famous Bishop Hilary, an ardent opponent of Arianism. Emboldened by his instruction, Martin returned to Pannonia with the object of combating Arianism there, but was driven out and went into upper Italy whence he was also expelled by Auxentius, the Arian bishop of Milan. When Hilary was restored at Poitiers, Martin returned to Gaul with him and about 360 founded at Locociacum (Ligugé) the first monastery in the West. In 371 he was elected, much against his will, to be bishop of Tours, where in spite of his public duties he persevered in the monastic life and founded in, rather than upon, the rock cliffs along the right bank of the Loire near Tours the famous monastery of Marmoutier (a corruption of Majus Monasterium, or Great Monastery). The eighty inmates dwelt in cells quarried out of the cliff or in cabins made of branches of trees along the river-bank. The discipline was very severe. Only one meal a day was allowed, of fruits and vegetables, without meat or wine. Fish was permitted only on the great festival days of the Church. The influence of St. Martin

as a promoter of monasticism in the West was far greater than that of Cassian, for he caught the popular imagination as the other failed to do, but he had little influence upon the organization of monastic institutions. No rule is known by his name. The battle of St. Martin's life was against the paganism that survived in Gaul, principally in the rural areas. Against the country-folk votaries of dying gods and goddesses he instigated veritable crusades, which swept the countryside with fanaticism and iconoclasm, harassing frightened peasants, invading cottages, and destroying ancestral *lares et penates* found there, demolishing rural fanes and temples yet existing in the towns. The "evangelization of the fields" was not a peaceful missionary movement, but an invasion. More and more harried, paganism shrunk away into the depths of the forests and the great stretches of moor and heath, where in a crippled, fragmentary way its beliefs and practices persisted for many years, until at last they passed into medieval folk-lore and superstition — vestigial remains of a vanished past.

St. Martin lived in a time when the ebb of pagan culture was just beginning. It is singular, as one reads the contemporary sources, to see how the highly cultured pagan society of a poet like Ausonius failed to perceive the change that was impending.

"Calmly confident of the permanence of their ideals of culture and hardly conscious of the great movement which was setting towards the life of prayer and renunciation . . . Ausonius had as little conception of the range and force of the movement as the great senator of Nero's court had of the world-wide revolution which was to be the result of the preaching of St. Paul. Yet the impulse to asceticism . . . stimulated by the preaching and magnetic influence of St. Martin in Gaul had gained extraordinary momentum in the last years of Ausonius. The tales of wonder and miracle which rapidly clustered round the name of the great preacher are the surest proof of the power with which his mission affected the popular imagination. His *Life*, by Sulpicius Severus, within two or three years was widely read in Gaul, Italy, Illyria, and had found its way even to the solitaries in the deserts of Egypt and Cyrene. St. Paulinus, who introduced the book to Roman readers, was one of the first-fruits of the great religious awakening. He gave up his wealth and consular rank and the charms of his great estate on the Garonne, and, after some years of retreat in Spain, finally settled at Nola. His example of renunciation created a profound sensation all over the West."¹

Between Cassian and St. Martin on the one hand and St. Benedict on the other, St. Cæsar of Arles was a connecting link, being older than St. Benedict, but contemporary with him. In particular his work was a continuation of that of Cassian in Provence. For it is to be observed that Provence and Touraine, the valley of the Rhone and that of the Loire, were the two chief and earliest centers of Western monasticism. Like

St. Cæsar of
Arles

¹ DILL, *op. cit.*, 180-1.

Hilary of Poitiers before him, Cæsar's life was spent in combating Arianism in Visigothic Gaul. His fame as a monk is associated with the monastery of Lerins, on an island off the Riviera, which was founded by Honoratus, but upon which Cæsar by his labors bestowed historical immortality.

Until the sixth century Gaul was the only country of the West in which organized communities of monks might be found, although in almost every country there were isolated hermits or even unorganized groups of ascetics; in Pannonia St. Severinus in the fifth century had established a few communities of monks living according to the Basilian Rule, with which he had probably become familiar during his wanderings in the East. But with St. Benedict of Nursia not only did Italy acquire the foremost place in Western monasticism, but a type of monastic organization destined to supplant every other type was founded. Moreover, for the first time the support of the papacy was enlisted in favor of the movement.

St. Benedict

Benedict, who was of rich and aristocratic parentage, was born in Umbria about 480. The boy was sent to Rome for schooling, but the profligacy of the city dismayed him and he fled to a wild solitude near Subiaco in the Sabine Hills, where a pious hermit named Romanus is said to have befriended him. Here he lived in a grotto, still pointed out as *il sagro speco*. The place owed its original importance to Nero, who built a villa there and constructed three artificial lakes, the "Simbruina stagna" of Tacitus. In the sixth century the once splendid establishment was in an advanced stage of ruination. The chief information upon St. Benedict is derived from the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, who wrote about fifty years after Benedict's death, when already the life of the saint was invested with legend; but there is no reason to doubt the statement that the young novice at this season suffered from religious hysteria and was tortured by hallucinations and dreams and for a time gave himself over to extreme physical privation.

As Benedict's fame as a man of God spread, others flocked to him, until a little group of devotees was gathered around him, two of whom, Maurus and Placidus, hold a high place in the earliest history of Benedictinism. In 530 Benedict resolved to remove his community from the neighborhood of Rome and sent out two of the brethren to discover a new and more desirable place of settlement. They returned with word that they had found a sequestered valley surrounded by hills, half-way between Rome and Naples at Monte Cassino, on whose summit was an ancient temple of Apollo, still resorted to by the peasantry of the locality. Benedict regarded this last information as a sign. To the historian it is interesting as a ray of light cast upon expiring paganism. Upon this site was erected the mother monastery of the Benedictine Order out of the stones of the ancient pagan fane, and the monks were set to work to clear the

Monte Cassino, the mother monastery of Benedictinism

woods away and to till the fields with such good effect that during a famine Monte Cassino nourished the surrounding population.

In the early period of monasticism monks were not formally clerics, though claiming and possessing privilege of clergy, but laymen grouped into communities. Benedict knew the laxnesses and the abuses of Eastern monasticism and was not unacquainted with the Basilian Rule, which St. Jerome's secretary, Rufinus, had translated into Latin; and for the government of his own community he drew up a body of rules and regulations known as the Benedictine Rule, perhaps the most famous ecclesiastical constitution of the Middle Ages and the model for every succeeding monastic order. Its cardinal features are self-abnegation, obedience, and labor. Prayer, silence, discipline, and manual work were designed to leave no room for pride, gossip, vice, and indolence. Nothing but a careful reading of the entire rule can adequately convey the nature and fullness of it.

*Benedictine
Rule*

It is a singular coincidence that within ten years after the establishment of Monte Cassino another monastery, but one of briefer duration, was founded in southern Italy, that of Vivarium at Squillace in Calabria, in 538, by Cassiodorus, Theodoric's great minister of state, who after the latter's death retired from the world to devote himself to sacred studies. His villa, his lands, and, above all, his large library were given to Vivarium as endowment. In this retreat Cassiodorus wrote his lost *History of the Goths*. He has been called "the last Roman" and it is important to observe that it was Cassiodorus, not Benedict, who established the precedent that the monasteries should be centers of learning and schools, thereby incalculably benefiting the Middle Ages by preserving in some degree the heritage of Latin culture, which otherwise would probably have perished from the world.

Cassiodorus

But Vivarium was an isolated foundation; it did not establish an institution as did Monte Cassino. The rapid expansion of Benedictinism during the next three centuries is a wonderful chapter in medieval history. The attempt of St. Placidus to establish a house in Sicily was ruined by the Vandal war. More successful, St. Maurus in 541 took the road to Frankish Gaul and, drawn towards Touraine, redolent with the memory of St. Martin, founded the earliest Benedictine abbey north of the Alps at Glanfeuil, near Angers, upon the banks of the Loire. There it remained until the Norse invasions of the ninth century, when it was removed to the neighborhood of Paris and rechristened with the name of its founder, Saint-Maur-des-Fosses. The passionate espousal of monasticism by Pope Gregory the Great, who was himself a Benedictine monk, and the wide popularity of his *Dialogues*, which are filled with tales and legends of St. Benedict did much for this extension. As much more was accomplished for the extension of the order by the missionary spirit which Benedictinism, again largely owing to the Pope's initiative, evoked.

*Spread of
Monasticism*

After the first great age of the expansion of Christianity in the first, second, and third centuries, orthodox Christianity largely lost its former missionary spirit and became involved in theological controversies and disputation with the many heretical sects that had arisen. It left missionary activity to the great rival Arian faith. Orthodox adversaries have often written that if Arianism had prevailed instead of the Nicene faith, Christianity would have been reduced to sterility. History disproves this assertion. For it was Arianism that produced those zealous missionaries like Ulfilas and his successors who converted the barbarian German nations to Christianity — the Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, and Lombards, who had conquered the Roman Empire. The Franks alone were the exception to this fact. They were pagans after their entrance into Gaul. How grossly Christianity suffered degradation in Frankish Gaul, how base and worldly its clergy became, we have already seen. From this slough Frankish and indeed all Western Christianity was partially redeemed and recalled to higher spiritual life by the expansion of Benedictinism.

Missionary activity of the monks

The most notable example of the new missionary zeal of the Church is the mission of St. Augustine, who was sent by Gregory I to Anglo-Saxon England in 596, from whose arrival the conversion of England dates. He had been prior of St. Andrew's in Rome, where Gregory I was educated, when he was chosen for the English mission. Britain, which for nearly two centuries had been lost to European history and to Christianity, owing to the conquests of Jutes, Angles, and Saxons and the destruction of Roman-British civilization and old British Christianity, except in Wales, was thus again brought back into the orbit of civilization. Welsh Christianity, the offspring of Romano-British Christianity, survived in Celtic-Saxon Britain when everything else of the legacy of Roman imperial times was obliterated.

St. Augustine secured the protection of Queen Bertha, who was a Frankish and Catholic princess, and of King Ethelbert of Kent, and founded the monastery of Christ Church at Canterbury, upon the site where the cathedral was later built. From this center radiated that influence which so rapidly consummated the conversion of England's petty kingdoms — Kent, Anglia, Wessex, Essex, Sussex, Mercia, Northumberland — which were not united into one whole until the reign of Egbert (802-39).

monas-

But both in Frankish Gaul and in England the Benedictine movement for many years had to compete with a Celtic form of monasticism which spread out of Ireland to England and to France and Germany. The history of Irish monasticism must now engage our attention. Ireland was the one country of western Europe known to antiquity which the Romans had not conquered. Indeed, they never attempted to do so, for when Agricola,

the Roman governor of Britain, pointed out to the Emperor Domitian the desirability of its annexation and said that a single legion would suffice for its conquest, the Emperor rejected the suggestion, a fact that was destined to make a vast difference between the history of Ireland and that of every country of western Europe. For Ireland entered the Middle Ages with no Roman tradition, no heritage of Roman institutions or culture, whereas she might have derived from Rome some notion of the State, some elements of ordered government, some ancient memory of political unity.

Racially Ireland was peopled by tribes of the Celtic race in the first Celtic or Gadhelic wave that swept across Europe anterior at least to the sixth century B.C. For the ancient Irish language preserved forms of speech sharply distinguished from the Celtic speech in Britain, Gaul, and Spain left by the second or Brythonic wave of conquest. This first migration reached Ireland by way of Britain. The Picts of Caledonia, the Welsh, and the Cornishmen were probably the remnant of the Goidels who did not pass on into Ireland, but remained in Britain, where they were fused with the comers-in of the second wave.

Ireland had no political unity. The five kingdoms of Ulster, Connaught, Meath, Leinster, and Munster all had floating boundaries, within which clan warred with clan. Indeed, the vitality and vigor of Celtic clan government finds in ancient Ireland its most pronounced type. Because of either chronic warfare, increase of population and consequent pressure upon subsistence, or rudimentary agriculture which was more pastoral than farming in nature—and probably all three of these factors co-operated—the overflowing population of early medieval Ireland in the fourth century began to expand beyond sea into Britain, Cornwall, Caledonia, and Little Britain or Armorica in Gaul. Irish pirates under the name of Scots (for most of Ireland was then known as Scotia, and only the north was called Erin) early in the fifth century made formidable depredations in these countries, which Rome's arms, being engaged with the Goths, Burgundians, and Alemanni, could not repress. The county of Argyle in Scotland still preserves the reminiscence of this early Irish (or Scottish) wave of conquest, which converted a once Pictish territory into Ar-Goidel, or "country of the Irish." In after time the influx of "Scots" from Ireland into Caledonia became so great that they changed the name of the land from Caledonia to Scotland.

*Political and
cultural con-
dition of Ire-
land*

Among the British captives taken in one of these raids, about 400, was a young Briton named Sucat, the son of a Christian Roman decurion in Britain who lived near Dumbarton, where was a Roman garrison. He was the future St. Patrick. After six years of captivity in Ireland Patrick, as we may now call him, made his escape to Gaul, where his education was received in the schools of Auxerre and perhaps Lerins, "the favorite

St. Patrick

centre towards which Greek, Syrian, and Egyptian monasticism tended." Obeying an inward spiritual urge, Patrick determined to return to Ireland. Christianity was certainly known to some degree in Ireland before this time, for in 431 Pope Celestine I had sent Palladius as the first bishop of "the Scots believing in Christ" to Ireland in order to combat the Pelagian heresy. Nevertheless the real conversion of the Irish was the achievement of St. Patrick. His remarkable qualities worked wonders with the imaginative and emotional Irish people. In 445 the bishopric of Armagh was established.

Partly as the result of St. Patrick's contact with other than Latin forms of church observance, partly because of its isolation, the Irish Church preserved several ancient ecclesiastical usages long after they had become obsolete or forbidden on the Continent. The most important of these differences were the dating of Easter, the form of tonsure, and the nature of the bishop's office. Among the Irish the episcopate was not so much a dignity attached to a diocese as a clerical distinction. Abbots were the chief administrators, the work of bishops being restricted to the functions of consecrating and ordaining. Moreover, the monastic or regular clergy in Ireland predominated in both numbers and dignity over the secular clergy. The first bishops were all monks. And, finally, the intensely clannish nature of Irish society tended to englobe both monastery and diocese within itself, a circumstance that deprived the Church of its rightful liberty and inclined to make the Irish Church dependent upon tribal or clan politics.

"The social structure in Ireland offered no platform on which it was possible to erect a hierarchy of the Roman order, still less a parish system. Till the Vikings came there were no cities. Till Strongbow came there was no feudalism. The Irish were organized in a number of hostile and warring tribes, each tribe held together by the tie of kinship and each governed by its chief, over whom the High King at Tara was suzerain rather than sovereign. Irish Christianity was perforce tribal. It was not parochial nor in the Roman sense episcopal, though there was a plethora of insignificant 'bishops,' mostly without sees. Its real life was monastic. The normal Irish monastery was connected with a single tribe, and acknowledged no ecclesiastical superior capable of controlling its abbot."¹

It was impossible for the Roman Church to countenance such differences, and the conflict which began under Gregory I was not settled until 733, when Ireland accepted the Roman Easter.

The fusion of old Irish culture, which preserved its Celtic originality and vigor, thanks to the fact that Rome had never stamped her imperial signet-ring upon it, with the Latin culture of the Continent, which was brought into the island in the fifth century, resulted in the formation in

¹ G. M. TREVELYAN, *History of England*, 54.

Ireland of what was, perhaps, the most brilliant and original culture of all the Middle Ages. From the fifth to the eighth centuries the schools and learning of Ireland and Irish literary and artistic culture far excelled anything of the same nature to be found elsewhere in western Europe. For four hundred years it flamed, gave its light and vision to Scotland, England, and the Continent—and then went out, as it were, in a flash of darkness. However, the introduction of classical literature, both Latin and Greek, into Ireland has been too hastily credited to the mission of St. Patrick. The beginnings are associated with the barbarian invasions of Gaul early in the fifth century, when certain Gallican scholars, among them a grammarian of Toulouse known as Vergilius Maro, fled to Ireland. Whatever else these scholars abandoned, we may be sure they took their books and manuscripts with them. Classical learning therefore had found a root in Ireland prior to the coming of St. Patrick in 432. The monasteries that he and his successors founded became the seed plots of this new and vigorous Christo-Celtic-Latin and Greek culture, which produced a rich crop of scholars and saints.

“The monks had many-sided activities for they were hermits, scholars, artists, warriors and missionaries. . . . The stories of their lives, many of them preserved by Bede, are singularly attractive. The freshness and the light of dawn glimmer in the legends of Aidan and of Cuthbert. To this form of monasticism we owe not only the Book of Kells, but the manuscript art of Lindisfarne, wherein Celtic and Saxon native ornamentation were blended in perfect harmony with Christian traditions from southern lands. The Irish monks also revived a knowledge of classical secular literature, which had almost died out in Western Europe. While Pope Gregory the Great was reproving a Gallic bishop for studying Latin grammar and poetry the Irish Christians were busy saving it for the world in their remote corner where the papal censure was unheard. Thence they carried it to the England of Benedict, Biscop and Bede, where it greatly fructified; finally in the days of Charlemagne, it was taken back across the sea by Alcuin to begin its reconquest of the illiterate continent.”¹

The most celebrated monastery in Ireland was that of Bangor in Ulster.

The singular combination of Irish love of wandering and adventure with missionary zeal in the sixth century resulted in a swarm of monk missionaries pouring across the narrow seas to Scotland, Britain, and the continent. The whole nation turned missionary, pilgrim, traveler. It was then that Ireland began to give back to Europe the rich treasures of scholarship which she had preserved. The pioneer of this movement was St. Columba, the “dove of the Church”—a play upon his adopted name, for his Irish name was Cernthan—who in 563 with twelve companions founded a monastery on the island of Iona, from which

St. Columba

¹ TREVELYAN, *op. cit.*, 55.

radiated that missionary expansion which resulted in the conversion of the Picts and so heavy a colonization of Irish "Scots" in northern Britain that the very name of the territory was transformed from Caledonia to Scottish Land or Scotland. In due course this Irish missionary movement united with what survived of ancient British Christianity, and together the two endeavored to effect the conversion of heathen England. But here the Scottish and Welsh missionaries, whose dating of Easter, form of tonsure, and liturgy differed from those of the Latin Church, encountered the conquering Gregorian chant brought by St. Augustine. The conversion of the English nations to Roman Christianity and the rejection of Irish Christianity by King Oswy of Northumbria at the synod of Whitby in 664, closed England to further Irish missionary activity. Anglo-Saxon heathenism was overthrown in the seventh century "by a vigorous encircling movement from North and South at once, the religion of Columba and Aidan coming from Scotland, the religion of Gregory and Augustine coming from Rome."

St. Columban But Frankish Gaul and Germany still offered an open field. Indeed, two generations before Whitby, Irish missionaries had also invaded the Continent. The earliest and greatest of these was St. Columban.

Born in Leinster, in 543, he had been given a good education at one of the numerous schools of Lough Erne. Against his mother's remonstrances, he decided to renounce the world and assume the monastic life. When about twenty, he entered Bangor and threw himself into his studies with great zeal. That he obtained an excellent classical education at Bangor is clearly shown by his correspondence of later years. At thirty he was ordained a priest, and shortly after he was seized with unconquerable desire to enter the missionary field. St. Comgall, the abbot, remonstrated, but Columban remained resolute and about 585 with twelve companions crossed over to Britain and thence to Gaul and finally arrived in Burgundy. Reports of Columban's holiness spread and he was well received by King Guntram, who granted him a site for a monastery on the ruins of an old Roman camp at Anagrates or Anagray. This foundation attracted recruits, and soon a new monastery was begun at Luxeuil, about eight miles distant from Anagrates. In establishing both these monasteries Columban violated one of the rules of continental practice — namely, that the abbot of a monastery should get permission of the bishop in whose territory he proposed to found his institution. This was a source of friction at once with the Frankish clergy. The foundation at Luxeuil grew rapidly, and soon a third monastery was founded at Fontaines.

While at Luxeuil, Columban drew up his Rule as a constitution for his establishments. Since it is "the only Irish monastic rule, properly so-called, that has come down to us from the early period of Irish monachism," its chief features are of considerable interest. The rule,

patterned after that of St. Comgall of Bangor, is divided into ten parts. The first enjoins absolute and passive obedience on the monks and makes the abbot unrestricted in power. Two enjoins absolute and perpetual silence. The monks might speak only for useful and necessary purposes. Three regulated the food of the monks; but one scanty meal a day was to be taken, and that in the evening. Four enforced poverty and the surrender of worldly ambitions. Five denounced vanity. Six enforced chastity. Seven laid down the order of psalm-singing. Eight specified the cultivation of prudence and discretion as a monastic virtue. Nine dealt with austerity. Ten, which is almost as long as the other nine combined, formed the basis of the penitential system. This rule is exceedingly severe. The slightest deviation from monastic discipline was punished by solitary confinement or by floggings, ranging from six to two hundred stripes.

This rule was introduced into a number of monasteries, but never came into full operation for two reasons. It was defective in that it provided no satisfactory means for binding the Irish monasteries together, and it quickly came into conflict with the Benedictine Rule. The latter was much more practical, lacked the extreme austerity of the Columban Rule, and was the product of a mind gifted with organizing powers to a high degree. Moreover, the Benedictines had church and papal support. Within two generations after Columban's death his rule had practically ceased to operate.

For twenty years Columban labored at Luxeuil. His hold was strong over the common people, but through his unsparing denunciation of the vices of the court he aroused the hostility of Queen Brunhildis. Coupled with this was the hostility of the Church because of Columban's disregard of Roman customs and his adherence to Celtic practices. The combination of Church and State proved too much for him and he was finally driven from Luxeuil and commanded by the Frankish King to return to Ireland. But the superstitious dread of a ship-captain prevented his being taken as a passenger. Columban interpreted this as an omen that the Almighty wished him to continue his labors on the Continent. Since Frankish Gaul was now closed to him, he betook himself to Switzerland and labored for a short time around the Lake of Zürich and the Lake of Constance. But he and his companions finally were obliged to leave because of the hostility they aroused. Crossing the Alps, Columban arrived in Italy and was well received by Agilulf, King of the Lombards. He founded on the Trebbia the monastery of Bobbio, and there he spent the last three years of his life. At Bobbio Columban died in 615. Bobbio became one of the great Irish monasteries on the Continent, a repository for a great number of priceless manuscripts.

Irish monasteries on the continent

Meantime Luxeuil grew rapidly, and speedily became "the monastic

capital of Gaul, a nursery of bishops and saints and the mother of similar institutions." Before many years a multitude of monasteries were founded in Burgundy, Austrasia, and Neustria. The planting of new colonies drove deeper the wedge of Irish influence into yet unconverted regions of Central Europe. These offshoots were planted for the most part in clusters, and a brief enumeration of the more important clusters shows the widespread activity of the Irish monks.

In the neighborhood of the original cluster of three arose Remiremont, Lure, and Saint-Dié. South and north of the original cluster arose a group in which Besançon, Romain-Moutier, Beze, Brezille, Cusance, Saint-Ursanne, and Val-Moutier are the chief names. Close to Paris arose a third group, which included Jouarre, Reuil, Rebois, Faremoutiers, and Lagny. A fourth cluster arose between the Paris basin and Luxeuil, linking the two together, from Montier-la-Celle, near Troyes, through Hautvillers and Montier-en-Der, near Epernay, to Saint-Salaberga and Baresy, near Laon and Centule (later called Saint-Riquier). On the lower Seine was a fifth cluster, comprising three monasteries: Fontenelle, Jumièges, and Saint-Saëns. From 594 to 667 Irish influence was extended over Ponthieu and Picardy. Besides the outstanding establishments mentioned, various smaller foundations, known as *Hospitalia Scotorum*, grew up in northern France. These institutions, while, with few exceptions, founded by Irishmen, in course of time became filled with Frankish monks and within two generations gradually were brought under the Benedictine Rule. All southern Germany was dotted with Irish foundations, of which the most celebrated were at Würzburg and Regensburg. St. Gall has left his name to an entire Swiss canton. Centuries after these had become Benedictinized, they still retained the spirit and memory of their Celtic origin and throughout the Middle Ages were known as *Schottenklöster*.

Importance of
Irish influence

In initiating and stimulating a new missionary spirit in medieval Christianity, in preserving and promoting both ecclesiastical and classical scholarship, in introducing a new emotional element and a deeper spiritual sense into Latin Christianity, notably in its influence upon the penitential system, in asserting the principle, which, however, did not triumph in the Latin Church until the eleventh century, that monasteries might be independent of episcopal control, as pathfinders through the wilderness, as colonizers and cultivators, in all these ways Irish monasticism left a deep and lasting impress upon medieval history. Finally, the Irish monks shamed the English and the Franks into the monastic life. Monks of barbarian birth are not found in the monasteries until the seventh century. It was long before the Germans could be persuaded of the virtue and the charm of cloistered life. Celibacy was repugnant to the deep Germanic love of family life.

Hagiographic literature, the lives of the saints, forms a voluminous and very interesting body of medieval historical record. Many of these saints sprang from the common people, and if they did not, they nevertheless endeared themselves to the masses by their simple piety, their devotion to relief of the poor and the ill, their entire lack of that self-seeking and avaricious spirit which so tainted the conduct of the high clergy. "Nowhere does the student of folklore find fuller data as to pagan superstitions and practices in seventh century Gaul than in the Life of St. Eligius. . . . Miracles play a large part in the lives of mediæval saints. In these we find our best illustrations of mediæval conditions and manners. . . . Such stories are full of instruction respecting mediæval diseases and medicine, pestilence, manias and hygiene." The contribution made by the lives of the saints to our knowledge of the economic condition and the social history of the Middle Ages is very great. The heroism of the missionaries in penetrating the wilderness and facing the forest and the wolf, in exposing themselves to danger of death in their passionate desire to convert the barbarian and pagan peoples who still remained, caught popular wonderment and veneration. Missions became a new form of Christian sacrifice and even of martyrdom.

All these saints were of Roman lineage until the Irish missionaries appeared. Saints of German blood except in England do not appear before the eighth century. The heathen frontier was very near at hand. Northern and eastern Gaul, the cantons of the lower Scheldt, Meuse, and Rhine in Germany, Thuringia, and everything north of the Harz and east of the Saale were pagan. St. Eligius and St. Amand preached between the Scheldt and the Meuse in the seventh century. St. Audemerus labored as a missionary among the Morini, between Boulogne and the Scheldt, with co-laborers from Luxeuil, notably Mummolinus, Ebertram, and Bertin, during the reign of Dagobert. In the middle of a marsh on an island called Sithiu a monastery was established which later became the famous abbey of Saint-Bertin, around which, as the marshes were drained, a population grew up that ultimately formed the town of Saint-Omer.

But effective, as distinguished from ardent, missionary zeal existed only in England, where the spirit infused by Gregory the Great and Augustine never flagged. On the Continent Benedictine monasticism, after the first enthusiastic impulse was spent, became lethargic and left the field of active propagation of the gospel to the Irish monks. A new spirit and active energy were required to stir the dry bones. It came from England late in the seventh century with the coming of St. Willibrord in 691 and his great successor Boniface in 715.

Willibrord's mission-field was Frisia. This purely German people of Low Dutch stock, dwelling in the marshes and fens of modern Holland,

English missionaries in Gaul and Germany

were obstinately pagan and had long repelled all efforts made towards their conversion, the more so because they instinctively felt that by becoming Christian they would also lose their political independence—that Christianity would merely be preliminary to the extension of Frankish dominion over them. In this apprehension the Frisians were justified, for the subsequent conquest of Frisia by Charles Martel was the result. In the eighth century missionary expansion and Frankish political and commercial expansion worked hand in glove. There was a certain economic covetousness in Frankish aspiration to conquer. For from remote times—as far back as the Roman Empire—Frisian woolen cloth was a famous textile, and Dorstadt, on the river Lek, a branch of the Rhine, near the later Utrecht, was an important trading-place.

St. Boniface

But a far greater figure than Willibrord—indeed the greatest churchman and monk of the eighth century and, it may be added, one of that century's foremost statesmen, fit compeer of Charles Martel, Liutprand, and the Emperor Leo—was St. Boniface. In England his is the greatest ecclesiastical name after Bede and before Dunstan. A Devonshireman by birth, educated at Exeter, in 715 Boniface, actuated by that spirit of evangelization which had been implanted in English monasticism by Gregory the Great, crossed the sea into Frisia. But the war which broke out between Radbot, the Frisian Duke, and Charles Martel, compelled him to return to England. In 718 he went to Rome, where he received powers and instructions for his labors in Germany, to which Boniface had now resolved to shift his activities. After five years of missionary work in Hesse and along the Saxon border he is again found in Rome, whence he returned to Gaul and Germany armed with a papal letter to Charles Martel, appointing him archbishop of Mainz, the primal see in Germany. For fifteen years Boniface worked unceasingly in Central Europe, into which he introduced a Latin and ecclesiastical culture far more vigorous and organized than that which the Irish monks had formerly brought into the land. He founded the bishoprics of Würzburg, Marburg, Erfurt, and Eichstädt and the monasteries of Fulda, Hersfeld, Orthorpf, Amonburch, and others in Hesse, destined in future years to exercise great influence on the history of Germany. Boniface was the moving genius in the calling of the two reforming councils of Lepines (743) and Soissons (744), and in their legislation. Boniface wrote to the Pope early in 742: "Old men say that the Franks have held no synod for more than eighty years, nor had an archbishop, nor established or renewed in any place the canon laws of the Church." His political services were as great. It was Boniface who reconciled the Frankish Church, which Charles Martel had antagonized, with the Frankish mayor; who probably suggested and certainly carried through the negotiations between Pepin and the popes that culminated in the desposition of the last of the

Merovingians, the accession to the Frankish throne of the great Austrasian dynasty, and the establishment of the temporal power of the papacy. Boniface labored at the same time for the extension of papal power, for the elevation of the Frankish kingship, and for effective union between them, a union that was consummated in 800 when Charlemagne was crowned Roman Emperor by Leo III.

Between 718 and 752 the development of events in the Frank land and in Germany had diverted Boniface from the initial and dearest purpose of his life, the conversion of Frisia, to which his youth had been dedicated. After 752 he seems to have regarded his administrative and political work as completed, and, an old man, returned to Frisia, which was still pagan, although conquered. Here, near Dokkum, in the present Dutch province of Friesland, on the river Boorn, in 755 Boniface was murdered by pagan Frisians, along with over two score of those with him. As the sword hung over him, he covered his head with a copy of the Gospels, "that beneath it [the Gospels,]" says his biographer, "he might receive the stroke of the assassin, and that he might have its defense in death as he loved its words in life." The barbarians carried off the gold and silver vessels, the reliquaries, and the jeweled cross of the saint, but abandoned his books. Some of these seem to have been salvaged by some faithful follower and returned to Fulda. Three books, the so-called *Bonifacian Codices*, which tradition says once belonged to Boniface, are today in the Landesbibliothek at Fulda. One of them, which shows the straight cut of a sword, is alleged to be the identical copy of the Gospels which Boniface held over his head.

With Boniface and the accession of the Carolingian house to power in the Frank land, a new chapter was opened in both the secular and the ecclesiastical history of medieval Europe.

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CHAPTER X

CHARLEMAGNE (768-814)¹

THE death of Pepin the Short, in 768, brings us to the rule of one who above all others was the political incarnation of the medieval idea; a man in whom more history centered and around whose name more legend gathered than any other of the Middle Ages; the man towards whom the whole development of Western Europe had trended; the one who in his own person co-ordinated and expressed the three essential elements of medieval civilization — Roman, German, Christian; who was at once German king and Roman emperor. That man was Charlemagne (768-814), "the only ruler from Theodoric to Otto I who succeeded in making his office a public magistracy." Nothing that Charles was concerned with in a long life of busy rule may be slighted or ignored if a proper understanding of history be desired. The geography of his Empire, his wars, his efforts to Christianize barbaric Europe, his legislation, what he did for schools and the cause of learning, his tastes and inclinations, his marriages — these all became a part of the history of Europe and have a bearing upon it.

*Importance of
Charlemagne
in medieval
history*

The history of Charles the Great may be most readily understood under three principal subjects: (1) his wars; (2) his legislation and government; (3) his patronage of letters, arts, and science.

(War had a large influence in shaping the destinies of the Franks. No less than fifty-four campaigns are recorded directed either by Charles in person, by his sons, or by other lieutenants: five against the Lombards, eighteen against the Saxons, three against the Frisians and Danes, one in Thuringia, one in Bavaria, four against the Hunnic Avars, four against the Slavs on the Elbe, two against the Gascons in southwest Gaul, seven against the Saracens in Spain, five against the Arabs in Italy, two against the Greeks, two against the Bretons. The year 781 was so remarkable as to cause comment by the chronicler: "This year was without war." War as waged by the Franks was a formative force; mere territorial aggrandizement was not the purpose. Charles was fighting the battle of civilization and Christianity against pagan Saxon, Frisian, Dane, and Avar,) and that at least of Christianity against the Saracens in Spain;

His wars

¹ Charlemagne is a medieval French form derived from the Latin "Carolus Magnus" or Charles the Great. But it is to be borne in mind that Charlemagne was a German. For neither the French nation nor the French language was yet in existence in his time. Tradition has consecrated this form, but in the text Charles, or Charles the Great is used.

although the statement that the Spanish campaigns were not offensive wars, but were forced on the Frank by the stress of circumstances, will not always hold good.

Ominous condition of the Frank kingdom in 768

The condition of the Frank realm at the accession of the brothers was not one that promised peace either within its borders or even between the rulers. For Pepin shortly before his death had divided the kingdom between his sons Charles and Carloman, the former receiving Austrasia and part of Aquitaine, the latter Neustria with the residue of Aquitaine. A feud, the grounds of which are not known—the interest of each in Aquitaine may have lain at the bottom of the difficulty, or Carloman may have claimed sole kingship, since he was born when his father was king, while Charles was born when Pepin was but mayor of the palace—almost immediately separated the brothers. Moreover, Bavaria had broken away and the beginning of the year 769 brought news of rebellion again in Aquitaine. Pepin had hoped that he had achieved the subjugation of the south in his last days when Waifer ceased to live, but in 767 old Chunoald, who had been immured in a monastery on the island of Ré when crushed by Pepin in 742, escaped from his enforced retirement. From the Loire to the Garonne the country was in a state of sedition. In this hour of peril the quarrel between Charles and Carloman widened into open rupture. The army took the field in April 769, and for a time the younger brother reluctantly followed the elder; but when Poitou was reached, Carloman left Charles in Angoulême and himself returned into Burgundy. Nothing daunted by this defection, Charles called out other contingents, crossed the Dordogne, and sent messengers after Chunoald, who had fled to Lupus of Gascony. While the messengers were absent, Charles built the strong castle of Fronsac at the confluence of the Dordogne and Garonne rivers, thus commanding the valley into the south. Lupus, in terror lest his land should be invaded, surrendered the fugitive, and Charles, having assured himself of the peace of Aquitaine and the efficiency of the administration established by his father there, returned into the Frank land.

Influence of Lombard and papal politics

At this time and henceforth the history of the Franks becomes irrevocably united with that of Italy, and movements seemingly widely separated must be treated as parts of one whole. We are approaching the moment when the intricate plot in which the Lombard, the Frank, and the Pope were actors is reaching a climax. In order to understand this movement the thread of events must be picked up in Rome. Pepin's gift of land to the papacy in 756 had brought almost at once the disastrous consequence which the incongruous union of spiritual sovereignty and temporal dominion made almost inevitable in that hard age. The feudal lords of Rome soon discovered, as all Italy was to discover later, a new value in the papacy by reason of its temporal power. As a result, in 767, when Paul I died, an

adventurous Roman patrician named Toto raised his brother Constantine to the throne of St. Peter by force, the canonical difficulty of his being a layman having been overcome by rushing him through the entire series of church orders in seven days. The better element in the city, however, under the lead of the late Pope's chancellor, Christopher, stung by this outrage, appealed to Desiderius, the Lombard King. Desiderius seized the opportunity with alacrity and on the night of July 28, 767 forced the gates of Rome, and a barbarous proscription of Constantine's faction resulted. But immediately a new trouble arose. Desiderius had no mind to lose the advantage of his position, and put up a Lombard cleric named Waldibert as pope. The Roman faction of Christopher countered by electing a wily Sicilian deacon, who took the name of Stephen III (767-72). For a while, however, the curious situation of things kept the two factions at peace. "The fall of Toto's faction and the overthrow of the Lombard party left Christopher and Sergius the most influential men in Rome. They had headed the counter-revolution, had been the means of creating a new pope, and, belonging as they did to a patrician family, they commanded a great number of adherents both in the city and the surrounding district. They stood, however, in the way alike of Stephen and Desiderius." Desiderius and the Pope, therefore, formed an incongruous alliance for the removal of the common obstacle. Stephen's treachery removed Christopher and his son Sergius, and Pope and Lombard were again at swords' points. The situation was the more desperate for the new Pope because the Frank King was indifferent; nay, more, he was even friendly to the Lombard. The presence of Bertha, mother of Charles and Carloman, in Rome in 770 on a pilgrimage cheered the Pope for a moment; but elation sank to despair when he found that Bertha also went to Pavia and negotiated a double marriage between the Frank princes and two daughters of Desiderius. In dismay Stephen dispatched an hysterical letter beyond the Alps abounding with reproach, expostulation, abuse of the Lombard, and anathema on the proposed marriages. Carloman weakened before the papal wrath. Sturdier Charles married Desiderata.

But a combination of circumstances came to the relief of the Pope. Charles, for reasons unknown, soon repudiated his wife. The Pope's influence may have at last persuaded him, although Charles was capricious in love-affairs. Then Carloman died, on December 4, 771. He and Charles had never been more than nominally reconciled. The law of the Franks required that Carloman's sons succeed him in their father's half of the kingdom. But Charles excluded his brother's children from the throne. Gerberga, their mother, with her two children returned in high dudgeon to the court of Pavia, whither her sister Desiderata had preceded her. The Lombard King, although stung by the indignity done his daughters,

¹ GREGOROVIVS, *The City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, II, 332.

was too discreet to antagonize Charles by advocating the cause of Carloman's children. Instead he turned upon the Pope and Rome again was blockaded by the Lombards.

*Appeal of the
Pope to
Charles
(772)*

Stephen III meanwhile had died (January 24, 772) and been succeeded by a far stronger pope, Hadrian I (772-95). He beset Charles with eager entreaty to come to the pope's relief. But how slowly the Frank King was shaken out of his indifference is shown by the fact that Hadrian's messengers, having got out of Italy by sea, leaving the Campagna devastated and Rome beleaguered, found him at Worms fighting the Saxons. Charles could not go at the time and sought to negotiate. In vain he offered the Lombard King fourteen thousand pieces of gold if he would retire from the States of the Church. Another more urgent messenger came, "having come by sea to Marseilles and thence by land to Charles, because the roads were blocked by the Lombards," says the chronicle. Still Charles delayed until word was brought in the autumn of 772 that Desiderius had embraced the cause of his pretender nephews.

*First cam-
paign in
Lombardy*

This put an entirely different face on things, and Charles resolved to make war upon the Lombard King, much to the papal jubilation. The Mayfield met at Geneva. A double campaign was planned: Charles with his veterans of the Saxon war crossed the Alps by the way of Mont Cenis; his uncle Bernard, a natural son of Charles Martel, went over the Great Saint Bernard; and the two hosts united in Lombardy. Desiderius threw himself into Pavia, which part of the Frank army proceeded to invest (September-October 773), while the remainder, under Charles's own command, subdued the rest of Lombardy. Adalgis, Desiderius's son, took refuge in Verona with Carloman's children; when Verona succumbed, he fled to Constantinople, leaving the hapless children to their uncle's clemency. By spring all of Lombardy to Beneventum was conquered. Meanwhile the siege of Pavia continued throughout the winter. The camp of the Franks resembled a town. Charles's new wife and children came to be with him. The Franks made merry over Christmas outside the walls while Pavia starved within. Easter came and Charles, mindful of the sacred festival (April 2, 774), determined to celebrate it in Rome and resorted thither with a gorgeous retinue of bishops and abbots, dukes and counts, receiving in Rome the title of patrician from the Pope. In return for the courtesy, Charles renewed his father's donation. Although we know nothing more than the bare fact, we would give much to know whether or not he extended the gift, as Hadrian's successors years later pretended he had done in compliance with the forged donation purporting to be of the Emperor Constantine. The biography of Hadrian gives a detailed account of an elaborate relation between Charles and the Pope, in which three documents were prepared — one for Charles, one for Hadrian, and one to be deposited in the tomb of St. Peter. The territory therein al-

*Siege of
Pavia*

*Charles in
Rome*

leged to have been given to the pope by Charles included Parma, Reggio, Mantua, and the entire Po valley, together with Venetia, Istria, Spoleto, and Corsica! No charter of this nature, however — and there are said to have been three copies — has ever been found! Moreover, the form of the manuscript on which the information rests seems to indicate that these names are an interpolation of later date, which had originally been written on the margin and then incorporated into a new text. It is extremely improbable that the concessions of either Pepin or his son implied more than a right given to the pope to have and to hold what he acquired from the Lombards. Again, we must remember that mere property possession did not in that age confer sovereignty. The Frank king never could have waived so grave a power. In other words, the pope's temporal power was mostly acquired by necessary exercise, slow usurpation, and tortuous duplicity.

When Charles returned to Pavia, it was to find that at last fever and famine had done their work. The ill-fated Chunoald, who had found an asylum with the Lombards and was now feeling anew the might of the Frank conqueror, was stoned to death by the starving, infuriated people of Pavia. Desiderius prudently surrendered and was tonsured and sent to the monastery of Corvey on the Somme. So terminated the independence of the Lombard kingdom (774).

*Fall of
Pavia*

(Charles was disposed to treat his newly won dominion generously. It was no part of the Frankish policy to uproot existing institutions unless their preservation proved a menace. The Lombard dynasty ceased to rule; a Frank ruled in its place; but the Lombard kingdom was not incorporated with the greater kingdom of the Franks, and the Lombards still continued to be governed by Lombard law, administered so far as possible by officials of Lombard blood.) But with a people so hardy as the Lombards the preservation of their institutions was a perpetual incentive to endeavor to acquire freedom again, and the great dukes fomented this feeling. And so it came to pass that in 776, when Charles was far away in the Saxon land, the news came that the dukes of Friuli, Beneventum, Spoleto, and Clusium had revolted. Again Charles entered Italy at the head of an army. Hrodgar, Duke of Friuli, was killed in battle, and one after another the rebel dukes were beaten down, all save the Duke of Beneventum, whom a mountainous country and remote situation safeguarded.

*Establishment
of Frank
government
in Lombardy*

Second Lombard campaign (776)

This rebellion was decisive in the history of the Lombards. Their institutions and their law were abolished, and in their place the Frank system of counts was installed. A German people had been deprived of their own institutions by a dominant people, themselves of the German race. In culture-history this is a long reach towards the prevalence of territorial law. But not all of Italy yielded, and parts never were wholly subdued. The attempt to create a vice-royalty represented by his son Pepin, the

*Decisive
change in
nature of
Frank
government
in Lombardy*

*Beneventum
reduced to
tribute*

government of which was to have been carried on by Adalhard, Bernard's son, and therefore Charles's cousin, and Agilbert, a faithful minister, was only partially successful. In 780 Charles himself came again into Italy at the call of the Pope, to aid him against Arichis, Duke of Beneventum, who at once directed his warlike energies away from the States of the Church and against Naples. We know little of what happened in Italy in the interval between this year and 786, when the King again appeared. The Pope looked with anxious eyes upon the powerful Beneventan Duke, who, though not a king, was yet a Lombard, son-in-law of Desiderius, and aimed at the restoration of the Lombard kingdom in the south. There is record of complaint on the part of the Pope that the estates of the Roman see in Neapolitan territory at Terracina and Gaeta could not be looked after, owing to war between Beneventum and Naples.

At the news of Charles's arrival in 786, Arichis hastened to come to terms with Naples and, in order to save his duchy from Frank invasion, sent his son to Rome with the promise to fulfill every wish of the King; but, inspired by Pope Hadrian, Charles waved the promises aside and moved upon Capua. Arichis threw himself into Salerno, either in the hope of securing the aid of a Greek fleet or in order thus to cover his own escape by sea if necessary. An armistice was made. Arichis promised a yearly tribute of seven thousand solidi and gave his son and twelve Lombard nobles as hostages therefor.

At this moment the orbits of the Eastern Roman Empire and that of the Frankish power crossed each other in Italy. In 787 the ambitious and able Empress-mother Irene became regent for her son Constantine VI in the East. Irene was astute enough to perceive that iconoclasm was a losing policy and, to the end of pacifying the turbulent condition of things in the Eastern Roman Empire, restored the images. At the same time she endeavored to lure the Pope to her side. But the effort was without success. The iconoclasts still had a following, and, on the other hand, Hadrian, although renewing cordial relations with Constantinople, yet remained loyal to the Frankish alliance. Accordingly Irene resolved upon a bolder policy.

Charles had hardly turned his back when the tricky Duke of Beneventum sent an ambassador to the Empress offering to recognize the sovereignty of the Empire and "to shave his beard and adopt the Greek dress" in return for the duchy of Naples, the authority of patrician of Sicily, and the support of an imperial fleet under command of Adalgis, son of the deposed Lombard King, then an exile in Constantinople. Irene accepted the conditions, and a formidable league was formed in 787, to which Tassilo of Bavaria, who had married another daughter of Desiderius, was also party. Arichis died at the very moment a Greek flotilla appeared in the gulf of Salerno and while the Bavarians and Avars, whom Tassilo

*Formation of
a Beneventan,
Byzantine,
and Bavarian
alliance
against the
Franks
(787)*

had conspired with, were invading Friuli. The Pope, made aware of the former news by a priest of Capua and the Bishop of Gaeta, informed Charles. The moment was critical; but in spite of the Pope's remonstrances the King released Grimwald, son of Arichis, who had been given into his hands as a hostage for his father's good conduct, and promised him the investiture of Beneventum provided he would place the name of the Frank king at the head of his edicts, acknowledge Frank overlordship on the ducal coinage, erase mention of the Lombards, and dismantle Salerno and Acerenza. Grimwald was prudent enough to acquiesce. Adalgis, incensed at the betrayal, gave him battle and perished with numbers of the Lombard nobility. By this stroke, which was undoubtedly one of good policy, in spite of the Pope's disapproval, the Frank King hoped to be left free to cope with Bavaria.

But the new Duke of Beneventum proved quite as uncertain in his allegiance as his father and twice (792, 801) had to be brought to terms by force of arms. In the poverty of sources we get an inkling of the situation in this paragraph of the Lombard historian: "While Pepin [Charles's son of that name] ruled in Pavia, and Grimwald defended Beneventum, perpetual war was the sad lot of the poor people; so much so that during the lifetime of the said princes they had not a moment of peace, for both princes from early youth to age excelled and delighted in war. Pepin, with a large army under his command, was ever stirring up strife for Grimwald, while the latter, safe in the possession of strong cities and the undivided support of the Lombard nobles and the people, despised the hostility of Pepin and in no way yielded to him. The ambassadors of Pepin had instructions to say that it was his purpose to make Grimwald as much his subject as Arichis his father had been the subject of Desiderius, King of Italy. To this boast the Duke replied: 'Free and free-born I am of my father and mother, and, with the help of God, free I shall ever be.'" The vaunt was partially true, for the Lombard duchy on the whole maintained a precarious allegiance to the Frankish monarch, and in times of dire strait was supported by the fleets of the Byzantine Empire.

*Unruliness of
the Duke of
Beneventum*

The absence of a Frankish sea-power in Italy, which the alliance between Beneventum and the Eastern Roman Empire had made manifest, was felt even more in the vain efforts of Charles to conquer Venice (805, 809), which, entrenched upon its islands, successfully resisted, although the outlying islands of Grado, Chioggia, and Malamocco for a short time were occupied by the Franks. The Emperor Nicephorus took offense at the attack on Venice, deeming it a menace to the provinces of Dalmatia, Istria, and Liburnia, and sent a Greek fleet to protect them. Hostilities, however, were avoided. In this Venetian war Charles may be exonerated from the impeachment of warring for aggrandizement more perhaps

*Failure of
Frank at-
tempts to
conquer
Venice
(805, 809)*

than in any other war which he waged, for the war was undertaken in order to suppress the traffic in slaves with Mohammedan Egypt, in which Venice was active. As early as 785 Charles had expelled Venetian merchants from Ravenna and the Pentapolis on account of this trade.

*Subjugation
of Bavaria
(788)*

The sequel of these Lombard wars is not found in Italy, but in Bavaria, where Tassilo III (748–88) rebelled against the Carolingian domination. Tassilo had married one of the numerous daughters of Desiderius, and the story is that his wife aimed to avenge the deposition of her father. It is easy to see, however, that there were deeper reasons for Bavarian insurrection than mere personal animosity. The revolt of Bavaria was one for independence, inspired particularly by the Bavarian clergy. This fact of itself will attract attention, for the Bavarians were not a stalwart nation, and Bavaria had early been made a Frank dependency. Three of their dukes had been deposed, one after a long period of rule, without exciting resistance: but at the inception of the Carolingian epoch there were not wanting signs of change. Tassilo had dared to desert Pepin the Short in 763 in the midst of a campaign into Aquitaine, and only the address of Abbot Sturmi of Fulda prevented his condemnation for treason. In 777 Tassilo associated his son with himself in the ducal authority, which was an act of hardihood looking towards the hereditability of the ducal house in Bavaria, without consent of the Frankish over-king—remarkable in view of the fact that the duchy of Bavaria is “the first instance in which a post involving political sovereignty was brought under feudal laws.”

*Separatistic
inclination
of the
Bavarian
clergy*

Finally came the Bavarian Church tugging at the Frank leash. The Bavarian Church traced its origin, not to Frankish, but to Irish sources, and in spite of Boniface's establishment in Bavaria of the archbishopric of Salzburg and the bishoprics of Regensburg, Passau, and Freising under Franko-Roman ecclesiastical authority, the Church in Bavaria yet developed a strength and independence of its own. The Agilofinger dukes were astute in favoring the Bavarian bishops.¹

*Rebellion of
Tassilo duke
of Bavaria
(787–88)*

By 781 the danger of the ecclesiastical separation of Bavaria from the Latin Church had become so great that when Charles was at Rome in that year, messages were sent from Rome to Tassilo reminding him of his subordinate political relation to the Frank crown. For the moment the Bavarian Duke dissembled and at Worms renewed the oath of vassalage; but in 787, backed by the Church in Bavaria and relying on an alliance with the Avars and the Lombard Duke of Beneventum, he revolted. In a short time three armies were in the field. Charles moved down the Danube to the Lech, the western border of Bavaria; another army of Saxons, Thuringians, and Austrasian Franks moved to the attack from

¹ The Bishop of Salzburg in 788 possessed sixty-seven churches of ducal foundation.

the north; and Pepin marched up from Italy through the valley of the Trent. In the face of such odds Tassilo surrendered without a struggle. At Ingelheim in the next year (788) before all the army he was accused of instigating the Avars to war, of complicity with the Duke of Beneventum, and of inducing schism in the Church; even the old charge of treason was trumped up against him. Charles commuted the sentence of death to life imprisonment. As for Bavaria, it was reduced to a conquered province under the rule of a Frank "prefect"—in this case Gerold, brother of Charles's wife Hildegard—and its administration was modeled after the Frankish fashion.

The Avars (a people akin to the older Huns, dwelling in ancient Pannonia), who in two hordes beset the Frank borders in Bavaria and in Friuli after the dethronement of Tassilo, were yet to deal with. Their subjugation required six campaigns in the years between 788 and 805, but, owing to renewed war with the Saxons, it was not until 791 that the Avar war actively commenced. In the meantime the defense of the south-eastern frontier devolved upon Eric, Duke of Friuli. In 791 Pepin invaded Illyricum and Pannonia, scored a great victory, devastated the whole country, and stormed the Avar "Ring," situated between the Danube and the Theiss rivers. The ring was a great palisaded town where were piled up the wealth and plunder of dozens of successful raids upon the Empire in the East and in Italy. Nevertheless, the Avars were not vanquished, and in 793 a double campaign was planned. The Austrasians moved down the right bank of the Danube, the Saxons and Frisians down the left bank, while a fleet moved down the river, aiming to meet a Lombard host under Pepin which was ordered to come up through Friuli and Istria; but an epidemic carried off the horses, and although great damage was done, no effective engagement was fought. In 795 the first decisive blow fell in the conquest of the Ring and the almost total destruction of the Avar host. "The entire body of the Hunnic nobility," says Einhard, "perished in this contest, and all its glory with it. All the money and treasure, which had been years in amassing, was seized, and no war in which the Franks have ever engaged within the memory of man brought them such riches and such booty." Notwithstanding, in 799 and 803 there were outbreaks of the Avars. But thenceforth history knows the Avars no more forever. So broken was their power that twice—in 805 and again in 811—Charles had to interfere in order to protect them from extermination by the Bohemians.

The Avar country was attached ecclesiastically to the diocese of Salzburg; but more important than this was the military organization which followed. The conquered country was made into a mark (the *Marka Australis*), under the sway of the Bavarian prefect. The other south-eastern provinces between the Danube and the Adriatic—Carinthia,

Avar wars

*Foundation of
the East Mar-
and the Mar-
of Friuli*

Liburnia, Istria, Dalmatia, and Friuli — were united to form the Mark of Friuli.

In the Avar war the brunt of the fighting had fallen upon the Lombards. This was owing partly to the accessibility of the middle Danube region to northern Italy, but more to the fact that the Lombards were exclusively a mounted soldiery and thus better able than the Franks to cope with the Avar horse-bowmen. The effect of the Avar wars was to extend and confirm the use of horsemen and to introduce that of the bow into the Frankish army.

Saxon wars It will be remembered that when Charles was called into Italy by the Pope he was beyond the Rhine warring with the Saxons. Their land comprehended Westphalia, the country between the Weser and the Harz, Eastphalia, between the Weser and the Elbe, and modern Holstein, between the Elbe and the Eider rivers. As we come now to the final wars between the Franks and the Saxons, which were to culminate in the subjugation of a great people, a glance back at the earlier relations of the two nations will not be out of place.

Early history of the Saxons As far back as 531 the Franks had first met the Saxons, who aided Theodoric of Thuringia against Chlotair I. In 555 and 556 this King fought and slew a host of Thuringians and Saxons. Dagobert I forced the Saxons to pay an annual tribute of five hundred head of cattle; the Austrasian mayors maintained the tribute, but were incessantly called upon to castigate the Saxons, who forayed on the border or drove out the missionaries.

Primitive nature of the Saxons In manner of life and institutions the Saxons were like the primitive Germans: divided into nobles, freemen, and slaves, dwelling in scattered villages, living by war and the chase, and as yet untouched by Christianity or civilized Frankish influences. There were not wanting signs, however, indicating that the Saxons at this time were experiencing that transformation in institutions which we discern so clearly with the Goths and Franks. For the power of the nobles was far greater among them than among other Teutonic tribes otherwise in the same state of advancement. There was no duke, however — nothing but war-bands under heroic leaders, whose every member reveled in the glories of war and believed in the martial delights of Valhalla, the home of the gods.

Christianity vs. Saxon paganism In character the Saxon wars were a long and unrelenting struggle of a dauntless people to save themselves from subjugation. Unfortunately, it is not so represented to us. The Frankish annals tell us that the Saxons were faithless, treacherous, apostate — when we know that the nature of their tribal system was such that the surrender of one chieftain did not imply the conquest of the nation, and that, as to apostasy, their war-like deities, Woden and Thor, in their eyes were better than the God of battles brought to them by the Franks. It was natural for the Saxons, when

overcome, to dissemble — to profess Christianity if that would free them from Frankish occupation of their land. They knew that, as with the Frisians earlier, Christianity and conquest went hand in hand. The monkish chroniclers, however, embellished the frightful tale of these wars with supernatural occurrences, as when in the heat of summer the Frank host was saved from dying of thirst, like the Israelites in the desert, by the sudden gushing forth of a fountain. Christian prejudice has warped the entire account of Charles's wars with the Saxons; so much so that when, years later, the Saxon monk Widukind undertook to write the history of his people, in his eyes his ancestors were but outrageous heathen saved by the sword of the Frank, which was the sword of the Lord. Witness this:

"And so the Saxons, having made trial of the varying friendship of the Franks, as to whom I need not speak here, since it may be found written in their own histories, remained bound in the error of their fathers, even down to the times of Charles the Great. But he, the most powerful of kings, was no less vigilant in his care. Being more farsighted than any man of his day, he thought that a noble nation, his close neighbor, ought not to be held in a vain error, and pondered how, by any means, it might be led to the true way. Then, using sometimes mild persuasion and sometimes the violence of war, he finally brought them to it, in the thirtieth year of his reign. So that those who had once been allies and friends of the Franks, were now made brothers, and, as it were, one race in the Christian faith, as we now see them." ¹

The causes of the war are accurately given by Einhard, Charles's secretary and biographer. "The Saxons," he says, "were given to the worship of devils and hostile to our religion." Moreover, "except in a few places where large forests or mountain ranges intervened and made the boundaries certain, the line between the Franks and the Saxons passed almost in its whole extent through an open country, so that there was no end to the murders, thefts, and arsons on both sides."

It is evident, however, from a study of the Saxon war that the ideas of "manifest destiny" and "Christian duty" were not in Charles's mind in the beginning, and that he had no other intention in the first period of the war (772-4) than that of suppressing border warfare. Even support of the monkish missionaries, if they were the aggressors, was not always intended. But the war fattened on warfare and speedily emerged into its second phase of conquest (775-85), characterized by the exaction of hostages and deportations, and culminated in the submission of the brave Saxon chieftain Widukind. For seven years the land lay in a state of sullen peace; but in 792 the fire broke forth again, and more fiercely, and was not extinguished until 804.

*Periods of the
Saxon wars*

¹ WIDUKIND, *Res Gestæ Saxonica*, I, 14, 15 (Emerton's translation).

772

In July 772 Charles plunged into the heart of the German forest, captured the fortified position of Ehresburg, and took the Irminsul, the sacred palladium of the Saxons. It was a great pillar of wood under the open sky, before which stood the sacrificial altar. The army dallied here in the hot summer for two or three days and then pushed on across the Weser. For the moment the Saxons were crushed, and Charles, having received hostages, returned to Diedenhofen, where he was wintering when the papal emissaries found him. But while Charles was absent in Italy (773-4), the Saxons avenged the destruction of the Irminsul by devastating Hesse with fire and sword and burning Fritzlar. The King reached the endangered country in September 774, but the near winter prevented any sustained operations. The next year, however, the campaign opened vigorously. We get a suggestion of its bitter character in this excerpt from the *Annals of Lorsch, anno 775*: "While Charles was wintering at Kiersy, he took counsel how to crush the faithless nation of the Saxons, and he determined to war with them until they were either in concord and had submitted to the Christian religion, or were crushed out of existence." The Franks stormed and took the Saxon camp at Sigburg (today Hohensigburg), Ehresburg was recovered and refortified, the Weser was crossed in the face of the foe, who were driven into flight; then, dividing his army, Charles followed the Eastphalians, who soon sued for peace. On the return, however, a hard battle was fought with the Westphalian Saxons near Minden. Meantime the other wing of the Frank army had been beset while in camp, and only the opportune arrival of the King spared them from utter destruction. This time baptism as well as the surrender of hostages was imposed, and the Bishop of Utrecht was enjoined to promote missions among them.

774-75

777

As before, when Charles returned to Diedenhofen in November 775, letters were received by him apprising him of strife between Pope Hadrian and the Archbishop of Ravenna, and of the revolt of Hrodgard, Duke of Friuli. During his absence in Italy the Saxons rose again. News of the recapture of Ehresburg reached him in the Alpine passes when returning, and so, without dissolving the army of Italy, the King hastened after the Saxons, defeated them on the banks of the Lippe, and built the fortified place Karlstadt. At Paderborn in 777 for the second time the Saxons accepted the Christian faith and the domination of the Franks. On these conditions they were suffered to retain their institutions and their chieftains.

Widukind,
the Saxon
duke, 778

But one Saxon leader, Widukind, was made of heroic stuff. He scorned the Franks and fled to Siegfried the Dane. In the next year (778), while Charles was far away in Spain warring with the Saracens, Widukind emerged from his retreat, and the King, coming back from the tragedy of Roncesvalles, was dismayed in Auxerre to learn that the

Saxons had ravaged Old Austrasia clear to the Rhine. Coblenz had seen their fires, and the monks of Fulda had been obliged to flee with the body of the holy Boniface. But before the King reached the seat of war, the East Franks had rallied and beaten the Saxons at Badenfeld, so that Charles wintered in quiet at the ancestral home, Herstal. In the spring of 779 on the Weser the terms of pacification were arranged. This time Charles demanded other guaranties than baptism. As the Roman Emperor Probus had done with his own Frank people, so now Charles did with the Saxons. He drafted the freemen of the nation into his armies and deported thousands of Saxons, whom he colonized in settlements elsewhere. Sachsenhausen, now a suburb of Frankfort on the opposite side of the Main, owes its origin to such a colony. But "the glorious race of the Franks," to quote the boast of the Salic law, "guided by God, strong in war, firm in peace, profound in council, noble of body, inflexible in honor, bold, swift, proud, converted to the Catholic faith, free from heresy," never forgot the cause of the Church in its triumph. It shared its military glory with the Church, and so at this time the foundations of the German Church were laid in soil yet soaked with Saxon blood. At the synod of Ehresburg in midsummer 780 the whole Saxon country was divided into eight bishoprics: Bremen, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Verden, Paderborn, Minden, Münster, Osnabrück. The details of this partition of Saxony were worked out further in later years, notably in the capitulary *De partibus Saxonie* of 782. But the lineaments of the German episcopal system as it obtained in north Germany during the Middle Ages are traceable from this epoch of Charles's Saxon wars.

Eight bishoprics established in Saxony

Great capitulary of Saxony (782)

Most of the next year (781) was spent by Charles in Italy. In the spring of 782 at the Reichstag held at Cologne ("whither came all the Saxons, all save Widukind"), the organization of the Saxon land was completed. The edict just noticed imposed the penalty of death for refusal of baptism, burning the bodies of the dead after the pagan custom, eating flesh in Lent, setting fire to churches or robbing them, for the murder of bishops, priests, or deacons, the offering of human sacrifices, and other barbaric customs. In these cases the substitution of a fine which formed a feature of all Teutonic codes, for the capital penalty, was not allowed.

Nature of Frank domination in Saxony

This violent deprivation of their institutions, as with the Lombards, drove the Saxon nation again to war. Widukind called to his aid the Slavic Sorben dwelling on the confines of Thuringia and Saxony. The advance guard of the Frank army was beaten in the Sunthal Mountains in an engagement notable because it was the first attempt of the Saxons to meet their foes in open battle. The King's chamberlain and constable, four counts, and other nobles to the number of twenty were among the slain. By forced marches at last Charles arrived upon the scene, which was at the confluence of the Weser and Aller rivers, and wrested victory out of

New rebellion

Massacre of
Verden
(783)

disaster. Angered at defeat, and more perhaps by the escape of Widukind, the wrath of the King found fearful expression. At Verden, where the camp was pitched, a massacre of the Saxon prisoners was made (783). The *Annals of Lorsch* give the appalling number of 4,500.

784

This pitiless slaughter, instead of intimidating the Saxons, maddened them. The country between the Elbe and Weser rivers was wasted (784) by Widukind, the churches were burned, the missionaries driven out or slaughtered. Charles took command in person of the campaign that followed. The army was divided into two corps: the first, under Charles, passed through Thuringia to the Elbe and stormed the Saxon stronghold where the Elbe and the Saale meet; the second, under the King's eldest son, also named Charles, fell upon the Westphalian Saxons on the middle Elbe. After the first attack the King took up his quarters at Ehresburg, sent for his wife and children, and for the first time since the siege of Pavia the Franks kept the field during the winter (784-5). Such occupation restored the land to a state of peace, "so that one might fare through all Saxony as one wished." Twelve Saxon strongholds were reduced.

785

By this time the bitter nature of the conflict induced both sides to compromise; but it was Charles who made the overtures. In the spring of 785 he sent messengers bearing a safe-conduct to Widukind. His noble enemy honored the passport, crossed Saxony and Austrasia, met Charles at Attigny, and was baptized; "and then all Saxony was subdued," is the chronicler's terse comment.

792

For seven years the Saxons were outwardly peaceable, though they resented the heavy military service exacted of them and the loss of their pagan faith. But in 792, when the Avars were threatening, their sullen tractability was thrown off. A contingent of Frankish troops aiming to enter the mouth of the Elbe from the east was set upon and destroyed. At the moment, Charles was in Pannonia warring with the Avars, whither word was brought him of the disaster, as well as of a subsequent one — the overthrow of Count Theodoric on the Weser. Ludwig and Pepin, the king's sons, were in Italy endeavoring to subjugate Grimwald of Beneventum; the Saracens had entered Septimania, burned the environs of Narbonne, "and returned with great spoil into Spain." For a year, therefore, nothing could be done by the King to stay the reflux barbarian wave; but when the spring of 794 opened, two Frank columns invaded the Saxon land. Charles advanced northward from Frankfort; his son Charles moved in an easterly direction from Cologne. The Saxons, beset between Paderborn and Ehresburg, were caught between the converging columns, surrendered, and returned to the faith, Charles exacting every third man as a hostage.

794

And yet the conquest of Saxony was not complete, for the years 795-97

were mostly occupied in warring with the Saxons. At last, when the country from the Elbe to the Lippe and from Thuringia to the sea had been laid waste, it was deemed "pacified." The *Capitulare Saxonicum* (797), issued from Aachen, re-established the Frankish administration and secured adherence, owing to the fact above noted — that every third man, with his wife and children, was exacted as a hostage and deported. To the credit of Charles, however, it should be said that in this document the merciless blood-penalties enacted before gave place to a system of fines, uniform for both Frank and Saxon.

795-97

Capitulare
Saxonicum
(797)

But the North Elbean Saxons, secure in their swampy retreats and fortified by Danish support, were yet unconquered. Their obstinacy convinced Charles that only annihilation would subdue them. Accordingly he determined to make wholesale application to them of the experiments already made. For six years the war went on, characterized by the thoroughness of its command and the brutality of the conquerors. In the end the last refuge of Saxon independence, modern Holstein, succumbed. The land — the future Holstein — was distributed in benefices to a host of Frankish bishops, abbots, counts, and freemen, and the wretched folk who had lived there scattered abroad. We have no means of knowing the number of these exiled colonists, but it must have been large.

Conquest of
North Elbean
Saxons

The history of the Saxon wars is horrible in the extreme, marked by barbarity and slaughter. Yet Charles had more statesmanlike ideas than mere suppression and aimed, when once the Saxons had accepted Frankish sovereignty, to have Christianity and civilization come to them through Saxon means. To that end numbers of Saxon youth were educated at Corvey, Fulda, and Würzburg. The policy bore its fruit, for the first two bishops of Paderborn were Saxons. Nevertheless, the final word regarding the Saxon war must be one of condemnation. Any spirited people would have resented the sacrilege and the intolerance and the destruction of their most cherished institutions which the Saxons suffered. It has been argued that Charles was simply living up to the light of his time in exacting Christian conversion, but there were those — at least one, Alcuin — who thought that the office of the Church and the power of the Church should not be confounded. His humanity and charity in speaking of the Saxon wars is in striking contrast to the Pope's shout of triumph over the massacre of Verden and the final baptism of Widukind. "Let but the same pains be taken," Alcuin wrote, "to preach the easy yoke and light burden of Christ to the stiff-necked people of the Saxons as are put forth to collect the tithes from them or to punish the slightest transgression of the laws imposed on them, and mayhap the Saxons would no longer be found to refuse baptism with abhorrence."

Nature and
importance of
the conquest
of Saxony

The conquest of the Saxons brought the Franks into close contact with the barbarian Slavonic tribes beyond the German world. The center

*Slavonic or
Wendish
wars*

of this group were the Wilzi, dwelling between the Elbe and the Oder rivers and extending as far as the Baltic seaboard. West of the Wilzi, in the angle between them and the lower Elbe, lay the Abodrites. South of the Wilzi, and immediately east of Thuringia, between the Elbe and the Saale, were the Sorben people, whose country shaded off into that of the Bohemians and Moraven. All these Slavs were collectively known as Wends or "outlanders" by the Germans, the term being exactly like the English "Welsh."

789

Wilzi

Abodrites

*Formation of
the Altmark*

In 789, supported by Saxon contingents, Charles crossed the Elbe and entered the territory of the Wilzi, being reinforced by a body of Frisians who had come by water up the Havel River. The Wilzi submitted without resistance. The greatest effect of the campaign was that the compulsory military service exacted of the Saxons and Frisians angered them into new revolt in 792, when Charles had his hands full with the Avars. The Abodrites, unlike the Wilzi, never gave the Franks serious trouble. Like the Thuringians, they seem to have had the nationality crushed out of them at an early day by their neighbors, for they appear uniformly as Charles's allies against the Saxons, and were finally colonized in the vacated lands of the North Elbean Saxons. This territory beyond the Elbe was henceforth mentioned in the documents as the *limes Saxoniae*, but is better known in history as the Altmark, the seat of which was Magdeburg.

Sorben

782

805

*Formation of
the Mark of
Thuringia
and the Bo-
hemian Mark*

The Sorben were less tractable than the Abodrites. In 782, taking advantage of the Saxon war, they invaded Thuringia, but the frequent presence of Frankish troops in the Saxon land seems for years to have overawed them, and not until 805 did the Sorben war reach an acute stage. Then it was the aftermath of that with the Avars, the remnants of whom Charles was called upon to protect from these fierce Slavonic borderers. The command of these campaigns in 805-06 fell upon the King's eldest and ablest son, Charles. More even than the Avar war, they were characterized by frightful wasting of the land. To keep the Sorben at bay, the Mark of Thuringia, centered at Erfurt, was created, and to keep back the Bohemians the Bohemian or Moravian Mark was established and centered at Regensburg. The Thuringian and Moravian marks, however, are often not distinguishable and were generally under a single margrave, unless the danger in that quarter was very great.

*Wars in
Spain*

It is a far leap from the heart of Germany to the frontier of Spain. At the time of Charles's accession Arabic politics in Spain were very unsettled. The partisans of the Abbassid dynasty in Mohammedan Spain refused to recognize the sovereignty of Abd-er-Rahman and his successors, and in 777, when Charles was at Paderborn fighting the Saxons, an embassy came from them soliciting his aid and promising to betray certain fortified cities of the Cordovan Khalifate into the King's hands

after a mock resistance. Ambition, greed for aggrandizement, and the piously medieval wish to make Christians by conquest, even as he was then doing with the Saxons, impelled Charles to the task. In the next year (778) the Spanish war began. Having traversed Gascony, the Franks prepared to invade the country at two points. Bernard took the route by Pampeluna, while the King himself made his way through the tortuous defiles of the pass of Roncesvalles. For a while everything prospered. Pampeluna, the chief city of Navarre, then a county of the Christian kingdom of Asturia, opened its gates. Barcelona gave pledges, although there is ground for the suspicion that the Christian population was far from being enthusiastic at the approach of the Franks.¹ But Saragossa, the city that was the key to the situation, refused to surrender, repudiating the action of Ibn al-Arabi, its governor, who was the leader of the embassy. Its resistance was no sham.

778

The position of the Frankish army was now an awkward one and soon became dangerous, for the Saracens awoke to their peril. Exactly what happened before Saragossa is not known. Arabic historians declare that the Franks were beaten in a great battle on the banks of the Ebro, while Frankish chroniclers ignore mention of any engagement and attribute the retreat of the King to news of the Saxon rising. All we know is that Charles retired from Spain at once. But disaster overtook him, and though he was saved from the sword of the Moslem, Lupus of Gascony, who had sullenly acquiesced in the passage of the Frankish armies through his territory, mindful of the wrongs of Waifer and of Chunoald, roused the wild mountaineer Basques and fell upon Roland, margrave of the Breton march, as he and the rear-guard were toiling through the narrow gorge of Roncesvalles (August 15, 778). The story is a familiar one. "Whilst the army of the Franks, embarrassed in a narrow defile, was forced by the nature of the ground to advance in one long, close line, the Gascons, who were in ambush on the crest of the mountain, where dense forests covering its sides were suitable for ambuscade, descended and fell suddenly on the baggage train and on the troops of the rear-guard, whose duty it was to cover all in their front; and there a fight took place in which the Franks were killed to a man, and the Gascons, having plundered the baggage, profited by the night that had come on and rapidly dispersed. They owed their success in this conflict to the lightness of their equipment and the nature of the ground where the fighting was; but the Franks, being heavily armed and in a disadvantageous position, struggled against too many odds. In this engagement fell Eggibard, master of the king's household; Anselm, count of the palace; and Roland, prefect of the mark of Brittany." But where Einhard's meager account ends, legend takes up the tale. The feat of a simple surprise was magnified in the course of centuries into a gigantic

Roncesvalles²Origin of the
Song of
Roland

battle, and myth and legend have clustered around Roland even as romance also made his king her own. Lupus of Gascony some years later fell into the hands of the Franks and was hanged for treason.

Although the Spanish campaign had proved disastrous, permanent foothold south of the Pyrenees was eventually obtained by the Franks. The northern provinces of Mohammedan Spain seem to have been disaffected with the government at Córdoba, owing in part at least to the presence of a large Christian population in them. In 785 the city of Gerona, near the east coast, gave itself over to Charles, apparently with the connivance of the local governor. Nor was this all, for we are told that more than three hundred miles of seaboard passed over to the Frank dominion. But in 793, when Charles was warring with the Avars and Saxons, the Saracens made a great irruption into Septimania. The parts of Narbonne and Carcassonne without the walls were burned, and farther advance was checked only by the heroic resistance of Count William of Toulouse, the King's cousin and grandson of Charles Martel.

Saracen inroads into southern Gaul

Five years later, following upon the death of Abd-er-Rahman (October 7, 788), and through the support of the Christian King, Alphonso II (793-842) of the Austrias, the counties of Catalonia, Roussillon, and Barcelona passed under Carolingian protection and were welded into a mark under Count Borel, of the last-named principality. At the moment, however, Borel was a count without a country, for he had been driven out of Barcelona by the Saracens, and it was not recovered until 801, and then only at the end of a seven months' siege conducted by Charles's son Louis, the King's only surviving son, for whom he had created a toy kingdom in Aquitaine. Five years later, in 806, the complement to this East Spanish Mark was created in the erection of a mark at the west end of the Pyrenees. The change of government in Gascony following upon the deposition of Adalrich, son of the renegade Lupus, and the appointment of William of Toulouse in his place, culminating in the creation of the vassal kingdom of Aquitaine under Louis, Charles's son, made it possible for the emperor to form a mark composed of Aragon, Navarre, and the mountainous country of the Basques, with the old Roman city of Pampe-luna as capital. These two marks were subsequently (812) joined into one whole—the Spanish Mark, whose history after the rupture of the Frank Empire becomes the history of the separate Christian kingdoms of Spain. The government instituted was extraordinary, for Charles seems to have preserved Saracen officials in subordinate places, apparently fearing the treachery of the Gascons and Spanish Christians more than the inconstancy of the Mohammedans.

Formation of the Spanish Mark

Formation of the Spanish Mark

Aquitaine

The creation of a strong and vigilant government in Aquitaine was quite as necessary as a similar establishment in Italy. Its political success

is associated with the name of William of Toulouse, as the ecclesiastical government is with that of Benedict of Aniane. The "realm" embraced Aquitaine proper between the Loire and the Garonne, with Gascony, Septimania, and Toulouse. "Nominally a kingdom, Aquitaine was in reality a province entirely dependent on the central and personal government of Charles. The king, it is true, had a court and maintained a kind of royal estate. He occasionally received ambassadors. He had also an executive department and a treasury; but the whole work of his officers, though transacted in his name, was like the government of the province — secondary and delegated."

The allusion to Roland, "prefect of the Mark of Brittany," is almost the only knowledge we have of Charles's relation to the Bretons in the early years of his reign. We know, though, that the hardy spirit of Celtic independence was generally proof against the Frankish arms. In 786 the seneschal Audulf penetrated into the fastnesses of Brittany, took some of the Breton leaders captive, and dragged them to Worms, where they were liberated on promise to pay a tribute. Thirteen years later (799) Wido, count of the Breton Mark, "subjugated Brittany as it had never been subjugated before," say the *Annals of Lorsch*; but even then the conquest was only partial. For generations after Charles, only a mark availed against the wild Bretons.

Bretons

Charles was to find that continual war increased his enemies. The Lombards brought the Franks in contact with the Greeks, the Gascons with the Saracens, the Bavarians with the Avars, the Saxons with the Slav tribes beyond the Elbe and with the Danes. The last years of the great Emperor (806-14) were therefore not years of peace, which he might seem to have earned. The frontier of the Elbe was the most endangered point; and the enemy who inspired most alarm was Gottrick (Gottfried), King of the Danes. As early as 800 the incursions of this piratical people had necessitated special protection along the ocean coast of Frisia and Flanders. Boulogne became a place of ship supply, and a system of channel-patrol was inaugurated. In 804 Gottrick appeared in the mouth of the Elbe with a fleet and army and landed in Schleswig, on the confines of Saxony. He sought to persuade the Slavonic peoples on the east bank to rally to his standard, but the Abodrites remained faithful, and Gottrick retired with loss. Charles knew, however, that the danger from the Danes was very great. In 807, therefore, under pretext of a famine which was desolating Gaul, all benefice-holders between the Seine and the Garonne were ordered to remove to the Rhine, prepared for military service, and measures were taken to arm the Frisians and Saxons *en masse* if the frontier were seriously jeopardized. In the next year the creation of the Dane Mark was begun. Charles designed to build a wall across the isthmus of modern Denmark not unlike Hadrian's wall in Britain, "so that from the eastern

Danes

Establishment
of the Dane
Mark

ocean, which men call the East Sea, unto the western ocean the whole south bank of the Eider River might be protected." It was a wise precaution, for in 808 Gottrick returned. The Wilzi, who were old enemies of the Abodrites, supported him, and even the latter were divided. The Frankish army crossed the Elbe in a great host and chastised some of the refractory Slavonic tribes, but on the return all its baggage and many men were lost in the flood of the river. This reproach, however, the loyal duke of the Abodrites, Thrasikow, with the aid of the Saxons, extinguished. The assassination of Gottrick and the peaceful disposition of his successor relieved the situation for the time. This is when the beginning of Hamburg on the estuary of the Elbe was laid. It was made a bishopric in 831 by Louis the Pious.

The Dane Mark, by cutting off the Danes from connection with the Saxons, drove the Danes to the sea and the Frisian coast, which from these days, therefore, was never safe from piratical encroachment. In 811 and again in 813 towns were sacked along the Channel coast and people massacred, and Charles — even if the familiar tale of the monk of Saint-Gall is a fabrication — must have seen that the northern sky was ominous.

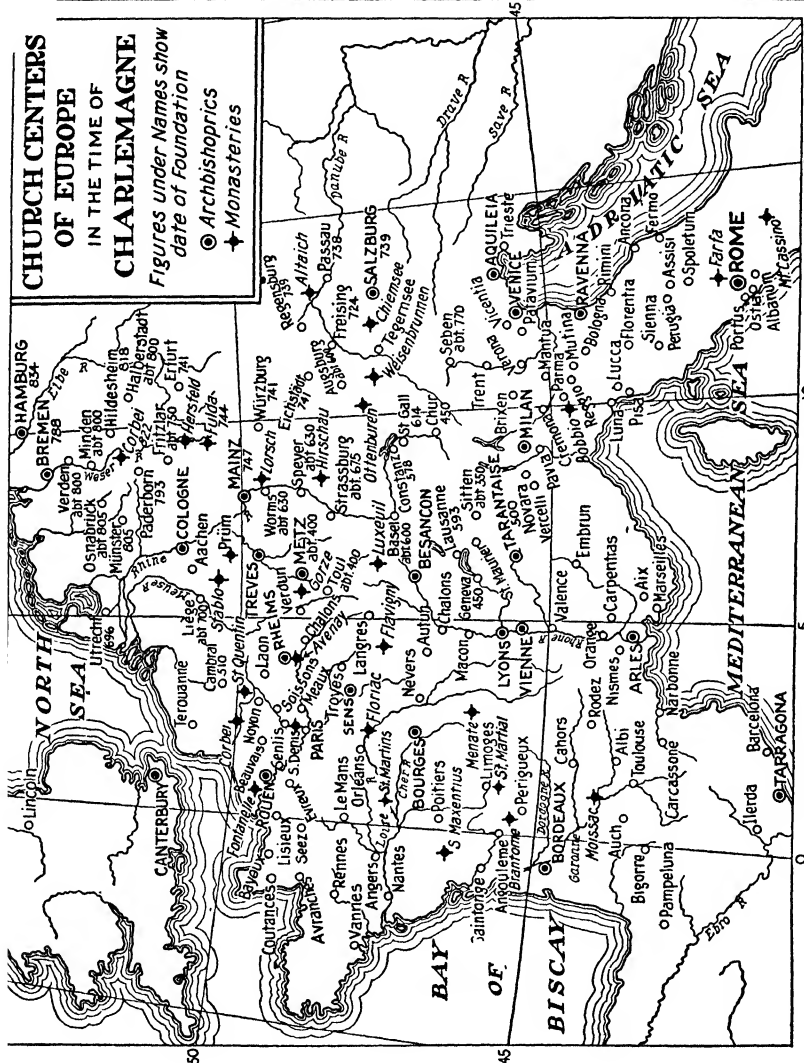
Arabic corsairs in the Mediterranean

But there were pirates in the south also. The Moors infested the Mediterranean. In 806 they carried away captive sixty monks living on the island of Pantelleria, between Sicily and Africa, whom Charles ransomed. On Easter Sunday 809, Moors from Spain descended upon Corsica, sacked a city, and, it is recorded, "except for the bishop and a few weak and infirm old men, left nothing in it." In the same year the Tuscan coast was ravaged. In 810 and 812 Sardinia and Corsica again suffered. In 813 Civitavecchia and Nice were devastated, as well as the Spanish Mark, Corsica, Majorca, and the other islands. The only effective resistance to the Moors, at least by the government, was in 806, when King Pepin of Italy, with the aid of the Genoese, fought the pirates off the coast of Corsica, and in 807, when the Constable Burkard won a notable victory in Corsican waters, captured thirteen vessels of the enemy, and killed upwards of three thousand. We have no other details of the nominal acquisition of Corsica and Sardinia by the Franks. It is impossible to say whether the islands belonged to the Emperor at Constantinople, or to his Frank contemporary, or to the emirs of Africa. The islanders, politically for centuries without masters, reverted to primitive clan groups, those near the coast living by wrecking, brigandage, and piracy, and those inland leading the wild life of mountaineer horsemen.

(The words of Einhard may fittingly terminate this narration of Charlemagne's wars: "Such are the wars, most ably planned and successfully fought, which the most powerful King Charles waged in the years of his reign.")

The restoration of imperial rule in the West now engages attention. The realm of Charles the Great in 800 comprised most of the countries of the Western Roman Empire except Africa, and part of Spain, and Britain; but a Germany which Rome knew not save to fear compensated for

*Extent of
Charlemagne's
domination*



these, so that, in extent at least, the Frank realm was little inferior to the western division of the ancient Empire. But the correspondence between the Empire of the Cæsars and the Empire of the Carolingians in the thought of the people was more than territorial. It was moral. Charles was not *like* Cæsar; he *was* Cæsar.

*Increasingly
intimate rela-
tions between
Charlemagne
and the
papacy*

On Christmas Day 795 the venerable Pope Hadrian I died, and was succeeded by Leo III. The papacy was, in reality, a vassal of the Frankish king. In his first letter to Leo III Charles tersely wrote that the duty of the Pope was to devote himself to prayer for the Church of God, and that he was the real ruler of the Latin Church and would direct its policy. In 794 at the synod of Frankfort Charles had proved his words by condemning the doctrine of adoption and even disapproved of Hadrian I's indorsement of the action of the Council of Nicæa, which had made partial restoration of image-worship. Hadrian, "the first pope to whose account the charge of nepotism can be laid," in the years of his long pontificate had succeeded in investing many members of his family with church offices and other posts in the gift of the pope as a temporal ruler, so that the new Pope found himself faced with a formidable combination of the Roman clerical aristocracy, led by two nephews of the dead pontiff. For four years the city was divided by factions. On April 25, 799, the day of the festival of St. Mark, as the Pope was proceeding through the streets of the city, the procession was beset and Leo was dragged from his horse, spirited away to a monastery on the Cœlian Hill, and threatened with mutilation and blinding. Church fable even asserts that this torture took place, and that God restored his eyes to seeing and his tongue to speech. But the faithful chamberlain of the Pope and a few trusted attendants managed to effect his escape to St. Peter's, where the altar gave him protection until the duke of Spoleto, who appeared in Rome with an army of Lombards, covered his withdrawal, from whom Leo fled to Charles. The King was at Paderborn. There are no details of their memorable interview save a poetical effusion in Frankish strain of a court poet; but it is certain that the next year witnessed the extinction in the West of even the honorary sovereignty of the emperor in Constantinople.

*Rioting in
Rome
(799)*

*Charlemagne's
intervention*

Meantime the faction in Rome had formulated an indictment against Leo III, which they forwarded to Aachen—a circumstance that points to a certain justification of their appeal to force, for if there had been nothing against the new Pope save their own jealousy and rancor, they had never dared submit their case to trial. But the case had arisen, and Charles prepared to go to Rome, which he reached on November 24, 800. A month was occupied in the trial of the conspirators. Leo III wisely begged commutation of the death sentence, that the family of Hadrian might not be roused to fury, and the nephews were therefore banished.

*Coronation
of 800*

What happened next is a matter—and one of the greatest matters—of history. On Christmas Day 800, in the Basilica of St. Peter's, before the throng of Rome and the Frank hosts of war, Charles was crowned Emperor of the Romans. The Roman Empire was restored again as a living administrative force in the West, in the person of the Frank King, now hailed as *Augustus*. It is impossible that this coronation, though it

has been so represented, was the result of a spontaneous inspiration on the part of the Pope and was not of design. It was probably projected in the conference at Paderborn, although the Pope regulated some details in an unexpected manner. The time chosen for the restoration was peculiarly opportune. In the words of the *Annals of Lorsch*:

"And because the name of the emperor had now ceased among the Greeks, and their Empire was possessed by a woman, it then seemed both to Leo the Pope and to all the holy fathers who were present in the selfsame council, as well as to the rest of the Christian people, that they ought to take to be emperor Charles, King of the Franks, who held Rome herself, where the Cæsars had always been wont to sit, and all the other regions that he ruled through Italy and Gaul and Germany. And inasmuch as God had given all these lands into his hands, it seemed right that with the help of God and at the prayer of the holy Christian people, he should have the name of emperor also: whose petition King Charles willed not to refuse, but submitting himself with all humility to God, and of the prayer of the priests and of the whole Christian people, on the day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ he took on himself the name of emperor, being consecrated by the Lord Pope Leo."

In the view of the time the event of 800 was not the creation of a new empire, nor even the restoration of an old. In theory and in law, as nearly as we can ascertain, it was a *coup d'état*, a repudiation of the claim of the Eastern Roman Empire to be the successor of the Roman Empire. The circumstance that the Empress Irene was ruling unlawfully in the East technically created a vacancy on the imperial throne, and the Frank King stepped into the breach. Irene's usurpation was a pretext and gave the act of Charles and the Pope a show of legality.

But we must seek in the West for the causes of this revolution. There were ideas and forces of prodigious influence, existing for centuries before the year 800, which prepared the way for this restoration of the Roman Empire on a new foundation. The greatest of these was the idea of the perpetuity of the Roman Empire—the theory that it had never died. The magnitude of the ancient imperium, the weight of its authority, the fascination of its name, had early given rise to this conception. German peoples who came down upon the Empire came not to destroy it. Their highest honor was to enter the Roman service and be adorned with Roman titles. Alaric had been *magister militum*, Odovakar and Theodoric patricians of Italy. Clovis was sent the patrician's pallium by Anastasius, and the patriciate of Italy was conferred upon Pepin the Short by the Pope at the end of the Lombard war.

But equal perhaps to the might and tradition that the Roman Empire possessed in itself was the influence of the Church. Teaching the doctrine of obedience to lawfully constituted rulers, the Christian Church had gone on from point to point until, in St. Augustine's *City of God*, the Christian

Roman Empire was exalted — the shining, civilized, Christian contrast to paganism and barbarism. Notwithstanding this divinity, however, the Roman Empire continued to decline. Power, wealth, land, authority, passed over to the Church, already long imperial in form, with a hierarchy and government and the Latin language.

But side by side with this growth of the Church as a world-power had been that of the monarchy of the Franks; and a marvelous chain of circumstances had linked the destiny of the Merovingian and Carolingian kings to the Church of the West. The Franks were the first Catholic converts of the new race. Their conquest of the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians had been of inestimable service to the new faith. The Franks had civilized and converted Germany; they had saved the Pope from the Lombards and from the burdensome protectorate of an heretical overlord in Constantinople; and the Pope had reciprocated in crowning Pepin the Short. Then came Pepin's son Charles in the fullness of time, who had expanded and united the Frank realm as never before, who had converted the Saxons, who had saved the Church from a threatened secession by crushing Bavaria, who had conquered the Avars, who had done service against infidel Saracens and heretic Greeks, who had extinguished the Lombards. In Italy the ancient fire of the Roman Empire, kept alive by the influence and interest of the Church, burned stronger than elsewhere, and Rome was the hearth. The kings of England and even the Saracen rulers showed Charles peculiar and more than royal homage. Why should not that imperial homage be legally declared? It was. The time of the coronation was the result of a fortuitous combination of circumstances, but the coronation itself was inevitable. The weight of a mighty history — Roman, German, ecclesiastical — was behind the Frankish king to give it eventuality. The restoration of the Roman Empire or the founding of the medieval empire, as one wills, was the natural result of an historical progression — the culmination of a series of acts justified in religion and law and recognized as valid from first to last by all of western Europe.

The only unexpected features attached to the coronation were Leo III's seizure of the Christmas occasion as the time of the crowning and his variation of the ceremony when he suddenly took the crown and placed it upon the head of Charles, who, there is no doubt, intended in proper time to assume the crown himself; but not in 800. The imperial coronation was "anticipated" by the Pope during Charles's sojourn in Rome. The King was well aware of the delicacy necessary to this revolution, and overtures to Constantinople upon the question were under way. A Byzantine chronicler is authority for the assertion that Charles planned marriage with Irene, wife of the Emperor Leo IV, in spite of her crime in blinding her son. As for the monks of the West, they maintain a discreet silence on this point, which gives the detail the weight of

probability. But such a union was as much a cause of alarm for the Pope as the marriage of Charles and Carloman with the daughters of Desiderius had been. The Christian king of the Franks, long the right arm and secular supporter of the papacy, in marriage relation with an heretical Eastern princess—for Irene was an iconoclast!—the prospect was too much for the Pope to contemplate with equanimity. Leo III could never suffer such a shameless procedure and to that end adroitly forced the issue. This upset of Charles's diplomatic intentions, and Leo III's appropriation of authority to himself, are what made Charles knit his brows. They account for Einhard's statement that the Emperor "declared that had it been given to him to foresee the Pope's conduct, he had not set foot in the church, though it were the festival of Christ's nativity."

Strained relations with Byzantine Empire

But the act, once done, was admitted. In 802 Irene and Charles exchanged relations by embassy, as did the former's successor, Nicephorus. But the Byzantine rulers, while recognizing the power and the place of the Frankish emperor, steadfastly refused him imperial ascription. War followed between the two powers in the ensuing years, in which Venice was the storm-center. Although nominally subject to the Eastern Roman Empire, the Venetian republic was practically independent and played off the two rival powers against one another with a view to preserving her independence between their oscillation. A Frankish expedition against Venice failed owing to lack of a naval force, but Charles conquered Dalmatia in 805. In 806 the Byzantine patrician Nicetas arrived in the Adriatic for the purpose of recovering Dalmatia. Venice recognized the sovereignty of Nicephorus, and the Byzantine admiral returned to Constantinople content with that achievement and without having made any effort to reconquer Dalmatia. War was resumed in 809, but nothing of importance happened. In 810 new negotiations were undertaken. Two successive Greek embassies appeared at Aachen in that year and again in 812. Each side was willing to make concessions. Charles was saluted with the title *Basileus*, but not that of *Imperator*—a singular distinction, considering that the Eastern Roman emperor really was more Greek than Roman. In return, Venice and the coast towns of Istria and Dalmatia reaffirmed their allegiance to the Eastern ruler. Two Frankish ambassadors, Amalharius, Bishop of Trier, and Peter, Abbot of Nonantula, were commissioned to go to Constantinople to ratify the treaty. In the covering letter of their commission Charles congratulated the Emperor Michael on the peace that had been established "between the Eastern and the Western Empires." Michael was dead when the ambassadors arrived, but his successor, Leo V, accepted the conditions of the treaty. Final ratification was not made, however, until after Charles's death.

Nevertheless friction continued between the two jealous empires in the ninth century. In 824, in a correspondence between Constantinople and

Aachen, it was thus written to Louis the Pious: "Michael and Theophilus, Emperors of the Romans, to their dear and honorable brother Louis, glorious King of the Franks and Lombards, and *called* Emperor." Later Basil bade Louis II (855-75) content himself with a regal title. But the belief of the West, whether mistaken or not, prevailed. The Roman imperial title, with its claims of universal rule, was transferred to the Franks and the Germans. It was a distinct restoration, though not upon the old lines.

The new Empire did not profess to be Roman save in its source of authority. Its administration had nothing in common with that of the Roman Empire. Its institutions, save the Church, were German, and feudal in character. It was Roman in inception, ecclesiastical in conception, and German in practice.

Theories

But momentous consequences other than those Charles apprehended from diplomatic entanglements were destined to flow from the coronation in 800. In after years, when desire for power on the part of the popes overcame their zeal for the Church, Pascal I, Gregory IV, Nicholas I, and later and greater pontiffs than they asserted the Church's independence of the Empire, and the lordship of the popes over the emperor, basing the claim upon the coronation. It was argued that Leo III had called the Empire into being in the act of crowning, and that the emperor was his creature. In the same manner Pepin's coronation in 752 was misconstrued, the False Donation of Constantine and the doctrine of the Petrine supremacy being invoked to affirm the pretensions of papal superiority. To such an imperial ambition did "that fatal gift of land" induce the popes. Legal complications, coupled with the ambition of the popes, the pride of the Romans, and the haughtiness of the emperors, gave rise in time to three theories of the coronation. Was the Empire the prize of conquest? Was the coronation of 800 a natural and legal action? Or did the Pope call the Western Empire into being once more? "Of these three, it was the last view that eventually prevailed. Yet to an impartial eye it cannot claim any more than do the two others, to contain the whole truth. Charles did not conquer, nor the Pope give, nor the people elect. As the act was unprecedented, so it was illegal. It was a revolt, hallowed to the eyes of the world by the sanction of Christ's representative, but founded upon no law, nor competent to create any for the future."¹

One thing is certain: As far as a revolution may be said to create a legal condition, Charles was in law and in fact Emperor and Augustus, head of State and head of Church. Nothing is more certain than that the after-assertion of the popes was a monstrous usurpation. The Church came into being after the creation of the Roman Empire. It was legalized by imperial authority. Its dependence upon the Empire was uniformly maintained by

¹ BRYCE, *The Holy Roman Empire*.

Constantine and his successors. The pope was originally, in law and in fact, but bishop of Rome, and although the canon law tended to magnify his authority over other bishops, that law was the product of a Church dependent throughout upon the Empire. The Church had no jurisdiction over the emperor save as a Christian person. Even after the conferring of Pepin's donation, the pope was not independent. Feudally he was a vassal of the king, who conquered the Exarchate and gave it to him. Ecclesiastically the Patrimony of St. Peter, it had been accurately and admirably said, was "a great—or the greatest—instance of episcopal immunity."

The countries comprehended within the Carolingian Empire varied so much in racial ingredients, in institutions, in economic and social condition, in culture, that the only broad uniformity which prevailed was the will of Charles. The Empire was not a homogeneous empire. The government of the Carolingians was an intensely personal one, and both the nature and the degree of authority varied in different regions. Each people in the Frankish Empire preserved its own laws; the Salic law, the Riparian law, the Burgundian law, the Alemannic law, the Frisian law, the Bavarian law, the Lombard law. Only in the two last was this ancient right of "personality of law" seriously impaired. Even the Roman law was reduced to a personal law, for it was preserved by and for the Latin peoples, Italian and Gallo-Roman, themselves. Few even of the capitularies were of general application. Almost the only uniform and universal law was that of the Church. Charles recognized these local differences by making two of his sons local kings, Pepin in Italy and Louis in Aquitaine. He went so far as to command the latter to wear the Basque costume on state occasions in order to flatter the native pride of his subjects.

*Varieties of
law in the
Frank Em-
pire*

And yet, in spite of these concessions to local feeling and tradition, Charles established a firm and efficient government in his state. If the Empire lacked unity of civil institutions, it had unity of administration, although some institutions were of Roman origin, some of German, and some formed from a fusion of these two elements. After 800 his official title was: "Most serene, august, crowned by God, great and pacific Emperor, King of the Franks and Lombards." When in Rome, his biographer tells us, "he wore a long tunic and cloak and put on shoes after the Roman fashion." But "elsewhere he wore the national—that is to say, the Frankish—dress—shirt and drawers of linen, a tunic with a silken fringe, and hose; his legs below the knees were cross-gartered, and on his feet were Frankish shoes. Over all he threw a blue military cape and always wore a sword." So attired, in the great hall of the palace at Aachen, surrounded by high civil and ecclesiastical officials, prominent nobles of the Frankish aristocracy, and guardsmen, Charles must have seemed less a Roman emperor than an ancient German king flanked by the "companions" of his war-band.

*Mixture of
Roman and
German
elements*

Nature of
Charle-
magne's gov-
ernment

Quasi-feudal
element

First and last the government of Charles was an intensely personal one. This is manifested in the importance attached to the oath of fidelity required of every *fidelis*, whether or not he was possessor of a benefice. The obligation of loyalty and service had been exacted of all benefice-holders ever since the time of Charles Martel, but it was a new practice of the Carolingians to require this oath of all nobles. It marks a stage in the development of feudalism. For in the late ninth and the tenth centuries this oath of fealty was transformed into an oath of lordship and homage required of all fief-holders by the suzerain or overlord. But in the time of Charles the Great the king was yet the sole overlord, and the oath was personal to him and not necessarily related to the possession of a benefice. Great importance was attached to this oath, especially after a conspiracy in 786 in which the culprits pleaded immunity because they had not sworn any oath of fidelity. When Charles became emperor, this oath was renewed through the whole Empire by every noble. It implied not only submission and fealty (*fidelitas*) to the emperor, but respect for and obedience to the authority of the Church, which was an important component of the Carolingian government. In an empire so vast and composed of so many different sorts and conditions of people fidelity to the emperor was the surest bond of unity; it took the place of patriotism and national sentiment in a modern state. The emperor's will was law, expressed in his ban or *preceptum*, which no one might disobey.

Court

The Frankish Empire had no fixed capital like modern states, although in his latter years Charles preferred to reside in Aachen. But actually the capital was where the king-emperor and the great officials of the central administration might be, whether at Herstal or Nimwegen, or Ingelheim or Diedenhofen or any other of his favorite *palatia*. The *palatium* was not only the king's domicile and the seat of the court; it was also the chief place of the ministers and administrative bureaux of the government. The court officials were numerous. The chaplain of the palace was in charge of the daily religious services; the chancellor, always a churchman, was responsible for the recording and dispatch of the emperor's orders, precepts, capitularies, laws; the count of the palace was a judge who had cognizance of all cases appealed from courts of the local counts; it was he also who recommended new legislation or amendment of old laws. The chamberlain, the seneschal, the butler, the count of the palace, had administrative duties of a household nature. It is to be noticed that the office of mayor of the palace disappeared under the Carolingians. Having risen to power upon its authority, they prudently abolished it after they became kings.

Public
assembly

The Frankish public assembly (*placitum*) was not a democratic body, but a convention of great ecclesiastics and great nobles. Most frequently it met in May, when the army was gathered together for some campaign,

for "in springtime do kings go forth to war"; but it might meet in June or July. After the army had been dispatched, the great people remained, with whom the king-emperor consulted in regard to legislation. Civil, military, and ecclesiastical affairs, even matters personal to the king-emperor, as, for example, the administration of the crown lands, were unfolded in these assemblies. Indeed, one cannot draw a sharp line of division between church councils and *placita*; for often secular affairs were discussed in the former and church affairs in the latter. The assemblies in 792 at Regensburg, in 794 at Frankfort, in 809 at Aachen, were more synods than *placita*. There were laymen in church synods, bishops and abbots in public assemblies. About 877 Hincmar, the famous archbishop of Reims, composed a sort of manual of government entitled *De ordine palatii* for Charles's great-grandson Louis the Stammerer, in which we find the manner of legislation clearly described. He writes:

Church
councils

"The great Emperor Charles, as we have learned from the mouth of one who knew him, wished always to have near him three wise counselors. He used to carry wax tablets with him, which at night he suspended at the head of his bed; and if a good or useful idea came to him, whether for Church or State, he would make a note of it and on the morrow confer with his ministers. Then when the time arrived for the annual public assembly, these ideas were presented to the bishops and nobles in the form of suggested legislation. The grantees might give advice, but it was Charles who decided what was law. On such an occasion messengers were constantly passing back and forth between the King and the assembly, bearing its observations and his replies."

The *placitum* had the right neither to discuss nor to vote. It could only comment and suggest, and these comments and suggestions were in no way binding upon the king. The royal and imperial will was law; it was for subjects from the greatest unto the least to obey. The promulgation of the act was preceded by an *annuntiatio* or preamble, which recited the necessity of the new law; these preambles are, therefore, of great historical value as being summations of political, religious, economic, or social conditions. Then followed the reading of the law, while the assembly listened in silence, without discussion, without voting. When the formalities were concluded, the assembly was dismissed.

Legislation

Collectively all Carolingian legislation is known as capitularies. The term was applied to a wide variety of documents, which must be distinguished. When Charles wished to make additions to particular laws, like the Salic, Ripuarian, Burgundian, Bavarian, or Alemannic codes, the capitularies were known as *capitula legi addenda*. When he ordained general measures independent of these tribal codes, they were designated as *capitula per se scribenda*; they represented Charles's own legislative will and energy and formed the common law of the Frankish Empire. The third class of capitularies was of a more varied or particular nature,

such as regulations of the royal domains, instructions to *missi dominici*, mandates to this bishop and that abbot, etc.

At the first blush the whole body of Carolingian legislation seems to be without system; for many different matters are found lumped together in a prodigious and confused mass. Nevertheless it is apparent that Charles's mind was one of ordered thought. It is easy to distinguish categories of legislation, such as moral, political, penal, civil, and ecclesiastical legislation, religious injunctions, and, finally, a mixed body of laws of special circumstance or having to do with domestic rather than state affairs.

Some of the greatest Carolingian statutes are the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxonie* (775-90?); the *Capitulare Heristallense* (779), relating to army organization; the *Capitulare Italicum* (801); the *Capitulare Missorum* (802) and its supplement, the *Capitulare Missorum Theodoni Villa* (Diedenhofen, 805?); the *Capitulare de exercitu in Gallia* (807), which regulated military service; the *Epistula de litteris colendis* (780-800?), the fundamental statute governing Carolingian education; the *Capitulare Bononiensis* (Bonn-am-Rhein, 811), which regulated the service required of those holding benefices. This and the *Capitulare Aquisgranense* (Aachen, 801-13?) are fundamental military documents.

In the matter of local government, leaving aside the border vassal peoples, such as the Slavs, Avars, Bretons, and Basques, the county (*comitatus* or *pagus*) was the base of local administration, under a count — or, to use the German term, a *Graf*. Entire local administration was in their hands, civil and criminal, military and financial. Usually the counts were drawn from the local landowning class, the "squirearchy," as it were; but the tendency was for them more and more to be recruited from men of noble status, which was as unfortunate as it was unavoidable, since it identified the count too much with the high social interests of the county and inclined to develop too great independence on his part. --- Charles's capitularies show the fear he felt lest the counts become local petty tyrants and make their offices hereditary. The opportunity which an unscrupulous count enjoyed for graft or private enrichment of himself or his class was very great, owing both to the extent of his powers and to the prevalent natural economy of the time. No such thing as a budget or civil list, of course, obtained in these times. Neither the count nor any other official was paid a fixed salary. High court officials were entitled to the revenues of certain manors that were attached as an endowment to high offices. Lower officials were paid out of the fees and fines that they collected. Here was the rub. For a dishonest count might exact fees illegally, or impose a fine in excess of the law, since he was entitled to one-half of fees and fines as emolument of his office. The capitularies bear eloquent testimony to such abuses. Thus in 803 Charles complains:

Local
government

Counts

"We hear that the counts and their subordinate officials are collecting rents and insisting on forced labor, harvesting, plowing, sowing, stubbing up trees, loading wagons, and the like from the people. All these practices must be stopped. In some places the people have been so grievously abused in these ways that, unable to bear their lot, they have fled into the forests for refuge."

Again in 811 we read:

"The poor complain that they are being evicted from their property, and that quite as much by the bishops and abbots and their *advocati* (judicial representatives) as by the counts and their *centenarii* (cantonal officials under the count). It is said that if a poor man will not give up his property to the bishop or abbot or count, these great men make some pretext for getting him involved with the courts, or else continually compel him to do military service until the wretched man, quite impoverished, has to mortgage or sell his property, which they snap up at a low price."

In order to check the prevalence of such abuses Charles created the *missi dominici*, the most typical and the most important of all Carolingian institutions. The institution of the *missi dominici*, like every great institution, was a development. It was the permanent incorporation into the Frankish administration of a practice hitherto occasional. The prototype of the *missi* is to be found in the *legati* and *legatarii* whom the Merovingian kings were in the habit of sending upon commissions, who ceased to have authority with the completion of the task. These were commonly chosen from the immediate circle of the court, and from early times it was the practice to associate a churchman and a layman. Their duties were various: to restore order in the provinces, to receive fidelity in the name of a new king, and to collect the royal revenues. But most often these occasional *missi* were employed to redress the injustice of the counts. The Austrasian mayors of the palace made extensive use of the practice, and before Charles the Great the use of *missi* seems to have been quite general. It remained for him, however, to make the practice a permanent organic feature of the Frankish government. The *missi* became the established agents of the emperor, personally representing him, and were endowed with an authority capable only of being reviewed by him.

*Missi
dominici*

The object of the creation of the *missi dominici* was to bind the widely separated parts of the vast Frank Empire together, to arrest feudal tendencies in the State, and to enable Charles to keep in touch with every official and every place in his empire. It is significant that the creation of the *missi dominici* coincides in time with Charles's new requirement of the oath of fidelity.

The important capitulary for the organization of the *missi dominici* is that of the year 802. In that year numerous agents, designated as *missi*, were appointed for a year and were charged with the duty of making

quarterly "views" of the administration practiced by the counts and other officials. Each *missaticum* embraced a determined area of territory, composed of a number of counties. Into this *missaticum*, by pairs, a count and a bishop went together. For the most part the *missi dominici* (which means "royal messengers") did not belong to the districts for which they were appointed, either by birth or by property; moreover, they were not sent consecutively into the same region. These precautions were taken in order to keep them as free as possible from having personal interests involved in their public duties, and also to prevent them from localizing their power. In the time of Charles four annual assemblies were held in the provinces, at which the *missi* upon their circuits were to name ecclesiastical and secular officials from the churchmen and freemen of the district, with the advice of the local counts. At these times complaints against administrative officials were heard.

The *missi* were the representatives of the king. Their duties were to supervise the administration of the counts, hear appeals, and report to the king cases of maladministration on the part of the counts, whose subordinate officials (*scabini*, *centenarii*) the *missi* had the authority of nominating. In co-operation with the bishops the *missi* looked to the material welfare of the Church and inspected monasteries and other ecclesiastical foundations. A particular duty was to see that military service was not evaded or illegally enlarged. In general, it was incumbent upon them to publish laws and ordinances, care for their execution, and punish their violation, in which duties they were to receive aid from counts and bishops. At a change of throne, after riots, and in other extraordinary circumstances *missi* were appointed for the investigation and relief of public distress or the suppression of violence. In the first case the *missi* were required to exact the oath of fidelity from all subjects in the name of the new king. Their civil jurisdiction extended to the control of commerce, roads, bridges, streams, and river dams. More or less particular duties arose from the special needs of their circuits. Thus, from the time of Charles the Great, in the *missaticum* of Paris and Rouen the care of coast defenses was enjoined upon the *missi*; while in Saxony the duty of protecting the Church and its missionaries was a special responsibility. The *missi* were protected by a triple wergeld, and armed resistance to them was punished with death.

That the *missi* received their instructions from the king and were responsible to him would make them appear entirely as representatives of the central authority; but with the death of Charles the dangers that the Emperor had apprehended manifested themselves: the *missi* soon ceased to be solely the organs of the sovereign's will, but developed a growing independence, in compliance with the feudal tendencies of the time. Hardly any institution of the Frankish government shows the personal character

of Charles's administration so much as the *missi dominici*. No one, perhaps, knew better than the Emperor himself how much public efficiency depended upon personal judgment, will, and energy, and no one, perhaps, appreciated so well how soon the system might run down if allowed to go its own way. The institution of the *missi* was a means to make the emperor omnipresent and to secure as far as possible the exercise of his personal influence, upon which, in a feudal age, the real power of authority rested.

Unfortunately we have not sufficient evidence to compile a complete list of the *missatica*. It is interesting to know, however, that the system was not based upon the ancient Roman division of Gaul into seventeen provinces, nor in Germany upon the territorial area of the Germanic "nations." In fact, from what we know, the circuits of the *missi* traversed these ancient boundary lines. It is evident that Charles was bent upon neutralizing or breaking down these historic lines of division in the interest of administrative unity. All of the *missi* whose names have been preserved in the sources bore Frank names except two, Stephanus, Count of Paris, and Magnus, Archbishop of Sens. It is evident that Charles distrusted the Romance stock in his empire and drew his largest number of officials from among Germans. For example, a precept that enumerates the names of forty officials and dignitaries contains only three names of Roman origin.¹

The circuit about which we have the fullest information is that of Paris, which comprehended the counties (*pagi*) of Paris, Meaux, Melun, Provins, Étampes, Chartres, and Poissy. Here the two *missi* were Fardulf, abbot of Saint-Denis, and Stephen, Count of Paris—the earliest count of Paris whom history mentions. It is important to observe that the area above delimited is practically the Île de France, the very hub of the realm of France in Capetian times.

The second *missaticum* roughly included all of later Normandy west of the Seine and was under the jurisdiction of Magenard, Archbishop of Rouen, and the famous counselor Angilbert, who had married Charles's daughter Bertha and who after her death became abbot of Saint-Riquier. The third *missaticum*, which pertained to Magnus, Archbishop of Sens, and Godefroy, a count, embraced all the territory east of the Seine and south of the Marne, Troyes, Langres, Besançon, all the later duchy of Burgundy, and in addition the valley of the Loire above Orléans. These three legations, accordingly, formed three great administrative blocks of territory extending from the Jura to the Channel. A fourth circuit was composed of the territories later known as Champagne, Vermandois, and French Lorraine. It included the counties of Reims, Vouzy, Dormois, Laon, Valois, Porcien, Tardenois, and Soissons. One of the

¹ M. G. H. *Leges*, I, 39-40.

two *missi* in this division was Wulfar, Archbishop of Reims. A fifth circuit, whose geographical boundaries we do not exactly know, was under Charles's famous cousin Adalhard, Riculph, Archbishop of Mainz, Abbot Fulrad of Fulda, and a count named Unroch, whose grandson Eberhard followed Lothaire I into Italy and became the first margrave of Friuli. It is to be noticed that there were four *missi* in this *missatica*. Evidently it was the very heart of Austrasia where lay the greatest and richest portion of the Carolingian fisc. Mainz, Cologne, and Trier lay within it. Details as to the sixth *missatica* are meager, but its center was Amiens, whose bishop, Jesse, was a *missus*. Provence and Languedoc formed a seventh *missatica*, as we learn from a poem of Theodulf, Bishop of Orléans, who poetically has described his peregrinations in this division. Judging from the personal names of other *missi* which have been preserved in the chronicles, we are justified in inferring that, all told, the Empire was divided into twenty-one circuits, of which five lay east of the Rhine. Bavaria seems to have been one of these and Rhætia another. Both Aquitaine and Italy seem not to have been divided into *missi* circuits, perhaps because they were theoretically "kingdoms" under Louis the Pious and Pepin. At least we have no evidence of *missi* in Aquitaine before Louis the Pious's repartition of the *missatica* in 823. As for Italy, it does not seem to have been thus administratively so divided until 867, under the Emperor Louis II. Charles the Bald in 853 endeavored to revive the *missi*, without effect. For by the middle of the ninth century the institution had been engrossed by the great nobles, who had made themselves *missi* within their feudal territories.

Immunities

The Carolingian counts and *missi*, in spite of all Charlemagne's efforts to repress abuses by them, were oftentimes so tyrannical that in order to protect bishops, abbots, and great proprietors from blackmail by them, the Emperor granted them what were known as "immunities." These were diplomas or charters exempting the donee from any jurisdiction save that of the Emperor himself, and prohibiting any count or *missus* from entering their lands. The intention was to insure more direct and efficient justice; but the effect in the ninth century, when the power of the Carolingian crown began to decline, was to make these possessors of immunities all but totally independent of any control whatsoever. The immunity was thus one of the roots of the feudal régime.

Taxation

No system of public taxation existed in the Carolingian Empire. All taxes were of a local nature, as tolls, road and bridge taxes, market dues, and import duties at the few important ports of entry of foreign goods. In the north Boulogne, Quantovic, and Durestat were the most important points. Along the Slavonic frontier were combination forts and trading-posts — Bardowick, Schesel, Magdeburg, Hallstatt, Erfurt, Priemberg, Forchheim, Lorsch, and Regensburg. In the south there were Marseilles,

Arles, and Maguelonne. Most impositions were in the form of compulsory service, a heritage of late Roman times, like furnishing draft animals and supplies for the army when in transit, repairing roads and bridges. There was little money in circulation and a "natural economy" prevailed; that is to say, taxes were paid in produce — so many head of sheep or cattle, so many sheaves of grain, so many bushels of turnips or other roots. These supplies were stocked upon the royal manors, which were everywhere, to be used by the king or his officials when and as they needed. Other sources of the king's income were tributes imposed upon conquered peoples, fines, confiscations, forfeitures, and "presents," not only customarily expected, but demanded on state occasions and great holidays by the king from great nobles, bishops, and abbots who owed their preferments to the king.

The army was an all-important organ of the Carolingian government. War was a large factor in the extension of Frankish sway, and military service was heavy and exacting. The military régime of the Frank was that of the *levée en masse*. Every able-bodied man not a serf or a cleric was a soldier. Every free subject of the king, Frank or Gallo-Roman, was bound, unless he was exempt in the quality of a churchman, to take arms at all times that the king required. Every year, months before a campaign began, the army-ban (*Heerban*) was proclaimed in every county. Failure to respond was a serious offense. The obligation of military service extended to every freeman, but the burden became so great that Charles had to make certain modifications of universal service. In 807 every owner of three manors or more was compelled to serve. Below this minimum, "wherever there be two men of whom each possesses two manors, one shall equip the other, and the stronger of them shall go to the army. And where there be two men of whom one owns two manors and the other one, they shall co-operate; one shall help equip the other, and the stronger of them shall go to the army. Wherever there be three men found of whom each owns one manor, two of them shall equip the third. Of those who own a half-manor, five shall equip a sixth." Finally this meticulous legislation gets down to those without land, but who are tenant farmers, among whom five such must contribute five pence each to help equip a sixth, who shall serve. The government furnished nothing in way of arms or accouterment, nor was the soldier compensated in the least degree for his services. The army lived on the country when in the enemy's territory; at home, in traveling to the rendezvous it was supposed to find supplies in the local accumulations of provender made in each county. The burden of military service was undoubtedly the heaviest tax in the Carolingian system and wrought serious evil. For it took much of the laboring population away from the fields in spring and summer, so that frequently privation befell in winter; it impoverished the lower classes, driving freemen down into a condition of serfdom, and serfs into a condition of lower

Army

dependence. The day came when men in desperation preferred rather to become serfs and be able to remain at home than maintain the precarious lot of freemen and be drafted for military service of many months' duration in a distant country.

The tax of the *Heerban* was sixty shillings. The collectors, in order to raise this sum, confiscated animals and movable property (*Capit.* 813). If the sum was still insufficient to discharge the obligations of the *Heerban*, the balance had to be paid in service. In a time of protracted war, therefore, the poor man would often be reduced to a state of veritable servitude. The only alleviation lay in the fact that at his death the debt was regarded as liquidated and the heirs of the deceased received their inheritance in peace.

Growth of
feudal
practices

The picture of Carolingian society reveals that in the time of Charlemagne, as in the Merovingian epoch, certain customary practices were radically opposed to the full and complete exercise of royal authority. These usages in especial were the concession of benefices, recommendation, and the immunity. Charlemagne clearly perceived the danger to the crown arising from these multiple forms and did his best to regulate and systematize these arrangements. He was measurably successful in so doing, but his weak successors were not. What increased the danger of recommendation for the Carolingian authority was that the *fideles* class and the beneficiary class tended to fuse together, so that in time there were no vassals without benefices, nor possessors of benefices who were not vassals. By multiplying benefices and immunities the Carolingians little by little diminished their authority and dissipated their resources. The administration of justice and the taxes more and more fell into the hands of the great landowners.

Trade and
commerce

By the eighth century western Europe had reverted largely, though not wholly, to a natural economy, in which agriculture was much the most important form of material production. Commerce had woefully declined and most of it was local and in primary necessities. In backward regions it took the form of barter. High churchmen and some of the richest nobles indulged in silk and oriental spices imported into the West by Syrian or oriental Greek or Jewish merchants. The Church had use for silk, papyrus, and incense. But the Saracen sea-power in the Mediterranean by 800 seriously interrupted this traffic with the East. Indeed, the decline of commerce throughout the West may be primarily attributed to Saracenic ascendancy. Most of the *mercatores* or merchants of the Carolingian era were not independent operators, but merely agents of the court, of the bishops, and of the great abbeys, commissioned to purchase for them — or else oriental Jews engaged in the importation of Levantine luxuries, like silk and incense, chiefly for the clergy. Industry was on a like plane, being localized on the manors of the nobles, lay and clerical,

and finding expression only in the simplest industrial necessities — in weaving, leather- and wood-working, smithing, wheelwrighting, and cottage or household arts.

Charles the Great has been credited by zealous admirers with a far greater economic sense than he actually had. The famous design for the unfinished Rhine-Danube canal has been declared to have been for the promotion of trade, whereas really it was intended to enable barges with military stores to pass from the upper Rhine to the upper Danube. His ideas were rudimentary, judged by our age. For example, during the famine of 794 he issued a maximum law governing the price of necessities and forbade the export of grain, but did nothing more. One of the weakest points in the Carolingian economy was the lack of good roads — though Charles tried to improve these — and the inadequacy of the means of transportation. Yet in these two particulars Europe suffered until the invention of steam-power and the railroad.

The keenest and most practical economic interest of Charles was in the management of the crown lands, collectively known as the *fisc*. This solicitude is manifest from the fact that the longest of his capitularies, the *Capitulaire de villis*, has wholly to do with the management of the royal domains. It contains seventy articles. On the crown lands Charles and his family and the court lived; from them they derived their subsistence. Each of these manors was a great farm with at least one village, and often a considerable number of them upon it, of tenants, serfs, and slaves, the whole constituting a peasantry (*paysans*, country-folk). These classes farmed the property under the supervision of a steward, who himself was often a serf of more than average intelligence, capable of being a farm-manager. These royal manors were found everywhere throughout the Frankish Empire, especially along the river courses and old Roman highways. But the greatest and solidest block of them lay in ancient Austrasia (modern Belgium, Luxemburg, northern and eastern France, and Rhenish Germany). Part of this great mass of estates was derived from the Merovingians and was the remnants of their crown lands; the other part represented the family lands of the house of Austrasia. In addition the lands of many "royal" abbeys were fused with the *fisc*. The whole was a princely possession, as one may understand who will endeavor to localize it on a map of modern Europe.

Agriculture:
Capitulaire de
villis

Crown lands
or the fisc

On each of these country estates was a manor-house, sometimes a number of them, surrounded by barns, stables, cattle-pens, granaries, and root-houses, and furnished much as the great colonial manor-houses of Virginia planters and Dutch patroons along the Hudson River were furnished in the eighteenth century. The common trades and crafts of a rural society were practiced on these estates, and grains and vegetables familiar to us were raised. The list of vegetables grown in one of Charles's

kitchen gardens has been preserved. We have, too, several inventories. For the King required a complete statement of account twice a year, on St. John's or Midsummer Day and at Christmas. But Charles was not alone in his habit of careful husbandry. Bishops, abbots, and many lay lords were keenly interested in promoting the development of their estates. Agricultural production constituted far and away the most important economic asset of Carolingian society, which was eminently a landed aristocracy.

Marks

The frontier of the Frankish Empire was protected by a series of border territories called marks or marches — that is, boundaries — under military officers known as *Markgrafen* or margraves. All of these, except the Breton Mark, were established by Charlemagne. Indeed, the institution of the margraviates, like that of the *missi dominici*, may be said to have been almost wholly of his devising.

The Mark of Brittany had been founded by Pepin the Short. It was always a precarious territory, for it was a region of incessant racial enmity between the German and the Celt. Charlemagne confined himself to defending Vannes, the center of Frankish domination in Brittany, which was admirably situated near the Loire and not far from the sea and the junction of five ancient Roman roads. The Spanish Mark was established in 801, after Barcelona was captured, and a Gothic count was installed in that city. In 811 the conquest of Tortosa gave the Franks possession of the territory as far as the Ebro River. Henceforth there were two Spanish marks, the county of Barcelona and the Mark of Gascony (Navarre). These marks included within them the towns of Gerona, Urgel, Pampluna, and Tortosa. But the Frankish control was never secure in them. The Dane Mark was established across the Danish isthmus after the subjugation of Saxony and the deportation, in 804, of the Nordalbingians, whose territory was colonized by the peaceful Slavonic Abodrites. At this time Godfried, King of Denmark, who reigned over Jutland and whose capital was at Schleswig, invaded and devastated the country, in league with the ferocious Slavonic Wilzi. In order to prevent their depredations Charles built a fort at Esseveldoburg, which gave rise to the Limes Saxoniarum. Another mark was erected against the Wilzi, and in 810 Charles built a bridge and erected a fort at Hobhuoki, the future Hamburg.

The marks established against the Sorben and the Bohemians are difficult to study, for our information is very fragmentary. The Sorben, whose territory lay between the Saale and the upper Elbe, were checked by a mark established in 806. Two forts were erected, Magdeburg on the right bank of the Elbe, and Hallstat (Halle) upon the Saale. The existence in Charles's times of a Thuringian Mark, based on Erfurt, seems doubtful. It is more probable that the Thuringian Mark dates from the reign of Louis the Pious (830). The Thuringians seem to have been kept

under surveillance from Magdeburg. The Bohemian Mark was organized after the fall of Tassilo of Bavaria in 788, and was keyed on Regensburg. Farther south the subjugation of the Avars and the Frankish conquest of the Lombards culminated in the formation of an enormous mark between the Wienerwald, the Theiss, the Save, and the Danube. This was sometimes called the Pannonian Mark. The Mark of Friuli included Carinthia, Istria, and Dalmatia, the whole region between the Drave and the Save. It was organized in 803 to protect the flank of the Empire against the Greeks and Venetians.

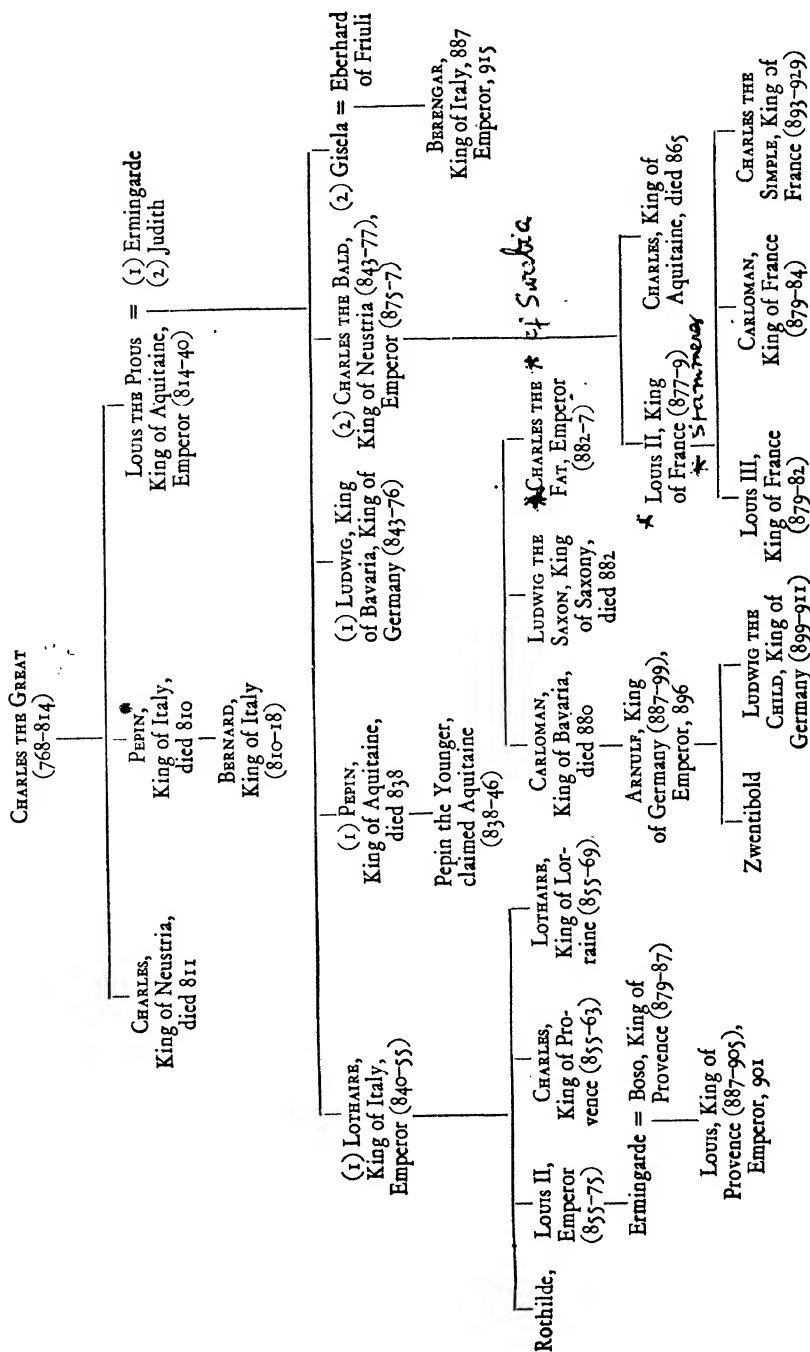
The form of government in the marks was military, not civil. But the authority of the margraves varied. The Count of Barcelona, for example, had larger powers than any other margrave. Necessarily the outside edge of the marks varied according to events on the border. Even the marks themselves fluctuated. The Sorben and Bohemian marks in peaceful times were telescoped together, to be separated again when danger grew great. The marks, like the American frontier in our early history, were regions of pioneer colonization and settlement, whither broken freemen and adventurous runaway serfs drifted to find cheap land and greater freedom than in the older, manorialized provinces of the Frankish Empire. If we take the long view, we may see in the founding of many of these marks the remote, inchoate beginnings of future important states in medieval Europe. Thus Old Castile, Navarre, and Aragon were formed out of the Spanish Mark; Denmark's name is derived from the Dane Mark; the beginnings of Austria may be dimly descried in the Pannonian Mark.

The establishment of broader and firmer government in western Europe, the restoration of empire by Charles the Great, was accompanied also by a restoration of education and letters, by an intellectual awakening. But if we are to understand this movement, it is necessary to study the decay of education and the decline of literature in the centuries that preceded. The Carolingian "renaissance" will be considered in another chapter. ✓✓

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THE DESCENDANTS OF CHARLES THE GREAT



THE BREAK-UP OF THE FRANK EMPIRE (814-88)

THE most striking fact of the ninth century was the swift collapse of the Frank Empire. In 814 it was one great whole; by 888 it had broken into six kingdoms: Germany, Italy, Frankish Gaul, Upper Burgundy, Lower Burgundy, and Navarre. Only Germany and Italy retained any connection, and that of the vaguest sort, with one another. Many reasons have been given by historians to account for this dissolution, the most plausible, but not the truest being that which ascribes it to race-national antagonism. This view will not account for the continued subdivision of states solidly of one race, like Germany, and it fails to square with the fact of connection between Germany and Italy. In the Empire as a whole, the matter of race was of minor importance. This last observation vitiates the argument that the dissolution of the Frank Empire was fundamentally due to the breakdown of ancient German tribal and kindred solidarity; that these old bonds and inhibitions had disintegrated under the conditions imposed by migration and conquest and settlement within new lands, and that no effective substitute for them had been provided either by the new kingship or Roman or ecclesiastical institutions. But tribal and kindred solidarity did not exist among the Romance populations of the Frank Empire, and the same phenomena are observable among them as among the peoples of German stock. This explanation is the far-fetched explanation of a sociologist, not of an historian, and too theoretical to be considered.

Theories in explanation of the dissolution of the Frankish Empire

A third explanation has been sought in the simultaneous attacks of Norsemen, Magyars, and Arabs upon the Frank Empire. But this implies only a half truth, if so much. For it fails to make allowance for the operation of internal forces of disintegration that broke down the resistive power of the Empire and made those attacks more formidable than otherwise they would have been. Another plausible but unhistorical theory finds the most significant cause for the dissolution of the great Empire of the West in the exhaustion of the powers of the Franks and holds that "races like individuals are in danger of exerting themselves too much."

The truth is that the diversity of nations and peoples which preserved the memory of ancient institutions, customs, laws, and languages, the successive partitions, the wars of the brothers, the conduct of the papacy, were all the outward expression of prodigious forces, which were *feudal* in their nature, working beneath the surface of the Empire. It was the

*Feudalism
the real
cause*

centrifugal nature of feudalism which primarily impaired the defensive strength of the Empire and broke it asunder. Feudal ideas colored all the political thought of the time. The only organic bond of unity in the Frank Empire was the oath of fidelity required of every noble and free-man. In the Frank Empire there was neither unity of race, nor idea of fatherland, nor unity of language, institutions, or laws. To be sure, the government of the Church and many of the capitularies applied equally to all and everywhere; but both the government and the Church were strongly feudalized.

*Lack of
homogeneity*

The weakness of the Emperor Louis the Pious (814-40) influenced the progress of events, but the principle of partition was ingrained in the structure of the Empire, and it would be unjust to lay the blame for the successive partitions wholly upon Louis the Pious. The lack of homogeneity in the Frank Empire, the heterogeneous elements of many sorts within it, which had never become amalgamated to form an organic union, had been given only superficial coherence by the ability and energy of Charles the Great. But there was never real fusion of these elements, and when his strong hand was removed, the centrifugal tendency reasserted itself with new force. Even Charles the Great had been compelled to compromise with these particularistic forces. Had he not made his son Pepin "king" of Italy, and Louis "king" of Aquitaine?

*Real nature
of the par-
titions*

This centrifugalism was aggravated by the Frank law of succession, which provided for equal inheritance by the king's sons. The successive futile partitions made by Louis the Pious were not primarily partitions of the territory of the Empire, but distributions of the crown lands among the sons, which carried with them the portion of imperial territory in which each block of the crown lands was situated. The distinction between *partition of sovereignty* and *distribution of property* in the ninth century must be carefully kept in mind, even though in practice these two were confused.

*Louis the
Pious
(814-40)*

The defects of the new Emperor's character were soon apparent. Louis the Pious was a good soldier, but a weak ruler. In Aquitaine, as vassal king to his father, he had been known as a successful warrior. This reputation was sustained by military successes as late as 829. In the year of his accession he received an embassy from the Emperor Leo asking for a mutual combination "against the Bulgarians and other barbarians." In 815 Louis warred against the Danes. In 815 and 820 successful campaigns were made in Septimania in aid of the Spanish Christians. In the winter of 816 a great campaign of East Franks and Saxons was made against the Sorben, and the Gascon duke lost his life in a rebellion finally crushed by Pepin in 818. The Bretons, if not beaten, were held in check. In 819 and again in 822 embassies from all vassal tribes (save the Bretons) and the rebel duke of Pannonia waited upon the Emperor. It had required

three armies to crush the duke, as Baldrich, commander in the Sorben war, had at last done (820).

Nevertheless, despite these military successes, the year 817 marks the beginning of the decline. Already Louis had shown himself to be a religious extremist and a stupidly puritanical reformer. No great harm was done by banishing from the palace the favorites who had scandalized his father's court in its last days, or exiling his half-sisters Theodorate and Hiltrude, whose morals were of doubtful character, to a convent. But when Louis forced Hugh, Drogo, and Theodoric, Charles's natural sons, into a monastery, together with his influential cousins, the brothers Adalhard and Wala, who were descended from Charles's uncle Bernard, the case was different. For the Emperor thus created a powerful party of opposition to him and divided the allegiance of the Carolingian house.

Weakness of the Emperor

Moreover, the new councilors introduced in their room, whatever the Emperor thought of them, were no better. Ebbo, who was made archbishop of Reims, antagonized the high-born clergy because he was of servile origin; Bernard, the treasurer, was an ambitious, intriguing Gascon; the chancellor, Hildwin, was an outrageous office-seeker and abbot of three monasteries. In his zeal for reform Louis went to the absurd extreme of destroying the collection of Teutonic sagas and legends his father had been at so much pains to compile, in the misguided belief that what was pagan in origin was essentially evil.

New councilors

This reformation in the precincts of the court was preliminary to a grand reorganization of the Church. In two councils held at Aachen in 816 and 817 and continued at Attigny in 822 a drastic reformation of the clergy, both regular and secular, was initiated. Well-intentioned as the regulations were — they reimposed discipline, required clerical education and instruction, appropriated church incomes to the cause of charity, forbade display on the part of bishops — yet the power of the crown was endangered by new alienations of property for the benefit of the Church and a series of unwise immunities, whereby bishops and abbots were made more independent of civil authority. The dependence of the government upon the Church and the consequent growing independence of the Church was to be the result. The list of *missi* in 825 shows that most of the *missatica* at that time coincided with the dioceses, and that most bishops had become *missi* in their own spheres of authority. The decay of the *missi dominici* is a striking evidence of the decline of crown power. Abuse of authority on their part is manifested from early in the reign. Therefore special tasks, such as formerly were given to ordinary *missi*, were assigned more and more to a lower class of *missi*, and in special circumstances extraordinary officials were sent out. It was necessary also, even though the circuits were smaller than formerly, to multiply the number of *missi*. Increase of their number seemed almost the only

Great reforms of 816-17

Decline of the Missi dominici

recourse of the emperor in order to arrest development into an independent territorial power; and in general it may be said that multiplication of their number, a longer term of office, and frequent renewal are the practice of the crown towards the *missi dominici* in the ninth century.

*Re-coronation
of 816: its
significance*

The popes had not been slow to see the advantage to them of the state of mind in which the Emperor was. In 816 Stephen IV, who had assumed the pontifical authority *before* being confirmed by the Emperor — a circumstance which the latter condoned — when in Gaul seized the occasion to recrown Louis and his wife; and thus the precedent for establishing the imperial coronation ceremony in the hands of the pope as a papal right was reinforced. Soon afterwards the hasty election of Stephen's successor, Pascal I, without reference to the imperial prerogative in Rome, intensified the independence of the papacy. The pope benefited with the lesser clergy in the emancipation of the bishops by the decrees of Aachen and Attigny. The tendency was for the bishops to gain political power, the pope so much so that before the century closed Nicholas I could presume to lord it over Europe, and the imperial crown had become undisputedly the gift of Rome.

*Precedent of
Charle-
magne's
tentative
partition
in 806*

An accident had intensified this unwise zeal for the Church on the part of the Emperor. During the celebration of the Easter festival at Aachen in 817 the falling of a gallery killed or injured twenty persons, the Emperor himself narrowly escaping. The mishap preyed upon his mind, made him morbid and foreboding, and undoubtedly quickened his resolve to partition the Empire and thus to set his house in order in event of death. The matter of partition was not a new one. In 806, in an act of which the text has been preserved, Charles the Great, who then anticipated his early decease, had divided his Empire among his three sons, Charles, Pepin, and Louis. This partition was not effectuated, however, because of the Emperor's recovery, and soon afterwards the two elder sons died. What was new under Louis the Pious was the fact that his sons not only insisted upon partition of political authority, which the Emperor was willing to establish through the device of vassal kings and kingdoms under and within the Empire, but also demanded division of the crown lands among them, a demand fatal to the preservation of the integrity of the house-power (*Hausmacht*) of the dynasty, and in the end fatal to the maintenance of the unity of the Empire.

*Partition of
817*

✓ By the constitution of 817 Pepin, the youngest son, was given the territory south of the Loire and west of the Rhone (save Septimania), including Aquitaine, Gascony, the Mark of Toulouse, and the four counties of Carcassonne, Autun, Avallon, and Nevers. Ludwig, the second son, received the country east of the Lech and south of the Danube, or Bavaria, with dominant rights over the Slavs and Avars of the border, and the three royal villas of the Nordgau, Lauterhofen, and Ingolstadt.

So far the position of Pepin and Ludwig did not differ from the position their father had had under Charles the Great. Bavaria and Aquitaine were distinctly vassal kingdoms, not cut off, but put under the direct rule of the Emperor's two sons in order to make place for them. The bulk of the Empire still remained in one compact mass under the joint sovereignty of Louis and his eldest son Lothaire. The arrangement which created a grievance was that the Emperor designated Lothaire as heir presumptive to the imperial dignity and endeavored delicately to balance the relations of the young Emperor with his brothers. Once a year a union of all three brothers was required, at which presents—not so much, we must think, as gifts, but as symbols of obligation and allegiance—were to be exchanged. Mutual military aid was enjoined; the vassal kings were not to make war or peace without consent of the Emperor and were to have no foreign negotiations; nor was it lawful for them to marry without consent of Lothaire. Each brother was to enjoy ownership of his private property wherever found, but no *fidelis* of one brother might possess estates in the dominion of another, and, to guard against friction, appropriation of benefices was to be made for life. Freemen without a lord might “commend” themselves to which one of the three was preferred. The right of coercion was reserved to any two against a third; but, as if in anticipation of the combination of the two younger against the eldest, greater means were in Lothaire's hands. The crown lands in each of these two vassal kingdoms were to pertain to the ruler. But the great block of the fisc in Austrasia was kept intact in the joint control of the Emperor and his eldest son as co-emperor with the father. Here was the ground of feud between the younger sons and the eldest brother and their father. A general scramble for possession of the crown lands soon began, a struggle that ultimately culminated in civil war in which all the Carolingian princes and their partisans, bishops, abbots, *fideles*, or nobles, participated.

*Antagonism
created by
Lothaire's
superior
position*

The Emperor had many kinsmen whom he had antagonized, as we have seen. The freest of these was the most dangerous, and at this moment that one was his nephew Bernard of Italy, a natural son of Pepin. Bernard's grievance was that he had not received even the dignity of mention in the document of 817 and, although vassal King of Italy under Lothaire and ostensibly on the same footing as Pepin and Ludwig, he was not admitted to the imperial college. “The ambitious bastard” really had been more liberally provided for than he had right to claim; but numbers of the Lombard bishops, especially Anselm of Milan and Wolrod of Cremona, perhaps irritated by the recent sumptuary laws, or avid for lands and other gifts which they looked for as the price of their support if successful, or reward for desertion of Bernard if he failed, urged him on to revolt. The movement failed, however, to have the support of the Pope

*Rebellion of
Bernard of
Italy*

and of powerful lords in Italy like those of Brescia, Friuli, and Beneventum. Bernard was soon deserted, and in despair threw himself upon his uncle's mercy. In the spring of 818 he was condemned to death, but the Emperor commuted the punishment to blinding — a Byzantine practice, suggested, it is said, by his wife, Ermingarde, a crafty, vindictive woman, who made her husband the creature of her will. Bernard died from the effects of the punishment, and Louis's morbid conscience tortured him with remorse — so much so that at Attigny four years later, instigated by the bishops, who profited by the preceeding, he made public and abject penance. "The Age of the Bishops" had come.

*Death of the
Empress*

*Judith the
Welf*

From 817 onward Louis's misfortunes multiplied, and his blunders assumed the proportions of state calamities. On October 3, 818 the Empress Ermingarde died. The morbid Emperor thought it a visitation of God for his cruelty to Bernard and wished to abdicate. Nevertheless, within a year his emotional disposition rebounded. He became enamored of Judith, the young, vivacious, ambitious, and beautiful daughter of the powerful Count Welf of Alemannia, and married her. Of this marriage was born in 823 a son known in history as Charles the Bald.

*Factions and
intrigue*

The old court party and the Carolingian princes were bitter against the new Empress because of her influence and her favorites. Among these was Bernard of Septimania, son of William of Toulouse, the hero of many conflicts against the Saracen. Backed by the favor of Judith he rose rapidly in preferment. Barcelona was given to him in 820, and finally he became imperial chamberlain. By 828 a league against the Emperor, Judith, and Bernard of Septimania was generally organized. The malcontents included Pepin of Aquitaine, who saw with apprehension the ascendancy of Bernard in the southern counties; Lothaire and Ludwig; Matfried, one of the foremost Frank generals, who had been deprived of the county of Orléans, Wala, abbot of Corvey and grandson of Charles Martel; Count Warin of Mâcon; Lambert of Nantes; some partisans of the ill-fated Bernard of Italy, who made his death the cause or the pretext of rebellion, besides disciplined clergy, counts, and other nobles who had lost their places in the administration; and, finally, sheer adventurers who hoped for profit in any change.

*Distinction be-
tween parti-
sans and
patriots*

Some historians have seen in Wala and his supporters only a clique of ambitious politicians for whom preservation of the "unity of the Empire" was merely a catchword to justify rebellion for the furthering of their own selfish interests. This charge is true of some among the opposition, but not of all. We must distinguish between the feudo-aristocratic party, composed of Matfried, Warin of Mâcon, Lambert of Nantes, and others, who were actuated by personal interest and material motives, and those sincere partisans of unity like Wala and his brother Adalhard, who were Carolingian princes, Hildwin, abbot of Saint-Denis, Helizachar,

another abbot, who in 827 had appeased serious difficulties in the Spanish Mark, and Agobard of Lyons, the able and honest Archbishop of Lyons. If the methods employed by these latter were not always wholly admirable and honorable, they were nevertheless honestly determined to maintain the integrity of the Frank Empire and to preserve the fisc from stupid dispersal by the weak Emperor or spoliation by ambitious and unscrupulous political climbers. How else are we to explain the complete abandonment of Louis the Pious in 830 and 833, or the conduct of Pope Gregory IV at the Field of Lies (833)?

In the general state of discontent only a convenient opportunity to raise the standard of rebellion was needed, and that Louis himself afforded in 829.

The birth of Charles the Bald was nothing less than a calamity to the Frank Empire. The half-brother was entitled to a portion of the Carolingian heritage equal to that of the others; but to provide for him entailed an alteration of the partition of 817—a diminution of the shares of the other brothers and a readjustment of all feudal relations. Nevertheless, in spite of the delicacy, not to say danger, of the task, at the Diet of Worms in 829 the Emperor separated Alemannia, Alsace, Rhætia, and the Jura territory from the portion under the joint rule of himself and Lothaire and gave it to Charles, upon whom he conferred the regal title. This action, “as inopportune as it was just,” precipitated a civil war (829-31), in which the Emperor’s three elder sons and their partisans rebelled against Louis the Pious, the Empress Judith, and her favorite, Bernard of Septimania. Bernard fled to Barcelona the minute the storm broke; but the conspirators seized the Empress and immured her in a convent at Poitiers, tonsured the Welf brothers, Conrad and Rudolph, and imprisoned them in monasteries in Aquitaine, restored Matfried of Orléans, and suspended the Emperor, pending the next diet. This explains the disgrace of Lothaire, whose name now ceases to figure in imperial diplomas, and the accession to power of the Empress’s protégé—and, some said, paramour—at the Diet of Worms in August 829. But the new chamberlain abused his power. Within a few months he was execrated even by his own supporters, while Wala, Adalnard, and Agobard of Lyons hated him for compromising the fame of the Empress, sullyng the Carolingian dynasty, debauching the imperial prerogative, and wasting the resources of the crown. The Emperor stubbornly refused to abdicate, and his passive heroism gradually won sympathy to him. At the Diet of Nimegen (830) the East Franks and Saxons and those of the clergy who yet were loyal to the cause of the Emperor, headed by Ludwig of Bavaria, who had more heart than the other sons, drove the opposition out, restored Louis to the throne, and forced Lothaire to swear allegiance. The Emperor made the error of being merciful—for with him mercy and

*Birth of
Charles the
Bald*

*Partition of
829*

New rebellion

*Suspension of
the Emperor*

*Restoration of
the Emperor
(830)*

indulgence went together. His rebel sons returned each to his own country, those who had been in rebellion were restored to their honors, and a general amnesty was decreed.

But peace was a matter of two years only. Ambitious nobles urged the brothers to new rebellion in the hope of deriving new or greater benefits from the change. Lothaire was angered at the reduction of the middle portion for Charles's advantage and schemed for a single rule, being backed by most of the clergy, including the Pope, whose policy of self-seeking aggrandizement year by year became clearer. Pepin was also ominous and now made common cause with Bernard of Septimania, whose influence as imperial camerarius was very great. Even Ludwig of Bavaria joined the coalition in order to compel his father to give him the territory west of the Lech.

*Rebellion of
832-3*

The second uprising was a real revolution, its object not being merely to drive out an unscrupulous minister. Pepin had incurred suspicion of treasonable design by ignoring the summons of the diets of Aachen and Ingelheim. When a third diet met at Christmas-time, again at Aachen, he appeared, but on the third day, in anticipation of condemnation, fled to Aquitaine. The Emperor at once removed the diet to Orléans, to be near the seat of danger, when word came of the sudden rising of Ludwig of Bavaria. The Emperor therefore returned to the Rhine and on April 19, 832 reached Mainz with the loyal Salian and Saxon troops. In May he reached the Lech, met his rebellious son at Augsburg, and blindly forgave him. The Emperor saw a way out of the difficulty by yielding to Ludwig the portion of Charles's kingdom which he coveted and indemnifying his youngest son by the gift of Aquitaine, which Pepin was declared to have forfeited. This solution, however, ignored the fact that both sons were guilty of rebellion and was unjust because it made Pepin suffer while Ludwig profited, although each was equally guilty. Moreover, the grant to Charles was a parchment gift, owing to the rebellious state of the south, and aggravated Lothaire, who so far had been standing aloof.

*Intervention
of Pope
Gregory IV*

The winter of 832-3 was spent in concerting a vast plan of action. Spring beheld three armies converging on the upper Rhine. The Emperor could not prevent their junction, and in the broad plain between Basel and Colmar the armies faced each other. Effusion of blood was avoided, but not with honor. All the prominent Frankish malcontents — Bernard, Wala, Matfried — were with the allied armies, but most prominent of all was Pope Gregory IV, who calculated that Lothaire's success would be of great advantage to the Holy See in the unholy competition for office. While the armies lay upon their arms day after day, the Pope and his emissaries tampered with Louis's troops. The Emperor's reluctance to give battle to his sons was worse than defeat. The name "Field of Lies (*Lügenfeld*)" commemorates the time when even the Salian Frank and

Saxon soldiers broke their oaths of allegiance and went over to the Emperor's enemies. We must not, however, blame the soldiery too severely for this defection. The tangle of lands and lordships resulting from the frequent changes, united with the confusion of authority at the center, perplexed many faithful nobles and freemen, who knew not to whom they owed allegiance. The Pope solved their doubts — to his own advantage — and sanctioned the treason.

*"Field of
Lies"*

When all was lost to the poor Emperor save honor, he threw himself on his sons' mercy (June 24, 833). In Compiègne the latter forced their father to abdicate, Lothaire taking the imperial crown wholly unto himself. The Empress Judith was sent to Tortona in Italy, Charles was imprisoned in the cloister of Prüm, and the Empire was divided anew. The partition of Verdun is prefigured in the result. Ludwig took all of Germany: Bavaria, Alemannia, Alsace, Franconia, Thuringia, and Saxony. Pepin retained Aquitaine, to which West Neustria (Anjou) and Burgundy between the head-waters of the Saône and the Loire were added. Lothaire retained Italy and the middle strip, with the imperial title. Louis obstinately refused to consent to his deposition, and Ebbo of Reims, who saw the elevation of the episcopate in the humiliation of the Emperor, sought to force him to do so. But even Louis's narrowly pious mind was proof against the siege made upon his will by the clergy. He refused to do penance, defied excommunication, was unshaken by either intimidation or wheedling. Finally Lothaire, in fear of another reaction in his father's favor, removed him to Aachen. This act was taken as an unwarranted assumption of authority by the younger brothers, who now feared Lothaire would profit by the reaction in Louis's favor.

*Abdication of
the Emperor
(833)*

*Partition of
833*

During the course of the winter there were murmurings of discontent not only in Franconia (German Austrasia), but deep in Germany. A plot was formed by Eggebard, Count of Lüttich, William, Constable of Burgundy, Hugh, Abbot of Saint-Quentin, Bernard, the former chamberlain, and Warin of Mâcon. In January 834 Ludwig and Pepin, each with an army, converged upon Aachen. Lothaire moved to Paris and took the precaution to remove all boats from both the Seine and the Loire, thereby arresting Pepin's advance. The approach of Ludwig, however, forced him to abandon his father in Saint-Denis and seek refuge in Burgundy. On March 1, 834 the Emperor was reconciled with his younger sons and reinstated on the throne. In the spring Judith joined her husband at Aachen, having been released from Tortona by a party of Italian loyalists headed by Rathold, Bishop of Verona, and Count Boniface of Tuscany, who resented the ascendancy of Lothaire's favorites, Wala, Lambert of Nantes, and Matfried of Orléans. There was fierce fighting between Lothaire's partisans and the others this season in Neustria and Burgundy, and Châlons was burned. The rapidity of Lothaire's movements saved

*Counter-
rebellion
(834)*

*Restoration
of the Em-
peror (834)*

him from capture, but the destruction of life and property made him bitterly hated. Not until August (834) were terms of peace made—largely through the instrumentality of the Church—by which Lothaire agreed to return to Italy, which he was yet suffered to retain as vassal king, but forbidden to go from without leave.

Reconstruction

Then ensued the hard and tedious task of rehabilitation, for the government, Church, and society had severely suffered by the civil war. On November 11, 834, at the Diet of Attigny, "Louis," says the chronicle, "sent out *missi* to the towns and monasteries and ordered the immediate restoration of all property that the Church had lost. He also enjoined that the *missi* should go through every county and suppress the immense number of outlaws and robbers who were in the land, and if further aid should be required by them, the *missi* were empowered to call upon the local counts and bishops." In February 835 the supplementary Diet of Diedenhofen sat to consider the question of the Church. As if to test the sincerity of his sons' professions the Emperor called upon Lothaire and Pepin to restore the property of the Church which they had seized.

Question of Church lands

In explanation of this seizure of church property it is needful to understand that the lands of many monasteries over which the emperor had the right of advowson or abbatial appointment and which were hence called "royal abbeys" were practically also regarded as crown lands. In less degree the property of the episcopate was involved; for while episcopal lands were not so formally fused with the fisc, church offices were supported by landed endowments and the emperor, not the bishop, had the disposal of these preferments. So, too, government offices were endowed with lands for their maintenance. Hence the imperial patronage, secular and ecclesiastical, was enormous. The princes fought for possession of this patronage as well as for portions of the crown lands proper, and their partisans supported them in hope of getting a share of the spoil. It was this insatiable land-hunger, office-seeking, and avidity of patronage that was at the root of all the partitions, and there were seven of them during the reign of Louis the Pious alone, without taking into account subsequent divisions—namely, in 829, 831, 833, 834, 836, 837, 839. "Every bishopric, abbey, county, office, and crown land at last became involved," records a chronicler.

Creation of a new kingdom for Charles the Bald (838)

The invasions of the Northmen in 838 probably suggested the idea to the Emperor of making a sort of mark-kingdom out of the endangered country and giving it to the still landless Charles. At any rate, in the same year in which the measures of precaution were taken against them, Louis declared a new division of the Empire. All the country from the edge of Saxony westward to the sea and the Saône and south to Burgundy, including "all bishoprics, abbeys, counties, and crown lands," was given to Charles. In the next year (839) the region between the Saône

and the Loire (Anjou, Maine, and the Mark of Brittany) was added, so that the whole north coast was comprehended in the new kingdom. Ludwig of Bavaria was not minded to regard the cession of the east bank of the lower Rhine with favor. His single revolt, however, was ruined, owing to the defection of the Saxons, and Ludwig fled into Bavaria again.

Nevertheless, the division of 838, like the rest, could not stand. The whole matter was reopened when Pepin died (December 13, 838). A seventh partition, therefore, was made at Worms in the next year. Louis's inclination set aside Ludwig the German because of his late rebellion, and Judith's influence persuaded him to disinherit the son of Pepin, of the same name. Lothaire and Charles were the favored sons. Ludwig was reduced to Bavaria; all the rest was divided between Lothaire, who was designated co-emperor, and Charles. The prevailingly economic nature of the strife by 839 was made clearly manifest. It was complained that Charles had been given "the best and most fertile share" in the division made in that year. For the first time also inventories of the revenues of the crown lands, of the bishoprics, of the abbeys, and of the counties were examined, but proved too meager or incomplete for satisfactory use.

*Partition of
839*

The result was what might have been expected: war in Aquitaine and war in Germany. In September 839 the Emperor entered the south country and penetrated as far as Touraine, when fever in the army and the devastated condition of the country forced him to go into winter quarters at Poitiers. While here, in February 840, word was brought him of Ludwig's rebellion. With sinking heart the old father, now sixty-four years of age, returned to Aachen. In the last week of March he crossed the Rhine, plunged into the Thuringian forest and hunted Ludwig beyond the limits of Germany among the Slavs. It was the worn Emperor's last campaign. The fatigue of two campaigns was too great. Louis the Pious died on an island in the Rhine between Mainz and Ingelheim on June 20, 840.

*Rebellion
(839)*

*Death of
Louis the
Pious (840)*

The death of Louis the Pious was the signal for the reassertion of all rival claims. The Empire was summoned to arms. Counter territorial claims and alienations of land, forfeitures and regrants of benefices, the personal animosity of the brothers, the avidity of the nobles, had woven such a tangled skein that only the sword could cut the Gordian knot. Lothaire at once sent messengers throughout the whole Frank land declaring that he would assume the Empire, which had been beforetime given him. This amounted to a reversion to the status of 817; but Ludwig and Charles demanded a different partition. Moreover, they resented the haughty overlordship of Lothaire, who offended Charles and the Frank clergy by restoring Ebbo of Reims. What I have elsewhere written may be quoted here: "Lothaire was determined to have and to hold the great

*Civil war
impends*

central block of Austrasian crown lands lying in the heart of the Empire between the Rhine and the Seine, between the Alps and Frisia. Ludwig was resolved to get the populous cities and rich wine-lands in the valley of the Rhine. Charles the Bald had his eyes fixed upon the thick cluster of crown lands lying between the Seine and the Meuse."

*Civil war
breaks out*

In the war that followed, Lothaire was supported by the Austrasian Franks, Italians, Provençals, and Aquitanians under Pepin II; Ludwig was backed by Bavarians and Thuringians; Charles by the Neustrians (or West Franks). This classification, however, must not be too rigidly insisted upon, for, in a sense, every noble supported that one of the brothers whose success he most believed in. At first there was no thought of union between the younger brothers. Charles was warring on the Breton border when he learned of Pepin II's rising. When he met Lothaire at Orléans, he did not yet know of Ludwig's revolt or of a compact between his eldest brother and his nephew. Lothaire, whose aim was to keep the brothers separated — fearing the German revolt would become formidable — attempted to secure the aid of Charles by betraying Pepin II and offered Aquitaine, Septimania, Provence, and ten cities between the Saône and the Loire to him; but when the latter was on the point of accepting the terms the news that Ludwig had crossed the Rhine emboldened him to refuse and play for higher stakes. War was therefore inevitable between the eldest brother and the two younger.

*Battle of
Fontenay
(841)*

In the plain of Fontenay near Auxerre the battle was fought (June 25, 841). Lothaire was defeated. It was a veritable battle of the nations: Neustrians, Austrasians, Bavarians, Swabians, Italians, Aquitanians, and Gascons were blended in one terrific slaughter, and so far had feudalism progressed that almost every warrior was mounted. The feudal nature of this engagement is pithily expressed by a contemporary. "In this battle," he says, "every man fought to increase his domains." "The noblest warriors of the land," wails the chronicler, "fell in this engagement, and the country was left without defense against the Northmen." In desperation Lothaire, who had fled to Aachen, turned to the Saxons, most of whom had been passive, and offered to restore to them their pagan liberties and pagan faith in reward for support, freed hundreds of serfs, and even contemplated an alliance with the Danes.

*Strassburg
Oath (842)*

Meanwhile, after Fontenay, Charles went in pursuit of the fugitive Pepin II, but soon returned to Paris in order to prevent Lothaire from making a junction either with Pepin II or with the Northman chief, Harold, who was encamped on the isle of Walcheren. The danger from Lothaire was great enough to require further concert between Ludwig and Charles. To that end they met in Strassburg, February 14, 842, in order to compact a closer alliance between themselves and their partisans. The event is recorded in that most interesting document, the Strassburg Oath

(842). The text of this oath is famous to philologists because it is bilingual, being in both German and French, or rather in that corrupt Latin vernacular speech of the Romance populations of Gaul which in two more centuries of evolution was to become the French language, vigorous and capable enough to become the bearer of the earliest vernacular literature of Europe, the *Chanson de Roland* and other heroic poetry of the high feudal age.

*Philological
importance*

Our interest in the Strassburg Oath, however, is more political and social than literary or linguistic. It is as a feudal document that we must analyze it. In the first place, since it is an oath to the kings as *seniors*, it is evident that the very conception of kingship had experienced a profound transformation since the death of Charles the Great in 814. The king has become an overlord, a feudal suzerain. The noble is no longer compelled to obey the king's command as a subject. He is a *fidelis* or vassal, to whom the king has delegated certain domains in proprietorship, for the possession of which he is required to perform military service, to give political support. But it is a mutual arrangement in the form of a contractual engagement, sanctioned for each party thereto by a solemn oath. Obedience is partly a matter of honor, partly a matter of compulsion. For the vassal who refused to fulfill his contract forfeited his land — provided the overlord was strong enough to eject him. Government has ceased to be the rule of one man, the sway of a single ruler universally recognized and universally obeyed. It has become converted into a sort of universal liability political association in which every proprietary noble is a stockholder. So far had the penetration of feudal forces and feudal ideas into government and law transformed the former polity of the Franks.

Feudal nature

Meanwhile, having learned of Lothaire's tampering with the Saxons, the brothers sent *missi* to them. Before they returned with the good news that the Saxons had refused the Emperor's overtures, Carloman, Ludwig's able son, arrived at Mainz "with a great host of Bavarians and Alemannians." It was agreed to drive Lothaire into a corner, and three armed divisions moved down the Rhine in March 842 with orders to converge at Coblenz — Charles well to the west, Ludwig directly down the Rhine, Carloman to the east between the Main and the Lahn. But Lothaire was not to be trapped. By a long detour he escaped and, flying by way of Châlons and Troyes, sought refuge in Provence, leaving the Archbishop Otgar, Count Hatto, and some others to attempt to negotiate peace on the banks of the Moselle. The intervention of the bishops was successful. It was agreed that a commission of thirty-six, chosen equally by the three brothers, should be appointed. This preliminary peace was immediately necessary, owing to the dangerous condition the realms were in. In Saxony there was a fierce uprising and pagan reaction of the servile class, which formed an insurrectionary association called "Stellinga."

*Preliminary
peace*

*Revolt in
Saxony
(842)*

Charles was again called into his own realm, for the Saracens had penetrated up the Rhone as far as Arles, and the Northmen had burned Quantovech on the Channel coast (spring 842).

*Statistical
survey of
crown lands*

During all the summer of 842 and through the hard winter of 842-3 the commission labored assiduously compiling a vast mass of statistics with reference to the property values involved — crown lands, abbey lands, endowments, county revenues — which were derived from the immense number of surveys, inventories, polyptychs, etc., available to them, but of which only mere fragments have survived for us to examine. The preliminary conferences were held in the Church of St. Castor in Coblenz; but the final draft of the treaty of partition was made and endorsed by

*Factors in the
Treaty of
Verdun
(843)*

the three brothers at Verdun on August 10, 843. This was the famous Treaty of Verdun. In this division first the crown lands were distributed, then the "royal" abbeys and their lands, then the landed endowments of church and secular offices, and finally the counties of the Empire. In every case the allotment was primarily made upon the basis of the wealth of the property concerned. Extent and fertility of soil (the vineyard lands were especially prized), natural resources, like mines, density of population (the populous Rhine towns were a bone of contention), "availability" as to river routes, roads, and markets, were all considered. Finally, when as equal a distribution had been made as was possible of all the organized and catalogued resources of the Frankish Empire, the lines were drawn which distinguished the three "kingdoms" thus created in so business-like a manner. No consideration was given in the partition to difference of race, language, or customs or to physical geography — even the Alps did not separate Lothaire's kingdom, which was composed of the "midlands" of Europe and Italy, including the two imperial capitals, Aachen and Rome. The idea that the Treaty of Verdun was a national partition of Europe is fantastic. No national sentiment existed in Europe in the ninth century or for many centuries to come. What triumphed at Verdun in 843 was feudalism. The kingdoms had neither national character nor a national name. "Germany" was the kingdom of the East Franks (though it included also other Germanic tribes besides the Franks, as the Swabians, Bavarians, Thuringians, and Saxons); "France" was the kingdom of the West Franks, though it, too, included many populations of other blood and tradition, as the Romanized or "Romance" stocks in the south, besides Gascons and Bretons. Not even the name Francia yet existed. Italy legally was the kingdom of the Lombards, although the Roman stock of central Italy was included within the realm. Nor was the partition of Verdun, to which so much historical importance is attached, final.

*Partition of
855*

Between 843 and 870 three additional partitions brought the lines of division into clearer definition. In 855 Lothaire the Emperor, dying, tri-

sected the middle kingdom into three lesser kingdoms. His eldest son, Louis II, received Italy and the imperial crown; Lothaire II, the second son, was given the Rhine lands from the Alps to Frisia — a country forever afterwards associated with his name as the *Lotharii regnum* = Lotharingia = Lorraine. The Rhone provinces, comprising old Burgundy (Provence), fell to Charles, the youngest son. The late Emperor had left his sons an example of discord, and discontented vassals in each kingdom were not slow to seek for change. Nor were the uncles in East and West without avarice. While Lothaire II and Ludwig II conspired to deprive

*Origin of
Lorraine*



their youngest brother of his part, the uncles Ludwig of Germany and Charles the Bald planned a similar project with reference to Lorraine. The first result was that the kingdom of Provence was spared annihilation, and the sacrifice of Alsace to the German King temporarily checked the conspiracy of the uncles. Eight years later, however, in 870, when Lothaire II died leaving only an illegitimate son, Charles the Bald and Ludwig the German stepped in and divided the kingdom of Lorraine between them, though the act in law was sheer spoliation; for the territory legally should have passed to the dead King's brother, the Emperor Louis II of Italy.

The Treaty of Meerssen, which destroyed Lorraine as a kingdom, made the frontiers of Germany and France contiguous in central Europe, and created a German Lorraine and a French Lorraine side by side, but under different sovereignties, is a striking proof of the triumph of feudalism in

*Partition of
Meerssen
(870)*

the ninth century. We know from what was done at Meerssen — and all the documents in the matter have been preserved — exactly how the partition of 843 must have been made, although the documents pertaining to the Treaty of Verdun are lost. The partition at Meerssen, it has been well said, “was settled with cautious minuteness and the schedule enumerates all the parcels, as a conveyancer would say.” Ludwig the German got two archbishoprics, four bishoprics, forty-three monasteries, thirty-one counties, four half-counties, and two “districts” or fragments of counties. Charles the Bald got three archbishoprics, six bishoprics, thirty-three monasteries, thirty counties, and four half-counties. No mention was specifically made of the crown lands in the parcellation, but these were “thrown in” with the other allotments.

Italy

We must now follow the course of events in Italy in the ninth century. Carolingian Italy comprised central Italy (the States of the Church) and the old Lombard kingdom. The south of the peninsula was divided between the half-independent Lombard dukedoms of Beneventum and Spoleto and the provinces of Apulia and Calabria (the “heel” and “toe” of the boot), which pertained to the Eastern Roman Empire. Here Gaeta, Amalfi, and Naples, under the protectorate of Byzantium, actually formed tiny city-republics of merchants and traders dealing in importations from the Orient.

*Saracen
inroads*

The most important general event in Italian history in this time was the inroads of the Saracens from the African mainland. Their fleets scoured the sea and scourged the coast of Italy as the Vandals had done in the fifth century. In 831 the Arabs captured Messina, then Palermo; but Syracuse was not taken until 878. At the same time they threatened Rome. The popes in this age, however, were warriors as well as politicians. In 849 Leo IV, with the help of the maritime republics, won a notable naval victory over the Mohammedans off Ostia. This Pope also built Porto, over against Ostia, to guard the mouth of the Tiber, which had changed its place of debouchment, and created the so-called “Leonine City” by surrounding the Vatican, St. Peter’s, and the Castle of St. Angelo with a wall, much of which is still preserved.

In northern Italy when Charles the Great’s son Pepin, for whom the realm of Italy was made a vassal kingdom of the Frankish Empire, died in 810, his natural son Bernard succeeded him. But in the partition of 817 Italy was attributed to Lothaire, the eldest son of Louis the Pious, a circumstance that led to Bernard’s rebellion and death. Lothaire was not a notable ruler; he was much more interested in policies and movements north of the Alps, as we have seen, than in Italy, and politically the kingdom of Italy drifted. When he died in 855 the kingdom, with the imperial title, fell to his eldest son, Louis II (855–75). His reign was spent in struggle with the feudal and factious Italian nobles, with the Pope,

whose territorial and political designs menaced imperial sway in the peninsula, with the Saracens, and to some extent with the Greeks. The support of the archbishops of Milan and Ravenna, always hostile to the papal claims to ecclesiastical supremacy, helped Louis II in some degree to check the growth of the pope's power. The Saracens were the most formidable enemy, for the southern dukes often played them off against both the Eastern and the Western emperor. Tarentum and Bari were captured by the Arabs, and although Louis II recovered the former in 871 and won a victory at Capua, he was later badly beaten and himself made a prisoner for a while before Tarentum.

*Emperor
Louis II
(855-75)*

The death of the Emperor, in 875, was the signal for new turmoil in Italy. A faction of the Roman nobles offered the crown of Italy to Ludwig of Germany. Pope John VIII countered by offering the imperial crown to Charles the Bald. The result was that the latter reached Pavia at the same time that Charles of Swabia, the German king's third son, arrived in Milan, where he was soon reinforced by Carloman of Bavaria. What inducements led the nephews to avoid a battle is conjectural. The *Annals of Saint Bertin*, which are West Frankish in sympathy, proudly declare that it was through fear. On the other hand, the German *Annals of Fulda* assert that Charles bribed Carloman to retire and promised the other brother that he would not assume the Italian crown, but would leave Italy as soon as he had received imperial coronation from the Pope. However it may be, Charles the Bald, like his grandfather, was crowned Roman emperor on Christmas Day, in 875; but, unlike the great Charles, he forthwith returned hastily to his own country. It lends color to the statement of the Fulda chronicler that Charles actually did disclaim the crown of Lombardy, for in the next year (876) he came back to Pavia and was crowned king of Italy, but again he speedily went back, leaving Boso of Provence with the title of duke as his regent in Italy. In 875 Ludwig the German died.

*Turmoil and
invasion in
Italy*

*Charles the
Bald seeks the
imperial
crown
(875)*

This turns our eyes to Germany. Though guilty of unfilial conduct and devoid of honor in dealing with his own brothers, Ludwig the German was yet superior to all his relatives. In Germany his rule was well considered. He succeeded in re-establishing cordial relations between the clerical aristocracy and the nobles, and, unlike Charles the Bald, was not servile towards the Church. He was fortunate in that his realm was more homogeneous than either Gaul or Italy, in spite of strong national divergences, as between Saxons, East Franks (or Franconians, as they were now called), Bavarians, and Swabians. Externally, Ludwig warred successfully in the east against Bohemians, Sorben, Bulgarians, Moraven, and Abodrites. His most redoubtable foe was the Moraven King Rastislav, who in 870 was blinded, after the Byzantine fashion of punishment. In spite of rebellion on the part of his sons — Carloman in 861, Ludwig in

*Germany
under the
later Caro-
lingians*

866, Charles and Ludwig in 871 and 873 — Ludwig the German kept his kingdom intact until his death. Just before he died, Ludwig divided his dominions among his sons. Carloman (875-82), the eldest, was given Bavaria and the Slav dependencies; Ludwig (875-84), later the hero of Andernach and Saucourt, received Franconia, Thuringia, and Saxony; Charles of Swabia, better known in history as Charles the Fat, was given Bavaria and Rhætia.

*Battle of
Andernach
(876)*

*Charles the
Bald's second
Italian cam-
paign
(877)*

The acquisition of the imperial title and the death of his brother stimulated the ambition of Charles the Bald. He aimed to bring his nephews under his tutelage and to extend the West Frank realm to the Rhine. To that end he shamelessly gave out that the Compact of Meersen was no longer binding and seized German Lorraine. But his nephew Ludwig of Saxony defeated him at the decisive battle of Andernach (October 8, 876), and the arrangement of 870 was re-established. Italy again soon beckoned Charles the Bald. The Pope was sorely tried by the Saracens, who infested the territory in the vicinity of Rome itself, and could get no aid from the nobility, who were too absorbed in the struggle with one another. The urgency of John VIII's epistle calls to mind the strenuous appeal of Stephen III in the eighth century for aid against the Lombards. The Pope declared that revelation had been made to him that Charles had been predestined emperor from the foundation of the world. Charles crossed the Alps for the second time in midsummer 877, leaving his kingdom seething with feudal dissensions and vexed by Northman invaders. But he did not this time reach Rome, and the imperial ambition of Richilde, his wife, had to be satisfied with a coronation at the hands of the Pope in Tortona, for at Pavia word was brought to the Emperor that Carloman, with an army of Germans and Slavs, was on his way into Italy. The news threw Charles into consternation, and he fled back to Provence in the hope of securing aid.

But a conspiracy which had long been smoldering in the kingdom broke into flame during Charles's absence. Boso, the powerful Count of Arles, Hugh, of the house of Welf, lord of extensive estates in Burgundy, lay abbot of numerous monasteries, margrave of Anjou and count of Paris, Bernard, count of Auvergne, and Bernard of Septimania, together with many magnates and bishops, were in the coalition. It was the last news of disaster that Charles the Bald lived to hear. He died on October 5-6, 877 of fever, perhaps contracted in Italy, though it was whispered that the powder in the medicine given him by his Jewish physician was poison. His death allowed Carloman to be elected king of Italy without opposition, but he did not secure the imperial crown, for disease seized on his limbs too. He returned to Germany a hopeless paralytic, and Italy for a time was without even a pretender.

To make matters worse, the raids of the Saracens now became more

formidable than ever. The death of Louis II had removed almost the last obstacle in their path. In this dire strait Pope John VIII rose up as a man of war. In 877 with some ships of his own building, supplemented by Amalfitan and Salernitan vessels, he destroyed the Mohammedan fleet in a battle off the coast of Sicily and liberated over six hundred Christian captives. But it was an empty victory. The feudatories in northern Italy stood aloof, for they were more interested in screwing favors out of the various pretenders to the Lombard crown, while in the south Sergius, Duke of Naples, became an ally of the Saracens out of hostility towards Amalfi and Salerno. The upshot was that the Pope was compelled to pay tribute to the Saracens in order to purchase the immunity of the Papal States from depredation. Accordingly the Mohammedans built a formidable fortified camp in lower Italy on the Garigliano River, from which they levied tribute on land and sea for many leagues round about.

*Pope John
VIII defeats
Saracens at
sea (877)*

*Mohamme-
dan occupa-
tion in
southern
Italy*

The spectacle which the once powerful Carolingian Empire presented at the end of the ninth century is pitiable. Every frontier was beset: on the north the Northmen, on the east Moraven and Hungarians, on the south the Saracens. Within was political disintegration. The spirit of ruin seems to have laid its hand on the dynasty itself. In 884 the sole living Carolingian prince of legitimate birth was Charles the Simple—the posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer (877-9), who had succeeded his father—Charles the Bald—and Charles the Fat of Germany. The last-named was King of the three realms and Emperor, for on the death of Louis the Stammerer's little sons—~~Louis II~~ Charles (879-82) and Carloman (879-84)—Charles III (the Fat) succeeded, to the disadvantage of the five-year-old Charles the Simple, partly because he was a mere boy and because the land had need of a king able to make war; partly because his legitimacy was questioned, rather, however, as a pretext for feudal independence than because of serious conviction on the part of the Frankish nobility.

*Theoretical
union of
Frank
Empire*

*Charles the
Fat, Emperor
(884-87)*

The new Emperor was the caricature of a king. Thick-bodied and thick-witted, he wandered from point to point in Germany seeking how he might live with dignity on his scattered and impoverished estates, or made bootless excursions into Italy, where the Pope was the only person who found him of use to foil the pretensions of local upstarts. (Five times Charles the Fat went to Italy in his short reign, though the people mocked him, and Pavia drove him out of her gates with bloodshed.) Whether he was in Germany or out of it was of slight moment.

Meanwhile the burden of war against the Northmen fell in Frisia and the lower Rhinelands upon the brave bishops of Mainz, Cologne, Metz, Trier, and Würzburg and the local counts. The Emperor's only policy was the vicious expedient of imposing a danegeld.

Northmen

{ Conditions in East Germany, owing to the Moraven, were as serious

*Danger from
the Moraven*

as on the lower Rhine; for, established in the region beyond the East Mark, between the Drave and the Save rivers and the great bend of the Danube, the fierce Moraven dukes, Svatopluk and Rastislav, wasted the Pannonian country. Charles indifferently journeyed for the fourth time to Italy, leaving Arnulf, Duke of Carinthia, the natural son of Carloman of Bavaria, to do as best he could against them. The death of Carloman of France (December 12, 884) recalled the Emperor. The assumption of the West Frank crown is all that the year 885 records of Charles the Fat's achievements. Again for the fifth time he went to Italy, in the stupid belief that his imperial presence was necessary in Rome to supervise papal politics. The siege of Paris by the Northmen recalled him, but it was only to conclude a glorious resistance by a shameless peace.

*Deposition of
Charles the
Fat (887)*

This was almost Charles's last official act. In Germany a movement, in which the Archbishop of Mainz was a leader, had developed which aimed to depose the Emperor. At the Diet of Tribur, near Mainz, he was deposed in November 887, and died upon his Swabian estates in January of the next year of the disease from which he had been suffering for months; and Arnulf, his nephew, reigned in his stead.

*Mushroom
kingdoms*

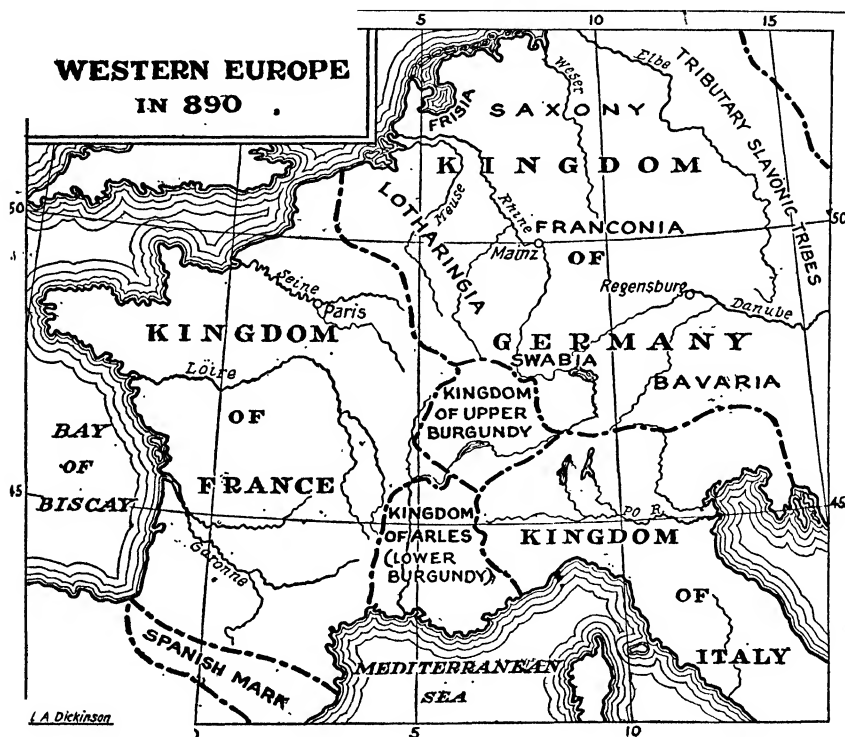
The deposition and death of Charles the Fat marks almost the extreme point of dissolution of the Carolingian Empire. The great planet was shattered into fragments, and each part flew off on an orbit of its own. In Italy Beranger, Margrave of Friuli, and Guido, Duke of Spoleto, wrangled for an imperial coronet that was without power and without dignity. In Gaul Odo, Count of Paris, became king, but was little more than a partisan chieftain, whose authority amounted to no more than an ascription south of the Loire. But in addition to these more ancient parts of the Empire, which thus acquired independence, three new feudal states — mushroom kingdoms — developed out of the disintegration: Lower Burgundy, Upper Burgundy, and Navarre.

*Lower Bur-
gundy (887)*

The earliest and most prominent of these usurped principalities to be formed was the kingdom of Lower Burgundy, or Provence, founded in 879 by Boso, Charles the Bald's former lieutenant in Italy. Son-in-law of the former Emperor Louis II, father-in-law of Carloman of France, regent of Italy, Boso was lord of all the counties comprised in the ephemeral kingdom of Charles, the youngest son of Lothaire I — namely, the counties of Autun, Vienne, and Savoy and the bishoprics of Lyons, Arles, Avignon, Valence, Toulouse, Marseilles, Besançon, Grenoble, and Lausanne. The land, even before the break-up of the Empire, was practically a kingdom. This assumption of regality was an act of defiance by Boso, though he pretended to give the usurpation the mask of legitimacy by asserting title through his wife, and Charles the Fat was obliged to recognize the usurper's son, Louis the Blind, thus theoretically saving the unity of the Empire at the price of its power.

Boso is the first example of those "stem" kings who sprang upon thrones when the Empire dissolved in 887; for the significance of his act did not escape the eyes of other ambitious and unscrupulous lords, who asserted their right to be kings through distant relationship to the Carolingian dynasty. In 888 Rudolph, count of both slopes of the Jura, in imitation of his neighbor to the south, and on the strength of descent from a daughter of Louis the Pious, erected his smaller territory into the kingdom of Upper Burgundy. Other parts of the disintegrated Frank Empire — for example, Gascony and the Spanish Mark — followed and

*Transjurane
or Upper
Burgundy
(888)*



became independent feudal principalities, even though not claiming to be "kingdoms." In the Spanish Mark the signs of secession were manifested as far back as 836, when the annalists mention the presence of dukes and counts who were *de facto* independent. The first "kingdom" to declare itself south of the Pyrenees was Navarre, in 905. "Once we had a king," wails the poet Florus; "now we have kinglets. Once we had an empire; now we have fragments of kingdoms."

*Navarre
(905)*

Now that we have reached the term of this long and agonizing process of decline of the Carolingian Empire, how are we to evaluate and interpret that process? It was the growth and extension of feudalism,

*Progress of
feudalism*

first as a *de facto*, then as a recognized form of government, that ruined the empire of Charlemagne. Year after year with increasing boldness the *fideles* set the will of the kings at naught, and in order to prevent their deserting, or to obtain their support, the kings were continually compelled to grant new benefices out of the crown lands, to alienate abbeys, to appropriate church property to private use, to suffer the usurpation of political authority by the great nobles, lay and clerical, to grant what they could not withhold in lands and offices — in short, to strip themselves of the substance of power, surrendering the kernel to the baronage and retaining only the shell of royal authority — the ascription of regality — for themselves.

As the crown was victimized and exploited, so also were the people of Europe, the lesser proprietary class, the small freemen and the serfs, by this ambitious and unscrupulous baronage.

The main reason for converting alods into benefices was not so much to increase resources as to acquire *fideles* (clients). At first, in order to arrest the tendency which reduced freemen to an unfree condition, the law provided that no one without express permission from the king could seek protection by “commendation”; but such a tendency as this was naturally beyond the power of the king or the law to arrest, and eventually the principle of lordship prevailed.

Clientage or “recommendation” was extended with enormous rapidity during the violence of the ninth century, and the Edict of Meerssen in 870 made the relation a compulsory one. The small noble, unwilling to “recommend” himself to another and become his “vassal,” led an almost unendurable life. Stronger proprietors around him despoiled him of his lands, the counts blackmailed him by imposing crushing taxes upon him, by hailing him into court for trumped-up offenses and heavily fining him, by exacting prolonged military service of him when others were permitted to go scot-free. As for small freemen, few were able to survive the stress of the times and to retain their alodial status; they sank to serfdom, while the condition of the servile class inclined downwards even further than before.

An appalling list of crimes and misdemeanors, usurpation, devastation, plunder of church property, is enumerated in the futile capitularies of the epoch. In 864 by the famous Edict of Pîtres all who without the consent of the king had established castles or other fortresses, since they were frequently misused for the purpose of robbery instead of protection, were ordered to destroy them, and the counts who did not attend to the execution of this command were threatened with removal; but the law was a dead letter from the first. In order to put an end to the evils arising from fugitives from justice, the counts and bishops were enjoined to return them. As to military service, the counts were to declare how many

*Edict of
Meerssen
(870)*

*Edict of
Pîtres
(864)*

freemen were capable of military service and how many could labor for the building of bridges, roads, and fortifications or were fit for garrison and picket duty only. The penalties for shirking military duty were renewed and whoever stole a horse or armor was threatened with severe punishment. This regulation indicates that military service by that time was on horseback, while those who were not mounted were assigned only to local defense of the land and castle guard. The age of castles and mounted knights — and robber barons — was come.

The ninth century was a period of unprecedented transition. The administrative institutions, the law, the economic condition, the social texture of Carolingian Europe, were rapidly changed. Europe experienced as profound alteration in the ninth century, though different and far more rapid, as it had experienced in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. In each instance a great empire went to pieces. In each instance, too, the central authority was destroyed by the local usurpation of political authority, and the government usurped by a powerful landed aristocracy. In the Roman Empire, however, that particularism was arrested by two political forces, the German kingships — and, most of all, the Frankish kingship — and the Church, which neutralized the centrifugalism and gave a new coherence to Europe. But when the Frank Empire of Charlemagne went to pieces, Europe lost its political unity forever. A new Europe came into being, feudal in genius and character, feudal in government and institutions, feudal in social structure, feudal in its economy — a Europe in which for a long time kings reigned, but did not govern, a Europe in which political power was in the hands of great lay nobles and the bishops.

*Usurpation by
local mag-
nates*

The best example of a typical ninth-century prelate, at once bishop and politician, is Hincmar, the Archbishop of Reims in the reign of Charles the Bald, whose prime minister, so to speak, he was. He undertook to direct both Church and government, sometimes despotically. In 858 he led the resistance of the clergy against the attempt of Ludwig the German to unite with Charles's disaffected nobles and despoil the West Frank kingdom. He summoned church councils, disciplined clergy, lectured the King about the business of government, and indefatigably labored for increase of church endowments, sometimes not scrupling to fabricate documents to sustain his contentions. He believed in subordination of kingship to ecclesiastical authority, and his noble birth and proprietary interests made him sympathize with, though he did not always endorse, the conduct of the landed aristocracy. He composed for the King a sort of manual of government, heavily larded with biblical quotations, entitled *De regis persona et regio ministerio*, which shows that his idea of government was one in which the king could do nothing without the consent of the bishops and the nobles.

*Political
bishops*

*Formative
elements in
feudalism*

Yet it would be an error to think that this process was one wholly of decay and degradation. The dissolution of the Frankish monarchy was inevitable, for in the ninth century it had ceased to harmonize with the institutions of the age or to reflect the spirit of the times. It was doomed to pass away in order that new institutions, new ideas, a new and strong society might have room for expression and expansion. Human society is ever organic, and underneath the over-current of violence and strife was running an under-current of constructive, not destructive, forces, which ultimately came to the surface and triumphed. In a word, the break-up of the Frankish Empire and of old Frankish society by the operation of feudalism was a phenomenon of social progress, not one of social decay.

*Castle-
building*

In this time of universal collapse of government, when Europe was torn within by feudal strife and beset from without by fierce invaders like the Norsemen and the Magyars, when strong men battled to protect their ancestral lands or fought to enlarge them by seizing their neighbors' property, when the weak were oppressed by the strong, the crying need of society was protection. The kings could not give it. Only the strong could protect the weak, and the strong men of that age were barons and bishops. Hence, however abusive, however cruel, however exploitive these might be, nevertheless everywhere society clustered around the barons for protection. The feudal system was the only system practicable in the anarchy — it was anarchy's way out of anarchy. Thus all over Europe the feudal castle became the central point of administrative, economic, and social activity; for the castle was the one effective means of protection. The French historian Taine has graphically described this process and shown how necessary this new regime was in the ninth century, and how out of the chaos the birth of a more orderly and ordered society was possible.

"In this epoch of perpetual warfare only one regimen is suitable, that of a body of men confronting the enemy, and such is the feudal system; we can judge by this trait alone of the perils which it wards off and of the service which it enjoins. 'In those days,' says the Spanish general-chronicle, 'kings, counts, nobles, and knights, in order to be ready at all hours, kept their horses in the rooms in which they slept with their wives.' The viscount in his tower defending the entrance to a valley or the passage of a ford, the count of the border thrown as a forlorn hope on the burning frontier, sleeps with his hand on his weapon. . . . His dwelling is simply a camp and a refuge; straw and heaps of leaves overspread the floor of the great hall; here he rests with his armed horsemen, taking off a spur if he has a chance to sleep; the loopholes in the wall scarcely allow daylight to enter; the main thing is not to be shot with arrows. . . .

"Thanks to these braves, the peasant . . . enjoys protection. He is no longer to be slaughtered, no longer to be led captive with his family, in herds,

with his neck in a pitchfork. He ventures to plough and to sow, and to rely upon his crops; in case of danger he knows that he can find an asylum for himself, and for his grain and cattle, in the circle of palisades at the base of the fortress. By degrees necessity establishes a tacit contract between the military chieftain of the donjon and the early settlers of the open country, and this becomes a recognized custom. They work for him, cultivate his ground, do his carting, pay him quittances, so much for house, so much per head for cattle, so much to inherit or to sell; he is compelled to support his troop. But when these rights are discharged he errs if, through pride or greediness, he takes more than his due. As to the vagabonds, the wretched, who, in the universal disorder and devastation, seek refuge under his guardianship, their condition is harder; the soil belongs to him, because without him it would be uninhabitable; if he assigns them a plot of ground, if he permits them merely to encamp on it; if he sets them to work or furnishes them with seeds, it is on conditions which he prescribes. They are to become his serfs. . . . When we clearly represent to ourselves the condition of humanity in those days, we can comprehend how men readily accepted the most obnoxious of feudal rights. . . .

"People accordingly lived, or rather began to live, under the rude, iron-gloved hand which used them roughly but which afforded them protection. The seignior, sovereign and proprietor, maintains for himself under this double title, the moors, the river, the forest, all the game; it is no great evil, since the country is nearly a desert, and he devotes his leisure to exterminating large wild beasts. He alone possessing the resources, is the only one that is able to construct the mill, the oven, and the wine-press; to establish the ferry . . . or purchase a bull; and to indemnify himself he taxes for these or forces their use. If he is intelligent and a good manager of men, if he seeks to derive the greatest profit from his ground, he gradually relaxes, or allows to become relaxed, the meshes of the net in which his villeins and serfs work unprofitably because they are too tightly drawn. Habit, necessity, a voluntary or forced conformity, have their effect; seigniors, villeins, serfs . . . in the end adapted to their condition, bound together by a common interest, form together a society, a veritable corporation. The seignior, the county, the duchy becomes a patrimony which is loved through a blind instinct, and to which all are devoted. It is confounded with the seignior and his family; in this relation people are proud of him; they narrate his feats of arms; they cheer him as his cavalcade passes along the road; they rejoice in his magnificence through sympathy. If he becomes a widower and has no children, they send deputations to him to entreat him to remarry in order that at his death the country may not fall into a war of succession or be given up to the encroachments of neighbors."¹

The rise of the first Duke of "France" and Count of Paris (861), of the first Count of Anjou (870), the first Count of Poitou (867), the first Count of Flanders (862), of the first Duke of Burgundy (877), of the first Count of Auvergne (886), the first Count of Gascony (872), are examples of these "self-made" men of the inchoate feudal age. The

*Formation of
France*

¹ TAINE, *The Ancient Régime*, trans. J. Durand, pp. 7-9.

*Provincial
dynasts*

founder of the house of France and remote ancestor of the Capetian kings of France was a hardy borderer named Robert the Strong, whose lineage is uncertain, who was living in Neustria, that portion of Frank Gaul west of the Seine, extending westward to the wavering frontier of Brittany, whose "mark" was continually raided by the Bretons, and edged by the Channel coast, which in 861, when Robert was appointed warden of Neustria, was being badly beset by the Norsemen. The earliest Count of Anjou was a brave hunter named Torquatus, who dwelt in the forest tract wedged in between the lower Loire and the angle of Brittany. Here too the region was harried by Bretons and Norsemen. Richard the "justiciar," first recorded Duke of Burgundy, was the small Count of Autun, and brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, who compacted a swarm of the adjacent fiefs into the duchy of Burgundy and made a name for himself as a strong man who dealt out rough and ready justice. Baldwin Iron-Arm, first Count of Flanders, in the middle of the ninth century also became a "mark" by reason of its exposure to the invasions of the Norsemen, was a man of obscure lineage, but great prowess, who acquired popularity and power in Flanders by protecting the lower classes against the feudal exploitation of the great abbots, as well as against the Norsemen when their raids imperiled the land. Outlawed through clerical influence, he lived to marry Charles the Bald's daughter Judith and to found the house of the counts of Flanders.

*Heterogeneous
elements
in Italy and
France*

*Greater
homogeneity
in Germany*

In the kingdom of France, Toulouse, Gascony, Poitou, Burgundy, Flanders, Anjou, and many more regions represented peoples of Romance, Basque, and non-Frankish stock but ill-assimilated by the conquering Franks. The same is true in Italy, where Lombard stock was dominant in the Po valley and around Benevento and Spoleto in the south; Etruscan stock in T(r)uscany, Roman in central Italy, etc. Even in Germany, where, as has been said, there was greater homogeneity, nevertheless there was strong particularism. For here the tribal duchies, represented by their "stem" dukes, were the real rallying-points, the real social units, the real foci of government. The German nation did not exist. Instead the people thought of themselves as Saxons, Bavarians, Swabians, Thuringians, Franks (that is, that portion of the Franks left in the Rhineland by the partition of 843).

The sum of this whole matter has been admirably formulated by a modern historian:

"I need only refer to the process; how the Kings' control over their realms became in great part restricted to their influence over their own personal sworn followers, their *fideles*; how the latter included their very greatest subjects, but few beside; how the grant of royal lands for the support of the *fideles* made them the rulers of their districts, in influence as well as in office; how that influence was secured when these 'benefices,' lands as well as offices, became

hereditary; how the independent landholders became in increasing numbers vassals of the local great man, and 'alods' became rare outside a privileged circle; how the fighting force of the kingdom thus came more and more to be at the disposal, not of the King, but of his *fideles*; how church dignitaries practically held the same position as lay landholders; how it became more and more hard to distinguish the free peasant from the serf; how Northman, Hungarian and Saracen slaughtered, sacked and disintegrated. . . . By the year 900 the anarchy seems almost complete. . . . The mail-clad knight in his stronghold or castle was a member of some feudal complex, with the mutual rights derived from homage and vassalage. Under its protection he carried on his private wars and tyrannized where he could; and the wretched population, in their forest-circled villages, were too cowed by the long agony they had passed through, to grudge any rights, sometimes even the most iniquitous, to their fierce protectors." ¹

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¹ C. W. PREVITÉ ORTON, *The Early History of the House of Savoy (1000-1233)*, pp. 3-4.

THE EXPANSION AND CONQUESTS OF THE NORSE PEOPLES

By the eighth century western Europe had measurably recovered from the degradation and barbarism entailed by the decay of Roman civilization and the German invasions. Roman, ecclesiastical, and Germanic institutions had by 800 become more or less fused together and formed a new society, a new civilization, a new polity.

*A new barbarian
invasion*

But in the ninth century this new Europe was beset by another barbarian invasion of formidable force and dimension. The enemy was the Norsemen or Northmen from the Danish and Scandinavian peninsulas, regions of Europe hitherto only vaguely known, which now rose above the horizon of history. The whole northern sky of Europe was lighted with their deeds.

The Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, were all known as "Norsemen" in the Middle Ages, and dwelt where their descendants do to this day. Racially they all pertained to the ancient Teutonic stock, but historically they must be sharply distinguished from the earlier Germans. Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula were barely known to Europe before the ninth century, and then only vaguely from the word of a few adventurous traders who penetrated thither, or from an occasional piratical foray made by the Norse upon the Frisian or English coast, or by the Swedes across the Baltic.

*Norse
foreworld*

In the eighth and ninth centuries the Nordic peoples in their political and social institutions, though not in their culture, were in the condition of the Germans in the time of Tacitus. They were barbarians and heathens. The Norse were pure barbarians, with the primitive Teutonic form of government, structure of society, institutions, and religion. Unlike the former Germans, who had been for centuries in contact with Roman civilization and Christianity before they entered the Roman Empire, the Norse had dwelt for an unknown length of time in complete isolation. They discovered Europe, not Europe them. Neither the Roman nor the Frank empires had ever tried to extend their domination over these northern lands.

*Primitive
manner
of life*

From time immemorial the Norse peoples had been maritime peoples. The dense forests of beech and oak that covered the Danish peninsula, the wide morasses, the shallow, stony soil, and the steep ranges of mountains in Norway, the maze of lakes and swamps and boulder-strown uplands in Scania (Sweden), remains of the great ice age, made these lands inhospitable.

pitiable except along the coast. The Norse peoples dwelt in hamlets in coves and bays or at the head of those deep fiords which so picturesquely indent the Norwegian coast. They were a hardy seafaring and fisher folk, adventurous and warlike, as all the primitive Germans were. But with the Norse war took the form of piracy instead of raids by land. These war-bands were recruited from all parts of the wild North. In the ninth and tenth centuries the whole Northern world was in a state of flux and flow.

The geographical area of Norse expansion was immense. If ever there was a real dominion, the Norse must be admitted to have had it. No other people of the Middle Ages had so wide a horizon of achievement except the Arabs. In this respect both the Romans and the ancient Germans were put to shame by the Arabs and the Norse. They colonized the Orkney, Faroe, and Shetland islands, in the ninth century deserted, or inhabited by a few Irish hermit monks; they discovered and settled Iceland and Greenland; they established a kingdom in Dublin, which lasted until 1014; they conquered England and northern France; they settled in Frisia; they invaded Spain; they raided the port towns of the Riviera and Italy; a century after the creation of Normandy a Norman-French kingdom was established by the sword in southern Italy and Sicily; they penetrated Finland and the plains of northern Russia to the White Sea; they founded colonies at Novgorod and Kiev, reached the Caspian and the Black Seas, and furnished guardsmen for the Byzantine emperors in Constantinople. They came in contact with Eskimos, Lapps, Finns, Russians, Greeks, Arabs, Irish, English, French, Italians. Enormous quantities of English, Frankish, Byzantine, Arabic, Egyptian coins, plate, jewelry, the booty of war or the profits of trade, have been unearthed in Scandinavian graves.

Immense expansion of the Norse peoples

The history of the Norsemen must be found in the historical sources of the many countries which they invaded and in which they settled. The radius of their activity was so great and the duration of their invasions so protracted that nothing like a general account of them was possible by any medieval historian. Even in such countries as England and France no sustained account of the Norse invasions was ever written. The annals of the time contain nothing but dry and scattered mention of facts. Charters, capitularies, resolutions of church synods and councils, eke out this information, and the lives of the saints furnish many picturesque details, often overlaid with miracle and legend.

Historical sources

The traditional idea that the Norsemen were marauders and pirates and nothing else is an error. Actually they were eager traders also. Often their trade was legitimately conducted. They were old commercial friends of the Frisians before the Frankish conquest of Frisia. Indeed, the Frankish conquest of Frisia and of Saxony was looked upon by the

(1)
Economic factors in Norse expansion

Norsemen as a grievance, for it interrupted their commercial relations with those two peoples. Dorestadt in Frisia and Haddeby in Schleswig were frequented by Norse merchants bringing furs and ivory until as late as the reign of Louis the Pious. When St. Ansgar, "the apostle of Sweden," went thither, he traveled with merchants of Dorestadt to Birka, then an important Swedish port on an island in Lake Mälär (now Björkö), near the later Stockholm, where he found "many rich merchants and a large amount of goods," and some Hamburg merchants also there.

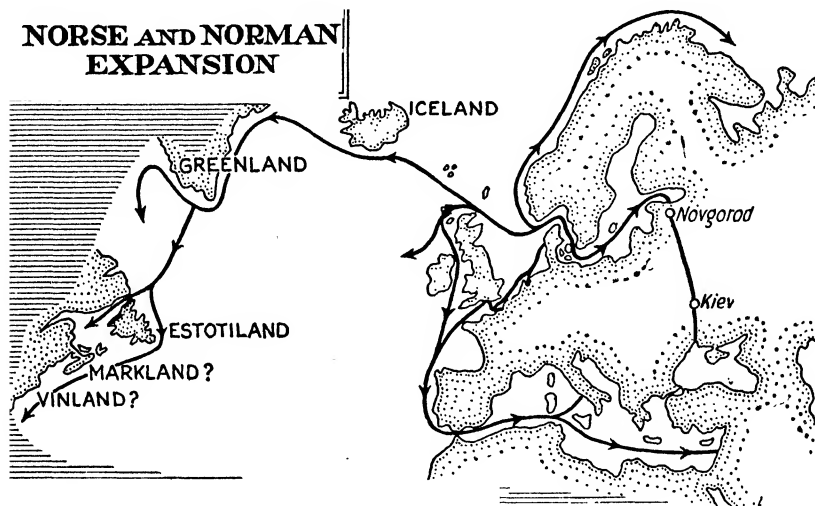
The earliest Danish coins, about A.D. 900, were stamped in imitation of those of the Frank kings. On the site of ancient Birka, Carolingian coins of the ninth century have been found in considerable numbers and Christian articles of Frankish workmanship. Frisian cloth was known at the court of the Norwegian king in the ninth century. Frisian merchants may have founded Birka; at least a Frisian settlement of merchants was early there. We have the record of a woman who died in Birka who left her estate to the sick in Dorestadt, whence she evidently came.

Trading ships The trading ships were different from the war vessels, and the general name for them — *kaupskip* (trading ships) — shows that the distinction was easily recognized. They were ornamented neither with dragons nor with shields, and the war pennant was missing. We find them mentioned in different ways: *kmörr*, *kugg*, *byrding* (ships of burden), *vitabyrding* (provision ships), and *hafskip* (deep-sea ships). There were also smaller and less important ones. These trading ships with few exceptions were free from the attacks of the Vikings, as plundering a merchant-vessel seems to have been considered cowardly.

Routes of expansion The expansion of the Norse peoples is a striking illustration of the influence of geography upon history, in this instance the seas being the conditioning factor. The Swedes crossed the Baltic, invaded Russia, and blazed their trail across it clear to the Black Sea. This was the "Eastern or Varangian route." The Danes, although some Danish settlements were established at the mouths of the German rivers, mostly followed down the northern coast of the continent from their home peninsula to that of Brittany and around that point, or else crossed over to the opposite shore of England. Theirs was the "middle passage." The Norwegians—but many Danes with them—for the most part followed the "outer passage" around the head of Scotland, where they swept the Orkney, Faroe, and the Shetland islands into their grasp and thence pushed onwards to Ireland, Iceland, and Greenland. These islands for centuries were half-way stations for their ships *en voyage*. Those plying between Iceland and Norway regularly wintered there.

"Long ships" or warships The viking warship or "long ship" was a different sort of vessel, "propelled by oars in the hands of the free warriors themselves, aided, when the wind served, by a single sail of striped colors and costly material.

Over the low waist of the brightly-painted ship hung the line of round shields, yellow and black alternately, while the high dragon-prow broke the billows in front. . . . The courage and sea craft of sailors who could venture in such ships on such voyages has never been surpassed in maritime history."¹ Beautiful yet terrible these warships must have seemed



to frightened English seacoast villagers and peaceful peasants dwelling near the Channel coast of France when they descried their painted wings and dragon pennant afar from dune or headland,

“Across the ocean dark and vast
A vessel strange with sail and mast,
With sweeping oars and shields a-row,
A moment in the moon’s bright sheen,
The Norsemen like a phantom seen.”

We know from the sagas how these maritime expeditions of the Norsemen were organized. A fleet of ships manned by from fifty to a hundred men, who were oarsmen as well as warriors, was gathered together under command of some daring leader. These little fleets crossed the North Sea to England or sneaked down along the Frisian and Flemish coast until they found a river mouth. Here they disembarked and plundered, carrying their booty to the ships.

But the need of feeding hungry mouths, or addiction to piracy, or desire for trade does not wholly explain the great Danish and Norse migrations. Political processes at home also had an influence upon the expansion of the viking peoples. For just as among the early Germans first chieftainship and then kingship arose, so among the Nordic peoples the

*Influence of
the develop-
ment of king-
ship upon
Norse ex-
pansion*

¹ G. M. TREVELYAN, *History of England*, p. 77.

hardening of one-man power among them led to the exodus of many a jarl too proud to submit to the prowess of a stronger chieftain; he took to the open sea to preserve his liberty. In each country a rapid tendency towards the development of kingship, the elevation of one chieftain's power over the jarls, compelled many a beaten noble, too proud to submit, to quit his home for lands beyond the seas, each with his little band of hard-rowing warriors and their wives and children.

Political unification in Norway first appeared in the late middle of the ninth century. The tribes of the Troender had early formed a confederation around the fiord of Trondhjem, where a number of districts were united under the Yngling dynasty, which originally was from Sweden and descended from the ancient kings of Uppsala. In 872 in a fierce naval battle fought at Hafrsfjord, Harold Haarfagr (the Fair-haired) subjugated all the rival jarls along the Norwegian coast and created the first Scandinavian state. The sea was soon covered with the ships and following of the defeated jarls, who, rather than submit, sought refuge in the northern islands. But Harold pursued them even to the Orkneys and the Faroes so that the boldest of them fled farther to Ireland and Iceland. Harold Haarfagr, having conquered the Norse chieftains, made all free lands his own and "caused the bonders to pay land dues to him, both the rich and the unrich." "He set up a jarl in each county, who should maintain law and right in the land, and gather all fines and land dues; and each jarl was to have a third of the *scat* and the dues for his keep and costs . . . but by so much had King Harold increased the taxes and land dues that his jarls had more wealth and might than the kings had had aforetime." This shows the increase of taxes and land dues, which, while they might help the jarls, were not pleasing to the many chieftains, who were not made jarls, but who had to pay Harold's enormous taxes, which profited only the King and his earls. An example of the taxes instituted by Harold is seen in the toll of five fishes paid the King by every man who went fishing in the deep sea.

*Battle of
Hafrsfjord
(872)*

*Harold
Haarfagr*

*Early
Denmark*

As to the Danes, apart from economic pressure, we find the mixed motifs of developing kingship and religious hostility. The Frank conquest of the Saxons, who in the last stages of their war to preserve their independence were helped by the Danes, pagan like the Saxons themselves, alarmed the Danes, too, lest Charlemagne should extend his arms over them. Godfrey, "king" of Jutland, built a Danevirk or fortified earth embankment across the peninsula to protect Denmark (which got its name from Charlemagne's Dane Mark) from such a possibility. Conversion of the Saxons had been one of the purposes of the Frank conquest, and the administrative organization of the Church was a powerful instrument in maintaining their subjugation. When in 816 St. Ansgar, the "apostle of the North," began to labor in Denmark and was followed

seven years later by Ebo, when the monastery of New Corvey was founded in lower Saxony as a missionary station in the North, and the bishopric of Hamburg was established in 831, then the Danes grew alarmed. There is ground for belief that Danish aggressions upon the Frank land were as much defensive as offensive, and the root of their notorious spoliation of the monasteries was based upon pagan fanaticism as well as upon avarice.

(The eastern coast of England was first attacked by the Danes. In 794 the monasteries of Lindisfarne and Yarrow in Northumberland were burned. In 798 their ships appeared in the mouth of the Thames. In 832 they fell upon the island of Sheppey. By 837 a fleet was off Cornwall. In 839 Southampton was attacked. In 840 Kent and East Anglia were invaded. In 845 the Danes penetrated up the Parrett River. In 851 the Devonshire coast was attacked and for the first time the foe wintered across sea, on the island of Thanet. In 879 Alfred the Great, making a virtue of necessity, ceded all the eastern shires to Guthrum, the Danish chieftain, as the Danelaw.)

*Invasions of
England*

{ Meanwhile Frisia, Flanders, and France were also ravaged. The channel fleet and the port defenses which Charlemagne had established were neglected under his son, and the Danes crept slowly down, farther and farther each year. In 815 Schleswig was attacked. In 829 the Nordalbingian coast was ravaged. In 834 Dorestadt on the Waal, near Utrecht, the commercial emporium of Frisia, was burned. In 838 and again in 839 the coast of Frisia was pillaged. In 841 the Danes established a base on the island of Walcheren.

*Attacks on
Frisia and
France*

Nevertheless it is to be noted that the incursions of the Norsemen did not become serious in the Frankish Empire until the civil war of the sons of Louis the Pious broke out in 840. Then the diversion of troops and military resources, the reduction of garrisons along the coast, the exhaustion of the combatants in that fratricidal conflict, opened the lower Rhineland, Frisia, Flanders, and northern France to the inroads of the Norsemen. On May 14, 840 they plundered and burned Rouen and put the abbey of Saint-Ouen, Jumièges, and Saint-Wandrille to ransom. A little later the important port of Quantovic on the Channel (the Calais and Boulogne of those days) was destroyed.

*Not serious in
France be-
fore 840*

(During the first half of the ninth century the forays of the Northmen were summer expeditions, the marauders returning home in the autumn with their booty. But towards the middle of the century an ominous change was manifest—the Northmen began to winter in the land. For this purpose they always erected a fortified camp, if possible upon a convenient island, such as Sheppey and Thanet in England, Walcheren, Wessel, and Noirmoutier off the coast of France. From this encampment as a base they raided the region round about. For some years their depredations were still confined to the coast; but as they grew bolder, as military

*Stages in
conquests of
the Norsemen*

resistance to them time and again proved ineffectual, they penetrated deeper and deeper into the interior. The exhaustion of the seaboard areas, owing to repeated plundering and the flight of the local population for safety into the interior, drew the invaders after them. The monasteries were always an immediate object of attack, for the Norsemen had soon discovered that the abbeys were rich in cattle, horses, and portable stuff, and especially in hoarded coin, bullion, and precious plate.

*River system
of France
facilitates
their in-
vasions*

In 843 the Norsemen for the first time mounted the Seine River beyond Rouen. The chroniclers record successive expeditions in 845, 856, 857. Sidroc was the first Danish chief of whom we know in the basin of the Seine. These bold rovers soon found their way around Brittany and discovered the mouths of the Loire and the Garonne, which opened up new fields of exploitation. A formidable encampment was established by them on the island of Noirmoutier in the estuary of the Loire. The rich abbeys in Touraine, notably Saint Martin of Tours, were visited with fire and sword. In the south the Norsemen ascended the Garonne clear to Toulouse. The rivers of France curiously exposed it to invasion by these seafarers. The Somme led the Norsemen to Amiens, the Seine to Paris; Tours and Orléans were on the Loire, and Toulouse on the Garonne. Their first points of attack were the river mouths and their principal centers on the Scheldt, the lower Seine, and the Loire. Frisia after the first fierce visitation was left to itself. After 840 the annals are filled with accounts of their exploits. Paris was taken in 845, in 857, in 861. In 852 the Northmen harried northern Aquitaine for a second time. In May 853 they burned Luçon, in southern Poitou, and Nantes. The high water of the Loire saved Tours from attack in this year, but the monastery of Marmoutier across the stream was entirely destroyed, one hundred and sixteen of the inmates being massacred and the abbot of the chapter succumbing to torture rather than reveal the hiding-place of the treasure. Le Mans, in Maine, was burned in 853 and Blois in 854.

*Dangerous
and futile
policy of
the Franks*

Sometimes the local authorities attempted to play one band of invaders against another. Erispoé, Duke of Brittany, Pepin II of Aquitaine, Baldwin of Flanders, Robert the Strong in Francia, thus at one time or another had bands of the pirates in their pay. But it proved a dangerous and disastrous practice. For example, in 853 a fleet of Norsemen landed at the mouth of the Loire, sacked Nantes, and erected a fortified camp on an island in the bay preparatory to wintering and plundering the entire lower Loire valley, when a second piratical fleet appeared under Sidroc, whom Erispoé had hired to expel the first host. But after taking the money Sidroc came to a peaceful understanding with the other leader and removed his own plundering operations to the Seine, leaving the Loire to the mercy of the horde which had first arrived. In 858 Charles and his nephew Lothaire II of Lorraine attacked the Norsemen in their strong-

hold on the island of Wessel in the Seine, but the revolt of the Neustrian nobles and the threatened invasion of Ludwig the German caused them to raise the siege. In the next year, owing to the rebellion, the Northmen devastated the regions of Bayeux and Chartres.

The *danegeld*, first resorted to by the monks of Saint-Denis in 845, proved a useless expedient (852, 855, 858, 860, 861, 862, 866, 877, 884). A state so weak as to be obliged to purchase peace could easily be victimized.

In 860 Charles the Bald, in despair of dislodging a Norse force under Björn, which had encamped at Jeufosse and was laying the whole lower Seine valley under pillage, made a treaty with Weland, another chieftain, who was on the Somme. In order to pay the enormous sum exacted by the latter as the price of his services to expel Björn, the King imposed a heavy *danegeld* upon the churches, the monasteries, the nobles, the merchants, and even the poor peasantry. While this extraordinary tax was being collected, Björn and his band made an excursion to England and did not return until the following year. Having received the sum agreed upon, Björn mounted the Seine and attacked the camp at Jeufosse. But the besieged compromised and in return for surrender of their spoil were let go free; they established two new camps, nearer Paris than before, one at Melun, the other at the mouth of the Marne. The exhaustion of the land is indicated by the coinage ordinance of Kiersey (860) in vain preparation of a fleet. The difficulty of collecting the sums necessary indicates how thoroughly the forces of the land had been drained. Every freeman was assessed at six pence, in addition to the military tax of sixty shillings, each unfree at three, each *colonus* at two, and each serf at one. Of all merchandise a tenth was demanded and the clergy also were taxed according to their property. Even thus the sum could not be collected and finally the nobles twice had to furnish money according to the extent and number of their fiefs.

Danegeld

The Norse soon learned from their foes the use of improved weapons and armor, to employ the catapult and the battering-ram in siege operations, to convert their foot forces into mounted cavalry. They far excelled their enemies in expedition, in strategy, in tactics.

*Military skill,
of the Norse-
men*

By 862 Charles the Bald awakened to the danger lest the whole rich Paris basin fall into the hands of the Norsemen. The new situation raised Paris to a point of eminence that it had never before enjoyed. As the Seine was the door of entrance into the region, so was Paris the key to lock the door. The King's design consisted in impeding navigation of the rivers by building fortified bridges across them. The first bridge was built over the Marne at Trilbardou below Meaux and had at once the effect of curtaining off the region above it from future inroads. Soon afterwards the famous Pont de Pîtres was built a little below the confluence of the Andelle with the Eure, in the place now called Pont-de-l'Arche. A

*Fortified
bridges*

Paris

similar bridge was constructed across the Oise, and another very important one at Paris, probably at the lower point of the Île de la Cité, and not, as usually said, where the Pont-au-Change now is. This was called the Pons Pictus or Painted Bridge. Paris was further bulwarked by defenses thrown up at Mantes, Melun, Saint-Cloud, and Montmartre. Chartres on the west and Pontoise on the east were outlying bastions of this system of forts and fortified bridges. But unfortunately Charles the Bald never was able adequately to garrison these points, owing to refusal of the baronage to perform military service; so that again in 866 the Norsemen penetrated to the environs of Paris and had to be bought off. It was much the same in the Rhine lands. When Ludwig III built a fortress near Cambrai in 881, he was unable to garrison it.

Castles

Nevertheless, the wisdom of Charles's measures was proved within a decade after his death. The long and futile siege of Paris by the Norsemen in 885-6 showed that as long as Paris held out, the interior of France was secure from conquest. At the same time the towns of France feverishly repaired or rebuilt the ancient Roman walls that they had once had, monasteries walled themselves in, churches were fortified, while everywhere local proprietors erected timbered blockhouses (*castella*) upon their lands to protect themselves and their peasantry. These structures were incapable of withstanding a siege, but might afford temporary security until relief arrived in the form either of regular troops, which was rare, or of contingents organized by the local baronage. In this wise the Norse invasions accentuated the development of feudalism.

*Robert the Strong
(† 866)*

Simultaneously with this elaborate fortification of the basin of the Seine, Charles the Bald resorted to Charlemagne's former policy of establishing margraves in especially imperiled border regions, and so in 861 formed the territory between the Seine and the Loire, which was doubly endangered by both Norsemen and Bretons, into a military area under command of a redoubtable local noble named Robert the Strong, who already was Count of Touraine, Blois, and Anjou. For five years he was the stay and hope of the people of the region, until his death from a Norseman arrow in 866. The King's cousin Hugh the Welf (866-86) succeeded him. In addition to being a great feudal noble Hugh was also "lay" abbot of the abbey of Saint Martin of Tours, a title that empowered him to utilize the resources of this great monastery in a secular capacity. These measures are important to observe, for they are evidence both of the crown's necessity of leaning upon the great feudatories for support and its unavoidable and quite justifiable employment of ecclesiastical resources for government purposes.

*Lull in invasion of France
(866-76)*

By 873 northern France between the Loire and the Somme seemed so effectively protected that the Norsemen directed the weight of their attacks upon England instead. Northumberland was conquered in 867,

Mercia in 868, East Anglia in 870. In France a new era of prosperity seemed about to be ushered in. The clergy wrote to Pope John VIII in gratulation on the change, and in 875 and again in 877 Charles the Bald was able to leave his realm and cross the Alps into Italy without fear of Norse invasion.

From 866 until 876 France enjoyed relative immunity from Norse invasion. But it was a false dawn. The death of Charles the Bald, in 877, and the accession of the weak Louis the Stammerer, the growth of local — that is to say, feudal — authority, the appalling weakness of the central government, united with the important fact that in the Treaty of Wedmore in 879 between Alfred the Great and Guthrum the Dane England was partitioned and all the eastern shires of England ceded to the Danes, exposed France again to new fury. England was now largely closed to further incursion; moreover, the achievement of Guthrum in England whetted the ambition of other chieftains to accomplish a similar territorial conquest in France. The great victory of Harold Haarfagr in 872 further increased the number of these raiders.

*Renewal of
Norse attacks
in France*

In 876 Rouen was once more attacked. In 879 the famous "grand army" entered the Scheldt, established quarters at Ghent, and thence ravaged Tournai, Courtrai, Cambrai and the whole valley of the Somme, Arras, Amiens, and Corbie and the monasteries of Saint Bavon, Saint Vaast, Saint Riquier, and Saint Omer. In July 880 they crossed the Somme and threatened Beauvais.

Frisia and Flanders suffered in like manner, where the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt, the Waal, and the Yser afforded the Norsemen easy entrance into the land. They penetrated as far as Aachen, and Cologne was endangered. For a moment the brilliant victory of Ludwig of Saxony over them at Saucourt in 881 — an engagement storied in ballad — checked their depredations. In 882 Charles the Fat, having a strong host behind him, might have captured the Norseman camp at Elsloo near Maastricht. Victory was certain, but after some days of siege the Emperor resorted to negotiation. The Norse chieftain Godefried was granted Frisia as a German "Normandy" on condition of becoming Christian and recognizing the feudal overlordship of the German crown. Two other chiefs, Siegfried and Wurm, received large gifts of money. "The humiliated army," says a contemporary, "was filled with shame to be under the command of such a prince." The Emperor's two counselors, Liutward, Bishop of Vercelli, and Count Wibert, were held responsible for this contemptible peace, which was destined to be one of the charges made against the Emperor when he was deposed in 887. But Flanders still continued to suffer from Norse depredations until King Arnulf stormed and destroyed the famous Norse encampment on the Dyle at Louvain in 891. The valley of the Garonne and the provinces of southwestern France

*Battle of
Saucourt
(881)*

*Frisia con-
quered
(882)*

*Southern
France
and*

even were devastated by the Norsemen in this disastrous decade. Bordeaux was twice captured; Périgueux, Poitiers, and Toulouse were sacked.

*Spain
ravaged*

The Norse fleets rounded the Spanish peninsula and ravaged the port towns of Christian and Mohammedan Spain. The iron coast of the Asturias and the bravery of the hardy mountaineer people there repelled them. But the mouths of the Douro, the Tagus, and the Guadalquivir afforded easy ingress into the peninsula, though, Christian Spain as a whole was a poor and unattractive land, and, moreover, the mountainous nature of the country made invasion difficult. As for the southern plains, there the Mohammedan government was more effective than the feudalized Frankish kingdom. In 844 the Norsemen were badly beaten by the Moors before Seville. They even infested the western Mediterranean, penetrated up the Rhone, and pillaged Nîmes and Avignon.

*Importance of
Paris*

But the basin of the Seine, with Paris, was the supreme object of attack. It was manifest by 885 that the whole Channel coast of France was doomed to experience the fate of the English Danelaw and become a Norse dominion, although the actual cession of the territory and the creation of Normandy were destined to be deferred until 912.

*Great siege
of Paris
(885-6)*

On November 24, 885 a Norse host to the number of forty thousand men and seven hundred vessels, under Weland, Siegfried, Ragnold, and numerous other chieftains, made a supreme attack upon Paris. For months the people held out, led by Count Odo and his brother Robert, sons of the heroic Robert the Strong, and the brave Bishop Gozlin. Messengers were dispatched far and wide for aid. Count Henry, lieutenant of Charles the Fat in the east, responded, only to meet his death by falling into the enemy's hands. At last the Emperor, who had been in Italy, tardily arrived in September 886, ten months after the beginning of the siege, only to conclude a wretched peace by purchase (October 886); after this single visit he quitted the realm forever, having appointed the heroic Odo count of Paris and duke of the Franks — titles destined to be of substantial future service to the house. The great siege of Paris was the turning-point in the epoch of the Norsemen. It arrested their progress as no other event had and raised Paris to a place of pre-eminent importance. The Carolingian capital city of Laon had now a rival, destined a century later to eclipse it forever; and France a new dynasty to look to for rule in the rising house of Paris.

*Odo, hero of
the siege of
Paris, be-
comes king
of France
(888)*

When Charles the Fat died (and not immediately after his deposition), Odo was elected king, and crowned (February 29, 888) by the Archbishop of Sens; but he was far from being king of a united nation. The realm was practically limited to Neustria and Francia. Aquitaine maintained a sullen indifference and Burgundy under Richard the Justiciar was a dukedom apart. Odo was legally king, but his kingship had much the

aspect of a partisan chieftainship. A faction headed by Fulk, the Archbishop of Reims, favored the Carolingian prince Charles the Simple, son of Louis the Stammerer. For a while, however, Odo's victory of Montfaucon (July 24, 888) over the Northmen silenced opposition and secured the neutrality of King Arnulf of Germany who had been appealed to by the "legitimists"; but the greatness of the great Charles overshadowed even the strongest of his successors, and Charles the Simple served as the pretext for constant insurrection. Moreover, the prestige of victory given Arnulf on the Dyle (891) was denied to Odo. He was defeated on the Scheldt and in Vermandois. The disaffection gathered head, and in 892 rebellion broke out. The nobles of Champagne, Baldwin of Flanders, Herbert of Vermandois, and the bishops of the East were Charles's partisans, and overtures were made to the Duke of Aquitaine. By lavish concessions the latter was bought off. Odo then advanced upon Reims, which was occupied as a hostile city. Gradually the circle of war was narrowed down to the Laonnais, and by 897 Odo was recognized as king in all those parts of the realm which formerly had been in rebellion. But Odo was sinking under disease, and in December 897, when not far from Laon, he fell mortally ill. His last official act was an injunction laid upon his brother Robert that he would recognize Charles the Simple as his successor. He died New Year's Day 898.)

Odo had had a hard place to fill. The feudal nobility, in the face of peril to the people, had clung to their petty selfish policy. The rivalry of Charles was made the pretext of rebellion by numerous lords who sought to enhance their own interests or whose antagonism was awakened because of the King's endeavor to strengthen his own house and because of his drastic feudal policy. Nevertheless Odo had succeeded in accomplishing something, even if the Norsemen had succeeded in settling in the land, and the incompetent Charles set at naught, at least in documents, the epoch of his reign.

Feudal opposition to the new dynasty

First, the rising house of Paris had acquired permanent authority and a permanent seat of power; and, second, by becoming king and ruling for ten years Odo had broken the mystic influence of Carolingian legitimacy. The kingship of Odo was absolutely Carolingian in character. The importance of his reign is dynastic merely and not institutional. He had created a precedent for a new royal house. These two facts were forces in the succeeding century. They were creative influences working in the minds of churchmen and barons and finally took shape in 987 in the revolution that unseated the Carolingian dynasty in France forever.

As Odo had recommended, Charles was elected king. Duke Robert, the only other possible candidate, did homage to the new King and was confirmed in the honors which he possessed. This was the first Carolingian restoration; it lasted for twenty-four years (898-922). Charles the Simple

Persistent influence of Carolingian tradition

Charles the
Simple
(898-922)

was weaker than any of his predecessors. He had less royal domain and fewer vassals. The nobles were turbulent, jealous, and eager to encroach upon the prerogatives and estates of others, and the weakest went to the wall. The King could rarely succeed in securing the concerted action of the nobles; political obedience was hard to obtain. In such a condition of affairs the last descendants of Charles the Great were not the masters of events and could do no more than follow in the course of circumstances, which necessarily often entailed a vacillating policy.

Church sup-
ports Caro-
ligian
dynasty

Charles had not obtained the crown without a price. He rewarded his partisans and made concessions to possible opponents. With an instinctive effort at preservation he drew close to the clergy, for the clergy, except in Neustria and Burgundy, were yet in large part independent of their powerful secular neighbors, and the power of the bishops Charles felt to be his surest support. This policy, moreover, was the more expedient because of the fact that the clergy, unlike the feudality, could not found feudal houses. Thus a reciprocal need drew King and clergy together, for clergy and King alike dreaded the aggressions of the nobles. But nothing could recompense Charles for the wisdom and counsel of Fulk, who was assassinated by agents of Baldwin of Flanders (900). Yet even had Fulk lived, it would be quite beyond our power to estimate the amount of restraint the Archbishop might have exercised upon the King's rule. The history of the first ten years of Charles's reign is almost unknown to us; the silence of the chronicles is almost complete. The *Annals of Saint-Vaast* break off abruptly in 900 and two other historians, Flodoard and Richer, leap twenty years in a chapter.

The Norsemen as usual were a constant menace. Almost as soon as crowned, Charles was called upon to repel them; and, for a wonder he was successful. A severe repulse drove them from around Paris and they tried to quarter in Burgundy, but Duke Richard repulsed them and they were driven to their ships in the lower Seine. The famous Danish chief Hrolf, the future conqueror of Normandy, is first heard of in 890-2, when Bayeux was attacked by him. He then disappeared for many years and was probably in England and Frisia.

Establishment
of Normandy

For twenty-five years after the siege of Paris the struggle between Franks and Norsemen was to go on, with the Norse colonization of the seaboard ever getting denser. The Norsemen had encircled Rouen and made it their capital. But the limit of their expansion was nearly reached. Their failure before Chartres in 911 convinced them that it was time to make peace. The *de facto* occupation was to be converted into one *de jure*. Already as far back as 893 the settlement might have been accomplished if it had not been for the obduracy of the clergy, especially the Archbishop of Reims, who would see no compromise with the pagans. He could not understand the remarkable ability of the Norse as colonizers,

the ease with which they amalgamated with the local population, nor even their readiness to accept Christianity and conform to the feudal civilization of the time. The Church's horror of paganism and unwise opposition to any compromise influenced the opinion of the time and deferred the inevitable. It held up to execration Pepin's desertion to the Norsemen and the eating of horse meat which was thought worse than desertion by the Church. The career of the renegade peasant Hastings, whose ferocity made him famous, and the spectacle of even monks running away and joining the foe hardened the mind of the clergy.

It became more and more evident in Charles's reign that the Norsemen could neither be fought off nor bought off save on the highest terms — a cession of the Channel coast to them. For the Franks were practically dispossessed in the Channel region. The Church at last saw the wisdom of surrender, and Charles had the good sense to listen. It is possible also that the King thought he might avail himself of an alliance with the Norsemen in case of intrigues to dethrone him. Even Robert of Paris, who would be the Danes' nearest neighbor, appreciated the necessity for peace, for it was Francia that had borne the brunt of the attack of the Northmen for more than a generation and the land was so winnowed and worn that conciliation and sacrifice were better than protracted war.

The celebrated peace of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte in 912, by which the Channel coast of Gaul from the Somme to the frontier of Brittany was ceded to the Norsemen, was nothing but the confirmation of an accomplished fact. For as far back as 900 the Archbishop of Rouen had advised the cession as the only means of restoring peace to the ruined region. In the thick darkness which obscures the treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte certain facts are yet clear. Charles had the direct benefit of the transaction, while Robert paid the price. Normandy was a part cut out of Francia, and Paris was thereby barred from the sea. The grant involved no direct loss to the actual power of Charles. The crown possessions suffered no reduction, for the region involved was not under the immediate lordship of the king. Hence Normandy only exchanged direct rulers, the king as before being overlord.

*Treaty of
Saint-Clair-
sur-Epte
(912)*

It has been a manner of writing to reproach Charles as a miserable weakling for this act, but in truth the surrender of Normandy was an admirable piece of statesmanship. If praise cannot be given Charles for the initiative, certainly blame ought to be withheld. The King got two vassals instead of one, either of whom might be a check upon the other. The suggestion of a conscious purpose on the part of Charles, while presuming a higher intelligence than is ordinarily attributed to him, is not without reason so far as the effect upon the royal power is concerned. Hrolf became the King's vassal.

Character of
government
in Normandy

The amount of territory embraced in the grant of Normandy is difficult to determine. It probably extended from the river Somme to the fluctuating Breton frontier beyond Bayeux, together with provisional rights depending upon conquest over the Breton counties of Avranches, Coutances, and Cotentin. The heart of the duchy was the bishopric of Rouen. The twenty years that elapsed between Hrolf's conversion and his death were employed by him in building towns, repairing monasteries, and reclaiming the land. According to accounts, the Norman Duke made earnest efforts to induce repopulation. The people still remaining were not dispossessed. The real losers were not so much the local population, who had next to nothing to lose, but the Frankish lords who were dispossessed. For most of the people the presence of the Norsemen simply meant a change of overlord. The change which took place in the *terra Normannorum*, so far as the development of institutions was concerned, was a rapid one when it is considered that usually in history generations are occupied in their formation. In every land that they colonized, but most of all in France and England, the Norse exhibited a marvelous disposition to adopt the language, the manners, and the institutions of the people among whom they settled. Within a hundred years after the Danelaw the Danes of eastern England had become English; in Normandy they as rapidly became French, though in each country fortunately they retained much of the hardy spirit and racial vigor that had characterized their ancestors. In this wise the Norse acted as an alloy to gold, hardening and fortifying the people and the institutions with which they came in contact. When older Carolingian Europe passed away and European government and society began to reorganize upon the new basis of feudalism, Norman feudal government, whether in France or in England or in Italy and Sicily, displayed a characteristic and redoubtable vigor.

Growth of
feudal conditions everywhere

In promoting the growth of feudalism by compelling the local proprietary class to rely upon their own resources and to build castles, in hastening the vanishment of the Carolingian system, which deserved to forfeit its rule owing to its weakness and inability to adjust itself to the new conditions of a new age, even in the effect that the Norse invasions had upon the promotion of serfdom—for security was worth more than liberty to the mass of mankind in the ninth and tenth centuries—the invasions of the Norsemen in the long run were of advantage to western Europe. The old-fashioned open village of Carolingian times ceased to exist in the ninth and tenth centuries. The old *villæ* were destroyed. The peasantry crowded down in agglomerated groups at the foot of the hill on which the castle stood, under the lea of its walls, almost within its shadow, for protection.

One must be cautious in interpreting the historical sources of the

time, for it must always be remembered that there was a triangle of antagonistic forces constantly active in the ninth century. The high clergy and the great nobles struggled to impose their will upon the crown and at the same time were bitterly hostile to one another, while the crown quite naturally endeavored to preserve itself against this double assault of rival vested interests. Each party in the desperate struggle for supremacy in the State was violent and unscrupulous when it dared to be so, resorting to force and fraud and forged charters to secure possession of land and to acquire prerogatives like the right to administer local justice, impose local taxes, or enjoy coveted immunities and privileges, and in this conflict each quite as frequently co-operated with the Norsemen as opposed them. Much of the violence of the times was due to this struggle of baron with baron, of baron with bishop or abbot, and of both with the government, though the Norsemen were often the declared culprits.

The clergy are open to more suspicion than the baronage in this feud, for all mediæval chroniclers were clerics, and the clergy had a double motive in misrepresenting the facts. Imbued with the theocratic ideas of the age, the Church in the ninth century was ambitious to establish its control over secular government, both of the kings and of the feudality. Hence it was to its interest to picture the condition worse than it was in order to prove the incapacity of secular government, to undermine its authority morally, and to justify the Church's contention. The clergy could do this more readily because the chancellor and the notaries who formulated the capitularies were always clerics. The resolutions of synods and councils also were a ready and a powerful means of calumniating secular government. The preambles of laws and synodical legislation, while valuable as historical description of prevailing conditions which it was the intention to remedy, nevertheless must always be read with caution. For they usually protest too much. If we read between the lines, it is easy to perceive that the pronouncement is often an unjust indictment, and that the bishops' tirades against the lay nobility is because of the opposition of the nobles to the absorption of vast amounts of the best lands of the realm by the Church to the detriment of other classes of society. It is undeniable that the distress of the Church was frequently exaggerated in order to prevail upon the crown to enlarge church possessions by gifts from the fisc. Hardship and misery the clergy doubtless endured sometimes, but it was a misery wholly relative. They suffered less than others and were amply compensated for their losses. A French scholar has pointedly said that "the clergy with the aid of forged charters in general got more than they lost."

An admirable illustration of this condition is to be found in the findings of the synod of Trosly during the reign of Charles the Simple

in 909, just three years before the establishment of the duchy of Normandy. As one has written:

*Synod of
Trosly (909)*

"There were present all the leading clergymen of the diocese of Rheims under the presidency of the archbishop. Their acts show a condition of things extremely depressing from the clerical point of view. The chief complaint is of the spoiling of church goods by the barons, against which the synod sees no remedy but a vigorous support of the king. They call upon Charles to assert his divine right and to save the church, and with it society in general, from this violence of the laity. If we turn the page, however, it will not require any very great skill to read in this same document the protest of the lay nobility against the absorption of vast amounts of valuable land by the church, and their determination not to let this go on to the detriment of the commonwealth. However much the motive of self-aggrandizement may have dictated the great feudal nobility in their action, it is clear, historically speaking, that in them lay the only hope of a vigorous administration of public affairs."¹

*Salutary ef-
fects of Nor-
man influence*

The strength and independence of the Norman dukes, in both precept and example, did much in the tenth and eleventh centuries to hearten and to harden nascent feudalism into sturdy, if sometimes violent, efficiency. The great feudatories of France, like the counts of Flanders, the counts of Brittany, the counts of Anjou, the dukes of Burgundy, and even the kings of France, learned much from the spirit and method of feudal administration practiced by the dukes of Normandy.

*The Danes in
Ireland*

Ireland, as we have seen, had escaped the barbarian invasions of the fifth century. But she was not destined to enjoy immunity from the Norsemen, whose partial conquest of the green isle established new historical contacts for her and introduced new conditions. So swift was the onset of the Norse in Ireland that the Irish chroniclers gave the Norse the picturesque name of "land-leapers."

The "white pagans," the Norse, first appeared in Ireland in 795, but their ravages did not become serious until 823. The chronic internecine strife of the Irish clans prevented any serious resistance and it is a wonder that the whole island was not conquered. But for the most part the Norse were content with having established themselves in the bays and estuaries of the coast, as at Dublin, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and Wexford, whence they forayed the interior of the island, whose monasteries fell a prey to their plundering raids. This invasion provoked a new exodus from Ireland, hundreds of fugitive monks fleeing to the continent, there to find refuge in the monasteries of France, Flanders, and Germany. The most famous of these refugees were Sedulius Scotus, the Irish poet, and John Scotus Erigena (John the Scot of Ireland), the greatest scholar of the ninth century, who found a patron in Charles the Bald.

But at just about the time when the Irish chieftains seemed to be getting

¹ EMERTON, *Medieval Europe*, p. 408.

the upper hand over the Norwegians (845-50), in 852 the "black pagans" or Danes appeared in Ireland. They were more formidable than their barbarian predecessors; but the Danes, too, never conquered the whole island, though the Danish "kingdom" of Dublin was for nearly two hundred years an important state, both political and commercial, of the far-flung but never politically united Nordic empire. It was finally overthrown by the heroic Irish chieftain Brian of Munster at the battle of Clontarf in 1014, an engagement which endured from sunrise to sunset and in which the rising tide shared the honor of victory with the Irish clansmen.

*Danish
kingdom
of Dublin*

*Battle of
Clontarf
(1014)*

In following the "outer passage" the Norse, as we have seen, conquered and colonized the Orkney, the Shetland, and the Faroe islands and partially occupied Ireland. Whether they picked up in Ireland information of a great and almost unknown island lying far away in the North Atlantic—for it is certain that Irish monks had wandered to Iceland, though they may not have settled there—or whether, as a saga relates, a Norwegian ship was driven by storm far out of its course, the Norse discovered Iceland about the year 861. But it was not until 874 that the colonization of Iceland began, when Ingolf Arnarson, having been driven out of his homeland, began its settlement. Iceland rapidly became a new Norway, strikingly like the old country, a federation of tiny villages nestling at the head of the fiords or extending up the valleys. Unlike the Norse colonies elsewhere, however, Iceland was a pure Nordic state without any admixture of foreign ingredients as in the Danelaw and Normandy. By 965 political administration had become well established, the island being divided into four provinces, subdivided into thirteen "things" or counties, each having its own local moot. In the year 1000 the general assembly of the Icelanders formally accepted Christianity, first preached by two missionaries sent over by the Norwegian King. In 1057 the bishopric of Skalholt was established, in 1106 a second, that of Holar. Until 1381 Iceland was a colony of Norway, but in that year passed to Denmark, under whose sovereignty it still remains.

*Norse dis-
covery and
settlement
of Iceland
(c. 861)*

The social classes of Iceland were two, the leaders and the led, the chieftains and the "bonders." In Norway the kinglets, earls, and *hersars* with their kindred composed the noble class, "of whom such as were actual as well as born leaders were termed chieftains." In Iceland there were no kings or kinglets, no jarls, only local chieftains with their kindred. The duties of the chieftain were many. He had local authority over his lands and people, administered law and order, was the leader in feuds (which were many), and presided at the local thing. "Fighting, feasting, and athletic sports were the chieftains' amusements; farming and fishing his necessities, and administering the law his duty." A glimpse of a chieftain or *godi* in his public capacity may be seen from the description

of Gudmund the Powerful, who resided at Eyfirth. "It was his wont to go north in the spring to visit his liege or moot-men, and decide on the rule of the country and settle cases between men and thereby great scarcity often came upon them since they had already but scant provision for their household. He often rode with thirty men and would stay in many places six nights and would have as many horses." Of the bonder, or thing-men class, some were kinsmen of the chieftains. Often, however, they were people of no kindred who had followed the chieftain out, or had come out of their own accord, had settled on the chieftain's land, and were subject to his jurisdiction. The social cleavage was not so hard and fixed as in feudal countries.

*Leif Erikson
discovers
Greenland
(1000)*

Even with the discovery and colonization of Iceland the term of that propulsive and exploitative energy in the heart of the Nordic peoples was not reached. According to the sagas, an Icelander named Gunnbjörn was cast by storm upon one of the islands off the eastern coast of Greenland. This news of land farther west stirred Erik the Red in 986 to attempt to found a colony there, which increased under his son Leif Erikson, who, it is certain, by the year 1000 had coasted along the north-west coast of America. Authorities may dispute whether Vinland was Nova Scotia or Cape Cod or Rhode Island. But there is no doubt of the reality of Norse discovery of America. Nova Scotia seems to have been known as Markland, Newfoundland as Helluland, Cape Cod as Vinland. Greenland became a prosperous Norse colony. Settlers flocked in, not all from Iceland, for some came from Norway; villages arose, churches were built. In 1126 the bishopric of Gardar was established. A monastery in Greenland in the twelfth century was heated by pipes of hot water laid on from a natural hot spring. The Greenland colonists lived almost wholly on fishery and whaling and furs. Their products were exported to Norway.

We know from ecclesiastical records that in the thirteenth century there were sixteen churches in Greenland, ministering to over ten thousand people, and a complete series of Greenlanders bishops may be made out until the middle of the fourteenth century, when the Black Death ravaged the settlements, the last remnants of whose population seem to have been destroyed soon afterwards by the skraelings or Eskimos, save for the single village of Vestribygd, which was sacked by English pirates in 1418. In 1585, when the Englishman John Davis visited it, all living trace of the Norse colonization had disappeared. Denmark, Holland, Norway, and Spain all took an active part in its rediscovery. The recolonization of Greenland is a modern event.

*Swedes in
Russia*

One other country of Europe yet remains to be noticed which Norsemen also overran and colonized. As the Norwegians and Danes crossed the North Sea and the North Atlantic, so the Swedes crossed the Baltic.

The word "*Rus*," indeed, was originally a Finnish word meaning "rowers" and was used by the Slavonic inhabitants to describe the Swedes. Russia as a country and the Russians as a people entered the sphere of recorded history with the Swedish conquest in the ninth century. Our knowledge of Russia before that event is gleaned in part from scattered allusions of early Byzantine chroniclers, and in part from archæology.

"In the ninth century when the Russian annals first begin to give us a systematic record of the Russian people and their princes, Russia appears to us as a well-shaped body, as an organized state, with its own peculiar political, social, and economic structure, and endowed with a high and flourishing civilization. Russia of the ninth century consisted of many important commercial cities, situated partly on the Dnieper and its tributaries, partly in the far north on Lake Ilmen, and partly in the east on the upper Volga. Each of these cities possessed a large territory populated by different Slavonic tribes and had its own self-government, with a popular assembly, a council of the eldest and elected magistrates. For the purpose of defending its flourishing trade the population of each town invited a special body of trained and well-armed warriors, commanded by a prince. To this prince each city entrusted also the task of collecting tribute from the population, and of fulfilling some administrative and judicial duties. These princes with their retinues were called in Russia Varangians."¹

It was this policy which gave room for the Swedes to get a foothold in Russia. We have information in the *Life of St. Ansgar*, the first apostle to the North, of the depredations and settlement of the Swedes in Kur-
land, and their occupation of Novgorod soon followed. This famous place had developed around a fort erected by the Slavs on the Volchov, which the Varangians called Holmgadr or Holmgaard. It was not long before the Swedes, who like all the Norse peoples had a strong bent for trade, began to extend their sway into the interior, following up the course of the Volchov River and down that of the Dnieper until by the end of the ninth century the famous Varangian route had been broken through from the Baltic to the Black Sea. In 882 (or thereabouts) one of these Swedish chieftains, named Rurik, got possession of Kiev. With that event the particular history of medieval Russia may be said to begin. The duchy of Kiev, thus created, was another Normandy, which, unlike Normandy in France rapidly expanded its sway directly or indirectly over much of the great Russian plain and peoples. By the first quarter of the eleventh century Kiev is said to have had eight markets and was in trade relation with the Poles, the Hungarians, the Germans, Constantinople, and Baghdad.

¹ BEAZLEY, *Russia from the Varangians to the Bolsheviks*.

*Relations
with Byzantine
Empire*

Although for a century war and trade alternated in the relations of the Rus with Constantinople, which they called Tsargrad — there were four expeditions against the city on the Golden Horn in the tenth century — nevertheless the Rus soon perceived that trade was more lucrative than war. Indeed, it is significant that the Russian attack in 865 is said, on Byzantine authority, to have been provoked by imperial breach of a trade agreement. We have the text of a full commercial treaty executed in 912 (the same year in which Normandy in France was founded) between the Rus and the imperial Byzantine government, and subscribed to by “us of the Russian nation.” All the names are unmistakably Norse — Karl, Ingeld, Vermud, Ruald, Karn, Ruar, Lidul, Fost, and Stemid. This document was renewed and confirmed in 944 and again is witnessed by a long list of Norse names, although an equal number of Slav names also now appear. Every spring whole fleets of canoes and lightly built barges, bearing furs, hemp, wax, tar, amber, and especially slaves, came down the Dnieper. South of present Ekaterinoslav on the lower course of this river, portages had to be made around eleven waterfalls, forty-six miles of rapids, where the stream breaks through the mighty granite ridge which forms a wall guarding the Black Sea littoral. The Rus translated the names of the Slavs for these cataracts into their own tongue, and the names to this day testify to the importance of the Varangian route for purposes of trade. But the commerce was not all one way. From Byzantium and the Eastern lands came silks and spices, curiously wrought metal wares, glassware, turquoises and gaudy jewelry, dear to the barbarian heart. Examples of such articles have been unearthed by the spade of the modern archæologist at many points along the Varangian route, along with thousands of Byzantine, Baghdad, and Kufic coins.

The Byzantine emperors soon discovered the warlike prowess of these Swedes in Russia, and for nearly two hundred years the Varangian Guard of the emperors was made up of them. But after their mutiny in 1079 Alexius Comnenus recruited the Varangian Guard from Anglo-Saxons who had left England after 1066 to escape the rigorous rule of William the Conqueror.

*Historical im-
portance of
the Norse
peoples*

The expansive period of Norse history, characterized by the discovery and colonization of Iceland and Greenland, the partial conquest of and settlement in England, France, and Ireland, and the complete subjugation of Russia, may be said to have terminated in 912. In sum total the achievement of the Norse peoples counts among the most important events in medieval history. One historian has gone so far as to declare that “it is, perhaps, the most decisive fact in the story of the Christian Middle Ages.” Certain it is that in the history of discovery the Norsemen raised northern Europe above the horizon, out of the unknown into the light

of history. (Not since Alexander the Great burst into the East had any new lands or any new peoples been added to European knowledge. The Norsemen created that spirit of adventure and discovery which was to culminate in Marco Polo's and the Franciscan missionaries' penetration into the Far East in the fourteenth century, and the voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama at the end of the fifteenth century.)

(The Norse built ships) that were a vast improvement upon the Mediterranean galley, capable of weathering storms which would have swamped the latter. (They made sailing a new art) No Mediterranean sailor ever used sail except before the wind. The Norse knew how to tack. (They created a new art of navigation) In the old world vessels never put out to sea and took the straight course between points, but sailed along the coast, steering from cape to cape, running behind islands to avoid open water, always anchoring at night; and all navigation was stopped during winter. (The Mediterranean peoples feared the sea, the Norse loved it.) Steering by sun and stars, calculating direction by the wind, conjecturing the lie of the coast by the winds that propelled the ship, loosing pigeons, hampers of which they used to carry on board, when lost in fog or driven out of their course, in order to ascertain the direction of the land, the Norse rose above fear and challenged hazard. Much of the sea-law of Europe is of Norse origin, transmitted through the shipping code of the Hanseatic League.

(Wherever the Norse settled, they made the people among whom they settled stronger and sturdier folk. The strength and vigor of their institutions may be said almost to have revolutionized government in northern France, England, and Russia.) (Their influence upon commerce was as great. They created a new economic world; they established new methods of trade.)

(Moreover, it is within the last half-century that we have learned to appreciate the great poetic and prose literature of Iceland and Norway. A people who could produce such poetry was no mere nation of freebooters. In the sagas and the scaldic literature of the Norse the world possesses a literature unique in the history of culture.) Homeric in its heroism, exalting the sturdy virtues of all strong men, appreciative of the softer sentiments of family life and of home, and pervaded with a deep love of nature, especially in her wilder moods and manifestations.

*Saga
literature*

The Norse gave as much as they got, and from the point of view of quality the balance is almost all in their favor. For they gave themselves, their blood, their spirit, to the peoples among whom they settled. Both the Anglo-Saxon and the Frank races were going to seed in the ninth century. (In England and in France the influence of the Norse was like an alloy with gold; they hardened the nascent feudal institutions which they

found there, and gave them edge and efficiency. (The remarkable assimilative quality of the Norse enabled them, to the benefit of the English and the French nations, to sink themselves into them and become one with them.) The origins of Norman law are French, not Danish. The sworn inquest of "twelve good men and true" passed from the Franks to the Normans, and from them to England, there to develop into the jury system.

Finally, three new kingdoms of Norse foundation came into being.

Formation of Norway After the death of Harold Haarfagr (the traditional date is 933, but it seems too late) his sons quarreled for possession of his kingdom and were supported by the kings of Denmark and Sweden. Nearly a hundred years of strife ensued. Haakon, the eldest son, who had dwelt for some years at the Anglo-Saxon court, dethroned his brother Erik Bloodaxe, vanquished the Jomsburg vikings who had established a pirate state at the mouth of the Oder in Pomerania, and drove out Olof Trigvessoen, his nephew, who also aspired to the lordship of the North. Olof had lived in England and in Novgorod, had become Christian, and was ambitious to unite Norway and Sweden, the northern islands, Iceland, and Ireland into a great Nordic empire. He perished in 1000 in a sea-fight off Rügen in the Baltic with Haakon's son Erik, supported by the Swedes and Danes.

But the sceptre of the North by this time had passed to Denmark, and Erik served as a Danish vassal in the Danish conquest of England by Sweyn and Knut.

Formation of Denmark Kingship and Christianity developed in Denmark soon after its first manifestation in Norway. Ebbo, the Archbishop of Reims, during the reign of Louis the Pious, in his youth had been a missionary in Jutland, and St. Ansgar had labored there and in Sweden. But Odinism held sway in Denmark until the year 1000. The earliest great Danish chieftain of whom we know was Ragnar Lodbrok, whose warriors, with the Norse proper, harried England and France and Ireland in the ninth century. The three most famous Danish marauders were Godfrey, who conquered Frisia; Guthrum, who conquered the Danelaw in England; and Hrolf, the founder of Normandy. Gorm the Old, great-grandson of Ragnar Lodbrok, was the last pagan King of Denmark. His son Harold Bluetooth was baptized about 960. Gorm subjugated the petty chieftains of the Danish peninsula; Harold extended his domination over the southern part of Norway; his son Sweyn Forkbeard reduced Norway to vassalage and conquered England. His son Knut the Great, who followed him, ruled England, Denmark, part of Scotland, Norway, and the Pomeranian coast of the Baltic, where the mouths of the Peene, the Oder, and the Vistula were possessed by Danish colonies, half commercial, half military. Danzig derives its name from one such Danish colony.

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KINGS OF FRANCE, 888-1285

CAROLINGIAN

Charles the Simple, 898-923	Louis IV, <i>d'Outremer</i> , 936-54
Robert I, 923 (counter-king)	Lothaire, 954-86
Raoul of Burgundy, 923-36 (counter-king)	Louis V, <i>le Fainéant</i> , 986-7

CAPETIAN

Hugh Capet, 987-96	Louis VII, 1137-80
Robert II, the Pious, 996-1031	Philip II, Augustus, 1180-1223
Henry I, 1031-60	Louis VIII, 1223-6
Philip I, 1060-1108	Louis IX (St. Louis), 1226-70
Louis VI, the Fat, 1108-37	Philip III, the Rash, 1270-85

KINGS OF ENGLAND, 1066-1327

NORMAN

William I, the Conqueror, 1066-87	Henry I, 1100-35
William II, the Red, 1087-1100	Stephen, 1135-54

PLANTAGENET

Henry II, 1154-89	Henry III, 1216-72
Richard the Lion-Hearted, 1189-99	Edward I, 1272-1307
John Lackland, 1199-1216	Edward II, 1307-27

LATER CAROLINGIAN AND EARLY CAPETIAN FEUDAL
FRANCE (912-1180)

WE resume the thread of French history in the year when the duchy of Normandy was founded, a time when the feudal aristocracy had so far triumphed that Charles the Simple was a lean and solemn phantom of Carolingian kingship.

It is impossible to give exact limits to the feudal period. For from the moment when Charles the Bald began to transform subjects or *fideles* into vassals and to grant benefices (later called fiefs) on terms of military and other service, to issue immunities, to permit usurpation of regalian rights, and even to authorize it, feudalism prevailed. But the feudal epoch of medieval France may particularly be said to be that period which extended from the early tenth century to the close of the twelfth, or more definitely from the reign of Charles the Simple to the accession of Philip Augustus in 1180. In this period sovereignty was everywhere more or less combined with proprietorship, and public law and private right were confused — or at least fused together — although complete sovereignty was confined to relatively few of the nobles, and these the great dukes and counts of the realm. But even inconsiderable seigniors enjoyed some degree of political authority and right of sovereignty.

The tenth, eleventh, twelfth centuries in France essentially feudal

This excessive parcellation of territory and sovereignty, which had resulted in the complete decomposition of the Carolingian State, was accentuated by the varieties of race to be found in France. In the north the population was Frank, with an understratum of Gallo-Roman, which gradually fused together; in the northeast and east it was more German than in the basin of the Seine; in the northwest the Bretons were almost pure Celts; south of the Loire the Gallo-Roman blood was predominant, shading by degrees to almost pure and ancient Gallo-Roman blood in Provence and the Mediterranean provinces; in the southwest the Gascons were of Basque lineage, with an admixture of Roman and German blood in their veins. The civilization of Gascony was almost destroyed by the Northmen. For a century and a half its history is well-nigh a blank. There are no contemporary annals nor chronicles; the number of authentic charters is few; on the other hand, forged charters abound, for clergy and nobles alike, since all the old title-deeds had been destroyed, repaired the deficiency in their own way. The political change due to this prostration was remarkable. Before the invasions of the Northmen Toulouse had been the capital of Gascony, and Bordeaux of Aquitaine. But the Toulousains

Racial elements in French nation

Survey of the great feudal provinces

escaped from Gascon rule in the ninth century, Bordeaux became the capital of Gascony, and the dukes of Aquitaine retired to Poitiers. The ruin of Aquitaine was so great that in 876 the archbishopric of Bordeaux was removed to Bourges. The whole southwest of France was reduced almost to savagery. It is not until the early part of the tenth century that we begin to detect signs of recovery in the Bordelais. A letter of Alphonso, King of Galicia, reveals that in 906 Spanish vessels had resumed the practice of calling at the port of Bordeaux and that the territory had a count again. When the counts of Poitiers returned to Bordeaux and revived the duchy of Aquitaine we do not know. But the recovery of the southwest was not completed until the union of Aquitaine (or Guienne, as it was later called) and Gascony in 1073.

*Influence of
idea of Caro-
lingian
legitimacy*

*Conservatism
of the Church*

In the tenth century the kings reigned, but they did not govern. Monarchical authority nearly disappeared, but the monarchy survived. In 987 the Carolingian dynasty was supplanted by the newly risen house of Paris, the Capetians, but otherwise the year is unimportant, for the change of dynasty had little influence on the form of government for many years. The chief force that sustained the last Carolingian kings so long was the principle of legitimacy. The name of Charlemagne was a name to conjure with. It was long before the hardiest of feudal usurpers could get it out of his head that however incapable and weak the king might be, he yet and alone had the right to be called king because of his blood. This curiously protracted and belated sense of loyalty in men otherwise indifferent to and even defiant of the royal welfare was supplemented by the influence of the French Church, which by tradition and practice was obdurately legitimist in policy. As the Merovingian Church had to be "educated" by events to sanction the deposition of Childeric III in 752 and the accession of Pepin the Short, so the Church only very slowly came around to the idea of a new successor to the Carolingian dynasty.

*Power of
Robert of
Paris*

But things are usually stronger than theories in history, and the logic of events wrought the ruin of the later Carolingians and favored the victory of the Parisian house. As early as 888 the prowess and the landed power of Odo of Paris had broken the mystic chain of royalty, and though legitimacy was strong enough to prevent Odo's brother Robert succeeding him, and to elevate Charles the Simple to the kingship, the former still enjoyed the fact of power while little more than ascription of authority was attributed to the latter. Almost all the territory in northern France from the Somme to the Loire, with the exception of Normandy pertained to Robert, who thus had many vassals, besides appropriating as "lay abbot" the revenues of the rich abbeys of Saint Martin of Tours and Marmoutier. Compared with these resources those of Charles the Simple were pitiable. The only substantial block of crown lands which the crown still possessed were in (French) Lorraine, such as Diedenhofen (Thion-

ville), Gondreville, and the environs of Metz. Elsewhere the royal domain was shreds and patches, Laon being the principal possession. This poverty of material resources tempted Charles to pillage the domains of the Archbishop of Reims, in spite of the fact that the prelate was his most energetic supporter. He had not the means to reward partisans or to purchase vassals and was in constant danger of being deprived of the little he had by the covetous baronage.

Shrinkage of the royal domain of the later Carolingians

In this material embarrassment, combined with fear of the barons, the King had recourse to the practice of giving his confidence and his patronage to men of low estate. But the nobles resented this course, for the whole trend of society and government was towards the ascendancy of the landed and feudal aristocracy. Thus disaffection was created, which the Duke of Francia sedulously encouraged. In 922 Robert of Paris revolted and was hailed as king by his partisans, even by some of the bishops. For a year a war of the factions devastated the basin of the Seine and the valleys of the Marne and the Aisne. Finally matters came to a climax in the plain by Soissons, where, although Robert was killed, Charles was beaten. The King took refuge with Herbert, Count of Vermandois, a notoriously ambitious and unscrupulous noble, who treacherously threw him into prison in the castle of Péronne and starved him to death. The cruel fact is significant of the extreme licentiousness of the feudality, and not a hand was raised or a sword drawn to release the King.

Rebellion of Robert of Paris (922)

Fall of Charles the Simple (923)

Robert of Paris's son Hugh was a child when his father died, and manifestly unable to continue his father's policy, so that the victorious feudal party elected his uncle Raoul, Duke of Burgundy, to the throne. Raoul's reign of thirteen years (923-36) marks the second interruption of Carolingian rule and further strengthened the power of the dukes of France. Yet many of the great feudatories refused to recognize the political condition. Raoul's authority was confined to the northern portion of the shattered West Frankish kingdom; and even there it was not complete, for the Duke of Normandy and the counts of Brittany and Flanders did not acknowledge him. The great lords of the south ignored him.

Raoul of Burgundy made king (923-36)

Meanwhile the widow of Charles the Simple had found refuge with her son Louis in England at the court of his brilliant grandfather Edward the Elder (son of Alfred the Great), and then of his uncle King Athelstan. Many of the great nobles, either from sentiment or interest, advocated the cause of the exiled prince, who was the banner-bearer of "legitimacy," and the agitation was sufficiently strong to retard the ambition of Hugh (the Great), the Duke of Francia, now grown to manhood and eager to seize the throne, but too cautious to be rash. But Louis *d'Outremer* ("from beyond the sea") was not the only competitor for the throne; for now that the royal succession of the Carolingians had been thrice violated, a number of other aspirants arose.

Exile of the Carolingians

*Power of the
feudality*

The north of France in 936 was divided between five powerful lords, Hugh the Great, Herbert II of Vermandois, Arnulf the Old of Flanders, William Longsword of Normandy, and Hugh the Black, the late King Raoul's brother and successor in the duchy of Burgundy. Only the first two could conceivably aspire to the throne, but the support or opposition of the others had to be reckoned with. Herbert II of Vermandois could boast of having the blood of Charlemagne in his veins, being great-great-grandson of the ill-fated Bernard of Italy, who was Charlemagne's grandson; but a weightier argument in his favor was his enormous proprietary power. Nearly all the counties and monasteries east of Paris and between Flanders and Burgundy were in his hands, in addition to which a series of marriages allied him and his family with many other influential feudal houses. His own wife was a daughter of the late King Robert, one daughter had married the Count of Flanders, the other Thibaud the Tricky of Blois and Chartres.

*English influ-
ence in favor
of the
Carolingians*

An important outside influence was that of Athelstan of England, the implacable foe of things Danish and Norse, whether in or out of his kingdom, who sustained Edward the Elder's policy of "encircling" Normandy by marrying one English princess to Charles the Simple, and the other to Prince Otto I of Germany, the son and future successor of Henry the Fowler. Athelstan threw English influence into the scale in favor of his nephew Louis. Finally Artaud, Archbishop of Reims, was a declared Carolingian legitimist.

*Hugh the
Great, Duke
of France,
becomes
king-maker*

In this maze of cross-currents Hugh the Great astutely calculated that discretion was the better part of valor and that it was better to be a king-maker than a king. Accordingly he posed as a "legitimist" also and sent word to England that he would be the first to bend the knee in homage if Louis d'Outremer would return to his father's kingdom. But events soon showed that Louis was to be systematically bled of prestige and power by his crafty vassal. The Duke paraded the young King off to Paris, whither came the *militia regni* — it would be premature so early to say the chivalry — in order to appropriate to his own profit the meager prestige that Carolingian royalty still enjoyed. More substantial disillusionment was soon to follow. Herbert II of Vermandois seized Château-Thierry, one of the King's domains.

*Louis IV,
d'Outremer
(936-54)*

Ever since 922 the crown lands had been subjected to seizure by the great nobles, and Louis, who was a spirited youngster, determined to make an effort to recover them. The most important of these was Laon, which, because it was perched upon a high hill commanding a wide and rich plain, was the most valuable. The Count of Vermandois had garrisoned it ever since 928. But the King took it by assault and followed up this success by recovering Corbeny, midway between Reims and Laon, a position of exceptional value for a suzerain with reference to his vassals.

*Louis tries to
recover lost
domains*

The place pertained to the monks of Saint-Remy, to whom it had been given by Charles the Simple, but had once been part of the royal domain; henceforth the King paid an annual *cens* to the monks for its possession. Meanwhile the Count of Flanders, who, for fear lest the Duke of Normandy should capture it, had laid his hand on Montreuil, on the Channel coast, the only port of Hugh the Great, and also threatened the little port of Guînes near it, the sole exit to the sea, and hence to England, which the King possessed.

The rash but by no means young King would have been wise if, in the midst of difficulties at home, he had refrained from interfering in Lorraine and thereby incurring the umbrage of Otto the Great, whose resentment at his assertion of Carolingian pretensions there was adroitly utilized by Hugh the Great, who seized the occasion to marry Otto I's sister Hedwig. This furnished the German King a pretext to intervene in France when he wished and foiled any hope of Louis to acquire Lorraine. But the turbulence of the Lotharingian nobles worried Otto I, and when Gilbert of Lorraine died, to whom Henry I had given in marriage his daughter Gerberge, in the hope of thus purchasing the allegiance of Lorraine to Germany, the German King, as a concession to French partisans in the duchy and as a means of conciliating Louis, married his widowed sister to Louis d'Outremer and gave her possession of the former lands of the Carolingian house in Lorraine. It was a diplomatic makeshift and no more effective in smoothing the eternal question of Lorraine than modern diplomatic methods have been. But the Carolingian King got one substantial advantage out of his marriage; for, as Hugh the Great was husband of one Saxon princess and Louis of another, the powerful German King was compelled to follow a neutral policy in French affairs, and Louis had deprived his menacing rival in Paris of the German support upon which he had calculated.

*Carolingian
claims to
Lorraine*

*Influence of
Otto the Great
in France*

At this juncture Louis d'Outremer threw away much of the advantage he had acquired by an action of gross ambition and political depravity which all but ruined him. In 943 Duke William Longsword of Normandy was murdered by Arnulf of Flanders in a conference the intention of which was to settle the boundary feud between Normandy and Flanders. Legally his son Richard I, being a minor, was thereby under the wardship of the King, who had the opportunity to win the favor of the Normans by a wise political course and to use their support to break the power of Hugh the Great, under whose domineering he chafed. But instead of so doing, Louis, whose English training made him an implacable foe of the Normans, plotted to destroy Richard and seize the government for himself. It was not so mad a design as might be supposed. The future formidable power of the dukes of Normandy must not deceive us into believing that their position was not precarious after 912. The hostility

*Importance of
Normandy*

of the English kings, of Arnulf of Flanders, and of Louis IV to the Normans ringed them around with foes. Who knows if without the alliance of Hugh the Great after 943, they might not have experienced the fate of the Northmen of the Loire, who were once every whit as formidable, yet disappeared? The Normans, led by the archbishop of Rouen, having got wind of the plan, admitted the King into Rouen when he came to assume the wardship of the little Duke and then closed the gates and kept him prisoner until Hugh the Great appeared, who promptly simulated righteous indignation that a king should so seek to violate feudal law, and in the name of "feudal justice" carried the King off as a prisoner. For the second time in history a Carolingian king was imprisoned by one of his vassals. It was a bad sign. For months Louis lay in durance and he was not released until he yielded Laon, the habitual place of residence of the later Carolingians, though the modern notion of a fixed capital did not yet exist, to Hugh the Great. A German army that invaded France in the summer of 946, accompanied by forces of Arnulf of Flanders and King Conrad of Transjurane Burgundy, devastated the domains of Hugh the Great, but failed before Laon. Hugh the Great, who might have made capital out of the German invasion by rallying the nobility of northern France around him, threw away the advantage by getting into a quarrel with the Archbishop of Reims over some domains in dispute and was excommunicated by the synod of Ingelheim, which many French bishops attended and where complaint was long and loud against the outrages of the Duke of France. Hugh's foolish alienation of the Church, and German opposition to him, prolonged the duration of the Carolingian house and retarded his own ambition to be king. To add to his discomfiture, in 949 the King by a stratagem recovered Laon. Even when Louis d'Outremer died, in 954, the Duke was too cautious to take the crown. He still found safety in posing as king-maker rather than becoming king, although many of his vassals urged him to take the revolutionary step.

*Influence of
the Church
and German
opposition*

*Lothaire
(954-86)*

Lothaire followed his father upon the throne. Two years later, in 956, Hugh himself died, and his son Hugh, known to later history as Hugh Capet, succeeded him as duke of France and count of Paris. The political situation at this time was singular. Both the King and the Duke were boys, and also cousins, for their mothers, Saxon princesses, were sisters. Actual government of the West Frankish kingdom was in the hands of Otto I's brother Bruno (d. 965), the Archbishop of Cologne and Duke of Lorraine for eleven years (954-65). This remarkable fact that the King that was and the King that was to be in 987 were both half German in blood, united with the further fact that the politics of the western realm were directed by the German Emperor for eleven years without any evidence of protest among the French baronage of "German domination"

*German
regency over
France
(954-65)*

or the "German yoke," ought to be convincing that in the tenth century there was no national feeling in either France or Germany, and that what friction we find, as in Lorraine, was of a feudal nature, not a national antagonism. The point of the issue in Lorraine was that the western Carolingians claimed that the crown lands in Lorraine were rightfully theirs *by private ownership* and that the German kings had no right to appropriate them. In this claim the disaffected local Lotharingian nobles sustained them in the hope of themselves acquiring some new domains.

*No national
antagonism
at this time*

The eleven years between 954 and 966 were but a truce between Lothaire and Hugh Capet; when each reached his majority the intermitted rivalry was resumed. Yet so long as Otto I lived, overt hostility between the cousins was repressed by their powerful uncle. When Otto I died, however, in 973, the rivalry became acute. Neither Otto II nor Otto III could exercise the same degree of power in West Frankish affairs as Otto the Great had exercised.

*Rivalry be-
tween
Lothaire and
Hugh Capet*

In the face of the formidable coalition of the vassals of the Duke of France and the Count of Vermandois, coupled with the fact that the King's power in the other great provinces of the realm was almost illusory, it was important for him to preserve the German "protectorate" (the word is used in a somewhat vague and indefinite sense, however). But this is precisely what Lothaire did not do. As his father had formerly alienated the Norman vassalage and turned it into the hands of the Duke of France, so in 978 Lothaire by a mad expedition into Lorraine angered Otto II and threw Saxon policy, though not at once, into alignment with the ambition of Hugh Capet.

*Madcap effort
of Lothaire
to acquire
Lorraine
(978)*

Lothaire's claims upon Lorraine were of the most unsubstantial sort, for as far back as Charles the Simple the Carolingian kings had waived political claim to the duchy. The only possible pretension he could have made was to ownership of the former crown lands of the house of Charlemagne in Lorraine, and even this pretension was a tenuous one. The King's resolution to invade Lorraine was suddenly made and the preparations kept secret until the last moment. Men of this epoch knew small degree between idea and execution. Apparently the design was to capture Otto II by a *coup de main* and then to demand the surrender of Lorraine as the price of his deliverance. The Emperor and the Empress Theophano were quietly residing at Aachen at this time and did not learn of the invasion until the Meuse had been crossed. There was no time then for making military resistance. Otto II and his wife rode with all speed for Cologne. If the poet Browning had known of this episode, he would have had another incident to relate like that in "The ride from Ghent to Aix"—and an historical, not an imaginary, one. At this juncture Lothaire's expedition became the most farcical kind of history. In the

old palace of Charlemagne the table was spread for the Emperor's dinner, and the King and his familiars gorged themselves, while the drunken soldiery spread over the town, having broached the wine casks in the cellar of the palace. Lothaire, in his cups, as a piece of bravado, ordered the great bronze eagle which Charlemagne had erected upon the palace and which faced towards the east, to be turned towards the west, perhaps as a sign of the "claim" of the western kingdom to Lorraine. After three days of orgy Lothaire retired.

*The German
King retali-
ates by an in-
vasion of
France*

Meantime the German King made preparations to invade France and at the same time promised to dethrone Lothaire in favor of his brother Charles, who—by an eccentricity of fortune—was Duke of Lorraine and a German vassal. The absurdity of Lothaire's pretension to Lorraine is self-evident in this circumstance, which is also indicative of a more important fact that must not be lost sight of—namely, that in theory the Holy Roman Empire included France as well as Germany and Italy, and that, however far feudalism may politically have dissolved the once great empire of Charlemagne, that unity was still preserved as a political fiction.

Lothaire, surprised in his turn, when his troops had been released, could make no resistance to the German invasion of France and was compelled to find refuge at Étampes, in the domains of Hugh Capet, whose territory, with the Rémois and Laonnais, bore the full brunt of the invasion. The German host made no distinction between Hugh's domains and the domains of the King, and it would have been impossible for them to do so in the parceled state of fiefs and other domains at this time. A spectacular but futile siege of Paris was made by Otto II's army. At last weakened by fatigue and disease, and suffering from hunger, since the country was desolated, the German army began to retreat. The forces of Hugh Capet, Geoffery Greygown of Anjou, and many other feudal lords of the north fell upon the invaders. A freshet of the Aisne River stopped the French pursuit, and the German army made good its retreat except for the rear-guard. Otto II's expedition, like that of Lothaire, had no clear result. But the balance was in favor of the Germans in spite of the exaggerated jubilation of French chroniclers. For Lorraine was as firmly German as before, and almost from the Meuse to the Seine the French territory was in a state of devastation. But one piece of luck befell Lothaire. He still maintained possession of Laon. All in all, Lothaire had checkmated the machinations of Hugh Capet. He was an energetic if erratic king. The proof of his natural force of character is found in the large place he has in *chansons de geste* of a later age, like the *Raoul de Cambrai* and the *Lohere*.

While the red thread of French history in the tenth century is the record of the struggle between the last Carolingians and the powerful

dukes of France, a closer scrutiny will reveal that the pattern of the time is to be seen in the history of the great feudal provinces. In the territory that stretched from the Scheldt to the Pyrenees and from the Saône to the Atlantic, Lothaire's authority was far from being uniformly recognized. Neither Gascony nor Brittany recognized the King. Normandy showed no vassalage either to the King or to Hugh Capet. In the duchy of France the King had no authority save over the bishoprics of Paris, Orléans, and Senlis and the abbeys of Saint Denis, Saint Germain, Saint Maur, and Saint Martin of Tours—evidence that the King's ecclesiastical authority, expressed in the *droit de regale* or regalian right, was less dissipated than his political authority. This is a point to be noticed. The King's rule was fully recognized in Anjou and Chartres, but it was the area between the Seine and the Meuse that was the true seat of royal power. There were the King's own domains and those of his strongest supporter, the Archbishop of Reims. Ducal Burgundy was fractured into many counties, but the crown appointed the archbishop of Sens and the bishops of Langres and Auxerre and possessed Dijon. Over the duchy of Aquitaine Lothaire's authority was vague, and the relations of the Carolingian kingship to the count of Toulouse and the marquis of Gothia in the last half of the tenth century are not known. In the Spanish Mark and Roussillon the kingship was theoretically acknowledged. The eastern frontier from the mouth of the Rhine to the Jura was a ragged edge which neither the Saxon nor the German king could control and bristled with the castles of the local feudality.

Nature and extent of the later Carolingian kingship

Royal authority over the Church greater than over the feudality

As for the civilization of France in this tenth century, it seems to be one of violence unrelieved by any sense of right or honor. Events succeed one another seemingly at mere hazard. No chronicler of the time was conscious of anything except turmoil and bitter partisan strife. Alliances were made and broken for trivial reasons, and the feudal nobles almost all seem to have been violent, faithless, cruel; no one of them was actuated by any constructive policy. Neither oaths taken on the Scriptures or the relics of the saints nor excommunication deterred the nobles when covetous of some domain, whether of another noble or of the Church. The clergy were recruited from the feudality and carried into the Church the spirit of the secular world. Archambaud of Sens moved the altar of the cathedral into the porch, stabled his horses in the chapels, and kenneled his hunting dogs in the choir. Herbert of Auxerre, a natural son of Hugh the Great, built castles and enfeoffed the lands of his church. The monks were no better in manners and morals. The new foundation of Cluny was the only place of monastic light. It is manifest that France, unlike Saxon Germany, had not yet found itself in the tenth century; that feudal institutions were still inchoate and unformed; that the feudal aristocracy was keenly assertive of its "rights," but without perception yet of the

Violence of the civilization of the age

duties of a ruling class to the society it ruled. The fundamental weakness of the last Carolingians was this deficiency of political and social vision, and the fundamental strength of the rising house of Paris exactly that its representatives had some understanding of the meaning and the drift of things around them.

Ambitious, energetic, but unwise, Lothaire in the last years of his reign still meditated impossible enterprises, still dreamed of acquiring Lorraine and even Alsace. Fortune, he thought, favored him in 983 when the throne of the young Otto III was threatened by the pretensions of Henry the Wrangler of Bavaria, with whom Lothaire had a secret conference at Breisach, where an agreement was perfected that in return for Carolingian support of the Bavarian Duke, the latter if he became king of Germany would relinquish Lorraine and Alsace to the western realm as the price of Lothaire's support of him. But Adalberon, Archbishop of Reims, was a Lorrainer by birth and, though a French vassal, was unwilling to see his native land wrenched from the German kingdom. In this resolution he was sustained by his coadjutor, Gerbert, also a Frenchman. The two churchmen, in order to traverse the King's design, effected a coalition between the Saxon King—or rather his clever mother, the Empress Theophano—and Hugh Capet, by the terms of which Hugh Capet was forcibly to stop Lothaire's plan, in return for which the German crown pledged its support of Hugh Capet for the kingship whenever the overthrow of the Carolingian house might seem desirable. So Lothaire again was foiled. And again the intimate political relation between east and west is to be observed, for it belies the oft-stated opinion that national feeling was a sentiment in the accession of Hugh Capet in 987.

When Lothaire died, in 986, it seemed as if the time were ripe for Hugh Capet to assume the kingship. But Hugh was a master of "watchful waiting," of patience and subtle diplomacy. He would wait until the ripe fruit fell rather than pluck it. His shrewdness was justified by events. Louis V lived but a year, being killed while hunting. He was hardly more than a boy himself and had no heir except his uncle Charles, Duke of Lorraine, who was a German vassal. The high clergy of northern France and some of the great lords, but far from all, prayed the Duke to take the throne. He was crowned in 987 by Adalberon, who made it a condition that the kingdom of France—we may now so call the former West Frankish kingdom, since the Duke of France had become king—renounce the constant claim of Hugh's predecessors to Lorraine.

So far from being an event of the first magnitude, the revolution of 987 was almost accidental. It was the later growth and power of the Capetian house that was important. The accession of Hugh Capet hardly rippled the surface of politics at the time; for that event coincided with the extraordinary development of feudalism. In 987 there was neither a

*Intrigue
between
Lothaire and
Henry, Duke
of Bavaria
(983)*

*Diplomacy of
Gerbert*

*Accession of
Hugh Capet
(987)*

*Significance
of the
revolution*

French nation nor a sentiment of nationality, nor a central government, nor a single capital. The "kingdom" was an aggregation of heterogeneous fiefs, each having its own dynasty, its own institutions, its own customary law, often even its own peculiar speech. Fifty-six of the great lords were as princes of independent states, coining their own money, administering "high" justice. There were at least ten major dialects current and many lesser patois. Complete sovereignty was enjoyed by the grand vassals who were immediately below the king in the feudal hierarchy. Lesser nobles exercised a greater or less degree of sovereignty in their spheres. The fusion of races and political consolidation was not achieved until the end of the thirteenth century, and even then only to a degree.

*Weakness of
the kingship*

Two legally and historically different dignities and authorities were merged in Hugh Capet. Legally and historically he was the successor of the Carolingians and as such was heir to the imprescriptible prerogatives of the former Frankish kingship. It is true that the possession of these was much more in theory than in fact, but the time was to come in the twelfth century when the theories would begin to be converted into practice. But the King was also chief suzerain of all the feudatories comprehended within the realm and as such in and of the feudal organism. His sovereignty was but remnants of the once undivided sovereignty of the Carolingian kings; his suzerainty, though higher than that of other seigniors, actually was not so strong as that of some of his grand vassals — notably the Duke of Normandy's. The policy of the first Capetians was to utilize now one, now the other, sort of prerogative according to circumstance, to supplement the diminished authority of one by use of the other if practicable; in a word, to make the kingship minister to suzerainty, and suzerainty minister to kingship.

*Double
nature of
royal
authority*

The nature and significance of the royal domain in shaping the destiny of the Capetian house must be understood. It is important to remember that the medieval king was not landless, and his land, which was a family possession, largely determined his power.

*Importance of
households
to royal
power*

"Hugh the Great was count of Paris and had great possessions in the valley of the Seine and the Orléannais. Hugh Capet was one of the greatest landowners of the north of France. We shall never understand medieval history unless we distinguish between the *domain* of the king, which he held before his election, as a feudal proprietor, and the royal rights which, in theory at least, were conferred on him only by election. The feudal domain soon began to react on the kingship. . . . As the idea of property is simpler than the idea of kingship, it is not surprising to find that the kings manifested a strong tendency to look upon their kingdoms as *domains*. It is to this tendency undoubtedly that we owe the hereditary character of the medieval kingship. We have seen that it was at first clearly elective. But the elective king had hereditary domains; and when these went to his heir, it was natural that the kingship should go

with them. In this way the crown of France and ultimately even the kingship of Germany became hereditary."¹

*Proprietary
power of
Hugh Capet
an important
asset to royal
authority*

The extensive house-lands of the Duke of France, now become king, provided the new crown with material resources, which the old crown had not possessed under the later Carolingians. From the moment of its accession the Capetian house strove, reign in and reign out, to establish the hereditability of the crown in its dynasty; to increase and extend the royal domain; to make its overlordship of the high feudality more effective; to convert suzerainty into sovereignty; to develop and regularize a taxation and fiscal system in order to provide resources for the development of the royal power.

The Capetian monarchy, like the Frank monarchy, which it succeeded, was an elective monarchy. But at once the progress of events began to set aside the theory. The feudal domain began to react upon the kingship. It is hard for any man, very hard for an unlettered warrior, to live constantly up to the doctrine that he is two persons in one. And, as the idea of property is simpler than the idea of kingship, it is not surprising to find that the kings manifested a strong tendency *to look upon their kingdom as domain*. . . . The elective king had hereditary domains, and when these went to his heir, it was natural that the kingship should go with them. In this way the crown of France gradually became hereditary."²

*Cautious de-
velopment of
hereditary
right to the
crown*

But Hugh Capet and his successors had to act cautiously in the matter of their sons' succession in order not to excite the jealousy of the great barons. The means therefore adopted was that of securing the confirmation and coronation of the heir presumptive during the lifetime of his father, and thus associating the prince by anticipation in the royal power. This principle was known as "co-optation." The practice of primogeniture was not originated by Hugh Capet, but had been applied by the counts of Anjou and the dukes of Normandy within their domains at an early date and in 979 was adopted by the Frankish crown when Lothaire associated his son Louis with him on the throne. Hugh Capet could therefore cite precedents for his conduct. Hugh Capet's successors observed precisely the same procedure with reference to their sons. In 1016 Robert the Pious associated with himself his eldest son, Hugh, who was then only ten years of age; and when Hugh died, in 1025, he transferred his authority to his second son, Henry. He, in turn, when king, associated Philip I with himself in 1059, and Philip I in like manner Louis VI. Like Robert, Louis VI twice was called upon to assert the principle of co-optation, owing to the death of his eldest son. The fortune of Louis VII in having only daughters during the first thirty years of his kingship threatened grave political embarrassments to the French monarchy; and the birth of Philip

¹ JENKS, *Law and Politics of the Middle Ages*, pp. 87-8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Augustus in 1165 was rapturously heralded by King and clergy as a divine intervention. Philip II's coronation during the lifetime of his father is the last example of co-optation. By that time the law of co-optation and the principle of primogeniture were definitely settled.

The law of primogeniture, however, implied more than the succession of the eldest son. The indivisibility of the royal domain was safeguarded. The undivided resources of the monarchy, all the power and authority of the deceased king, passed over intact to his successor. The younger princes had no independent part or lot in the property or possessions or prerogative of the crown; the fiefs which they possessed were held as appanages and could be recalled at will by the king. In other words, the royal domain was never divided. Thus the law of primogeniture became the great security for the permanence and power of the Capetian house, for when once it was established that the resources of the monarchy should remain forever undivided, even the reigns of weak kings like Philip I could not seriously impair it. The monarchy might cease to grow or grow slowly under such kings; but it never retrograded; the worst that could happen to it was for its progress to be stayed for a season. This circumstance accounts for the striking fact that the French monarchy never lapsed in power, although there is a singular alternation in the character of its kings. Philip I was weak, Louis VI was strong, Louis VII was weak, Philip II was strong, Louis VIII did not live long enough to give an account, Louis IX was strong, Philip III was weak, and yet, throughout, the French monarchy continued to grow.

Primogeniture

It must be clearly understood that in 987 the territorial and political decomposition of France was at its extreme point owing to the development of feudo-territorial authority. The "kingdom" extended from the Meuse to the Pyrenees and from the Atlantic to the line of the Saône and the Rhone. But the eastern and far southern boundaries were nebulous, for the territories beyond the Meuse pertained to Germany, the Rhone valley formed the kingdom of Burgundy, and the county of Barcelona was more Spanish than French. Internally the realm was divided into eight great feudal territories, of which six were in the north — the duchies of France (which pertained to the crown), Normandy, and Burgundy and the counties of Brittany, Champagne, and Flanders. South of the Loire were the duchy of Aquitaine (including the great county of Poitou) and the county of Toulouse. These were the great fiefs. But every one of these territories was in turn divided into lesser fiefs, although some of them were very powerful. Thus in the duchy of France the counties of Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Blois were in a *de facto* capacity as good as independent of Hugh Capet, who was overlord of them in the double relation of duke of France and king. The count of Flanders had little control of the counts of Hainaut and Brabant. The duke of Burgundy was

Political anatomy of feudal France

Great feudatories

Multitude of lesser fiefs

in like position with reference to the counts of Nevers, Charolais, and Bourbonnais. Within the duchy of Aquitaine (now beginning to be called Guienne) the dukes of Gascony and the counts of La Marche, Angoumois, Périgord, and Auvergne were half-independent. The huge county of Toulouse had in its bosom the counties of Rouergue and Quercy, the viscounties of Béziers, Narbonne, etc. In turn these fiefs of the second order were subdivided into viscounties, baronies, chatellanies, each of which embraced a greater or less number of parishes and villages. Thus every noble except those of the lowest rank (chatelains) was at once an overlord and a vassal. A chatelain, as the simple possessor of a single castle, was only a manorial proprietor over servile peasantry. Until the reign of Louis VI (1108-37) the authority of the crown was rarely extended beyond the borders of the duchy of France.

*Reign of
Hugh Capet*
(987-96) 340

The first four years of Hugh Capet's reign were embarrassed by a war with Charles of Lorraine, who had no mind to lose the crown; but at last his imprisonment in Orléans assured the enthronement of the new dynasty, though the strength of the Carolingian party is shown by the fact that for a moment Charles was master of both Reims and Laon. The main anxiety of the King throughout his life was to keep aloof from feudal turmoil, mostly occasioned by the incessant wars between the counts of Anjou and Blois for ascendancy in the west.

*Robert the
Pious*
(996-1031)

His son, Robert the Pious (996-1031), who was better fitted for a cloister than a kingdom, blundered throughout his reign. His marriage with Bertha, widow of Odo I, of Blois, antagonized Anjou, and he waged a wearisome war with Burgundy, which a stronger king would have ended earlier. Henry, Duke of Burgundy and brother of Hugh Capet, had died childless and sought to leave the duchy to his stepson, Otto William. The latter was a vassal of the kingdom of Burgundy. Robert took the ground, for which there was precedent as old as the epoch of Verdun, that no vassal could serve two crowns. For fourteen years the war was carried on, at the end of which Robert succeeded in sustaining his position and gave the vacant duchy to a younger son. But in Lorraine, where a faction, on the death of the Emperor Henry II in 1024, offered him their allegiance, he was completely foiled.

The crown had hardly succeeded in crushing the attempted secession of Burgundy when it was menaced by an equal danger in the west. In 1019 the county of Champagne, with the subordinate fiefs of Meaux, Beauvais, Troyes, Brie, and Châlons, fell by inheritance to Odo II, Count of Blois and Chartres. A danger similar to the feudal ascendancy of Herbert of Vermandois at once arose. The royal domain, situated between these two feudal groups, was in danger of being crushed. The situation was aggravated by the personal hatred of the Count of Blois for the King, because Robert had been obliged to put away Queen Bertha, who was

Odo's mother, under pain of excommunication on account of consanguinity. It was well for him that the Count of Blois was much of the time engaged in settling his newly acquired fiefs and in war with Fulk of Anjou. The King's position was pitiable. Even his own house was divided. The new Queen, Constance, was determined to force the accession of her favorite, the younger son, Robert, in place of the elder, Henry. In the midst of the quarrel the King died (July 20, 1031). The timely intervention of Fulk spared Henry further humiliation. His brother was pacified by the gift of Burgundy, and Henry became the third king of the Capetian house without opposition (1031-60). Unlike his father, Henry I was a man of war and displayed a lively interest in the royal cause, revived the alliances between Anjou and the crown, acquired the county of Melun (1041) and Sens (1055), by feudal escheat and the Vexin (1041) in reward for aid rendered William the Conqueror against his rebellious Norman vassals. Henry's later intrigues with the Norman barons, however, in the hope that the royal domain might be extended, were effectually stopped by the Duke, who twice defeated him in battle (1054, 1058).

*Henry I
(1031-60)*

And yet the very weakness of the French crown in these early years of its history, when it was still in the gristle and had not yet hardened into bone, was its protection. Neither the power nor the lands of the first Capetians were great enough to excite the covetousness of the baronage, whose attention was almost wholly absorbed in consolidating their own lands, and building up the power of their own houses within their territories.

*Weakness of
the crown a
sort of pro-
tective
coloring*

The royal domain in the time of Hugh Capet, from which the kings derived their resources and which alone they could enfeoff to procure vassals, was composed of parceled remnants scattered between the Somme and the Loire and cut in twain midway by the Seine. This was the Île de France. Excluding the five bishoprics of Sens, Paris, Orléans, Beauvais, and Noyon, which were enclaved within the royal domain, the principal places were Paris (the *ville*), Orléans (the *ville*), Dreux, Étampes, Melun, and Mantes. Philip I (1060-1108) acquired Corbeil, the French Vexin, Château-Landon, Gâtinais, Dun-le-Roi, and the county of Bourges, the first acquisition south of the Loire, which he purchased for fifteen hundred marks silver at the time of the First Crusade. To such diminished proportion had the once huge duchy of Francia shrunk at the end of the tenth century, owing to the upgrowth of the independent power of the counts of Anjou, Blois, and Sancerre within the ducal territory, whose vassalage to the king was often only nominal, to say nothing of the carving of Normandy out of the duchy. Even within this small circumscription the first Capetian kings were not wholly masters; for the small barons within the Île de France built castles in defiance of the royal authority and endeavored on a petty scale to do what the great feudatories did in the way of independence

and aggrandizing themselves. In the long, weak reign of Philip I the *châteaux* of the lords of Puiset, Monthéry, and La Roche-Guyon were silhouetted against the sky almost within sight of the walls of Paris.

Modes of territorial acquisition

The modes of territorial acquisition by the French crown were five in number:

- (a) by purchase or grant;
- (b) by direct or collateral inheritance;
- (c) by marriage;
- (d) by forfeiture or confiscation;
- (e) by conquest.

Sometimes the tact of the king in making these small territorial acquisitions, in yielding to local loyalty or prejudice, stood him in good stead. Thus in 1068 when Philip I acquired Château-Landon and the Gâtinais from the Count of Anjou after a sharp brush at arms, and thus united his domains in the valley of the Seine with those in the valley of the Loire, the King promised to respect the "customs of their land."

Feudal nature of royal revenues

Until the thirteenth century no royal taxes existed. The revenues of the kings were wholly of a feudo-manorial nature. These were in the form of farm produce (*naturalia*), renders, manorial exactions, and banalities, supplemented by tolls, market dues, procuration or enforced entertainment, the *taille servile* or property tax imposed upon the peasantry of the king's manors, etc. The kings lived as proprietors, not as sovereigns, and had no fixed capital, but were nomads, like all the nobles of the feudal age, moving from one great manor to another, though they had a preference for Paris or its vicinity when practicable. But Paris did not become the fixed place of royal residence until Philip Augustus (1180-1223).

Local administration

These scattered properties were managed by *villici* or stewards, after the method as old as Charlemagne's *Capitulare de villis*. Petty justice in them was administered by vicars (*vicarii*), in whom we see the debris of Carolingian local government, for in the time of Charlemagne the vicar was a subordinate of the count. But the tendency of both these classes of officials was to make themselves hereditary in the offices and so independent of authority. In consequence in the reign of Henry I (1031-60) we discover a new local official, the *provost*, who combined administration of justice and tax-collecting in his circuit (*prévôté*). The new office probably was imitated from the practice of the monasteries in governing their dependencies. Most of the provosts were rural officers, but with the rapid increase of population in the eleventh century upon certain points of the royal domain — Paris, Sens, Étampes, Orléans, Bourges, we find several provosts in the same place. These officials tended also to go the way of feudalism and to become hereditary and thus

weaken the king's control over them, until Philip II effectually checked them by establishing the bailiffs over them.

Like other officers, the provost held his place in fief. He was named and could be deposed by the king, although theory and fact, at the end of the eleventh century, were often at variance, and the post not infrequently was hereditary. The judicial power of the provost extended from simple misdemeanors up to graver crimes; but his most important function was to collect the revenue. Owing to the rudimentary condition of local governmental forms, the early kings had been induced to farm the revenues. This complication is the key to the apparently incongruous relations of king and provosts which are found throughout the twelfth century. The semi-feudal tenure of the provosts and the petty tyrannies they employed in exacting tribute were inimical to the interests of the crown. Their excesses attained such proportions that sometimes whole districts were abandoned by the inhabitants.

The same manifestation is found also in the offices of the court. The first Capetians were no more masters in their own household than they were masters in the royal domain. The high officials of the court were the chancellor, always a churchman; the seneschal, the active executive of the government, under the king, presiding judge of the *Curia regis* and supervisor of local administration; the constable, or commander of the horse; the chamberlain, or superintendent of the palace; and the butler, who was almost an inferior official. But the tendency of all these offices except the first was to escape from control by becoming hereditary and a fief. In addition, a swarm of lesser court officials in the eleventh century, before Louis VI's vigorous reforms, intruded themselves into the administration, one and all preening themselves on the dignity of their "office" and clamoring for recognition. So far did this feudal intrusion go that we find the king's chaplain, his physician, the tutor of the princes, and even cooks and scullions from the royal kitchen affixing their seals to documents. Louis VI (1108-37) cleaned these impertinent menials out and at the same time made a refreshing revival of ancient legal formulæ borrowed from the Carolingian chancellery.

*Royal court
and great
officials*

How far the effort of feudal upstarts to englobe the high administrative offices could go is shown by the long conflict Louis VI had with the Garlande brothers to break their control in the palace. Stephen was chancellor, William was seneschal, Gilbert was butler. Besides being local nobles of substance and station, they connived with Henry I of England, who in his capacity as duke of Normandy was the arch-enemy of the French kings, and with Theobald of Blois, their cousin.

One of the clearest evidences of the weakness of the first Capetians is to be seen in the poverty of their legislation. There are no more than a dozen authentic legislative acts of Hugh Capet, and the energy of the French

*Poverty of
legislation*

crown in making ordonnances is not greatly evident before Louis VI. In contrast with this languor we have 434 acts of Otto I, 317 of Otto II in ten years, 425 of Otto III in fifteen years. Even within his duchy Hugh Capet's power was not large. When the Count of Chartres attacked one of his vassals, he was not able to protect him. He was unable to preserve intact even so diminished a territory.

Justice

Next to its military and political character, the most important feature of feudalism was its judicial nature. The fief was a judicial as well as a military unit, and the lord of the fief had jurisdiction over his vassals. Judgment had to be pronounced in his court. Accordingly the feudal chief who had become a king aspired to assert similar rights over the men who had become his subjects. In spite of long and fierce opposition the French kings gradually won this point.

Curia regis

The highest court of justice was a bench composed of the princes of the blood, the grand vassals of the crown, seigniors holding immediately of the king, archbishops, bishops, and the officers of the king's palace. It was commonly called the *Curia regis*. The participation of the vassals was governed by circumstances. The ordinance therein made was less an act of the express will of the suzerain than a political agreement. Even in the time of Philip Augustus these agreements "were no further binding than the personal territories of the contracting parties extended."

Predominance
of feudal
elements early

The jurisdiction of the court was a curious combination of public law and private privilege, of royal prerogative and feudal sovereignty. Originally the feudal element much predominated, but the French kings had a way of twisting even feudalism to their own ends. The failure of the grand barons to attend was a great advantage to the monarchy. The *Curia regis* originally comprised all whom the king chose to summon. According to custom, unless it was a cause involving an ecclesiastical personage or a superior baron — one who therefore was not amenable to simple vassals — the case was tried before a court of justice made up of ordinary vassals; that is, contests between vassals properly so called were decided by the feudal court where they alone sat. It was merely the incorporation into the feudal regime of a principle that far antedated the commencement of a feudal polity. But the fact that the king was also duke of Francia made it possible for him to bring to bear a degree of authority upon the court, which tended to turn its findings to the king's interest. The vassals of the duke were necessarily also direct vassals of the king. Taking advantage of this fact, the king caused the affairs even of the great vassals to be judged by a court of his own vassals *as duke*, a method of procedure which, while technically defensible, made it a court of peers in form rather than in fact. In reality it was composed of the grand officers of the crown, like the seneschal, butler, chamberlain, constable, and chancellor, and men who lived in the immediate neighborhood of Paris and

were therefore under the king's control. The result of this policy of packing the court was that by the twelfth century the *Curia regis* had become in principle royal rather than feudal, a court whose competence no one could deny, but which was in fact a mixed court. This aided the king to transform his feudal suzerainty into sovereignty and render that sovereignty effective under the guise of a feudal suzerainty.

The firmest and broadest support of the French monarchy was found in the Church. "The Church throughout the most of northern and central France was the direct tenant of the crown in temporal matters. On the vacancy of a bishopric or of a royal abbey, the king, as the rightful overlord, assumed full administration of such rights and possessions of the see as were not distinctively ecclesiastical. . . . This right was an effective means of filling the royal treasury, and even more advantageous to the monarchy as affording political power. The return every few years of the temporalities of these great sees to the royal control enabled the king to resist the encroachments of the neighboring vassals on the ecclesiastical fiefs; and for a time at least, to use the whole force of a bishopric, in addition to his own proper resources, against any lay subject whom he might wish to curb."¹ The "royal" bishoprics in the time of the first Capetians included Amiens, Beauvais, Châlons-sur-Marne, Laon, Noyon, Reims, Senlis, Soissons, Auxerre, Autun, Chartres, Meaux, Orléans, Paris, Troyes, Sens, Langres, Tours, Châlon-sur-Saône, Mâcon, Bourges, Le Puy. Eight of these were situated *outside of the royal domain* in other feudal provinces, two of them, Le Puy and Bourges, even south of the Loire. Of the total of seventy-six bishoprics in the whole kingdom the king had the right of nomination in twenty-two—almost a third of all the sees. No grand vassal enjoyed half so much ecclesiastical power. If the duke of Normandy and the count of Brittany had wholly englobed the dioceses within their territories, on the other hand the count of Flanders and the duke of Burgundy had no such power. Even the dukes of Aquitaine controlled only three bishoprics. In the heart of the kingdom the crown was without a rival in this form of authority.

Church

"Royal"
bishoprics

A survey of the chief abbeys shows much the same royal control. While certain feudal territories, like Normandy, Brittany, Gascony, Aquitaine, Flanders, and the Toulousain, were impenetrable to the king, in the Seine basin the royal authority was complete over monasteries, and substantial in many other feudal territories. It has been computed that of the 543 abbeys in France in the time of Hugh Capet, forty-six were in the king's hands. All save three of these were north of Loire, and seventeen within the bishopric of Paris. The heritage of the Carolingians within this area fell almost wholly to the Capetians. The king's control of monasteries

Monasteries

¹ WILLISTON WALKER, *The Development of the Royal Power under Philip Augustus*.

was less than that of bishoprics. On the other hand, he drew larger revenues from the latter than from the former, but in compensation the bishops furnished substantial military contingents for the king.

*Alliance of
king and
clergy*

Under these circumstances it was foreordained that the French kings should be strong supporters of the Church, which in turn was a strong supporter of them. Generation after generation the kings played the feudalized bishops and abbots against the feudality and rewarded their loyalty with munificence. In exchange for protection and grants of land the clergy, secular and regular, furnished revenues and military aid for the crown, exalted the king's office, and helped to extend and consolidate his authority. In return for the Church's support the French kings persecuted the Jews and burned heretics. Robert the Pious at Orléans in 1022, though at first he braved the wrath of the bishops, eventually put away his wife Bertha on the grounds of consanguinity. He was not called "the pious" for nothing. Philip I (1060-1108), who was not so weak as he has been represented, is the only king of France before Philip Augustus who dared to defy the Church. But the issue showed the disastrous effect of quarreling with the Church. In 1092 he repudiated his wife Bertha and married Bertrade of Montfort, the wife of the Count of Anjou, before either he or she had been divorced, in consequence of which both were excommunicated for many years. Stricken with the ban, Philip could take no part in the First Crusade, the big event of his reign. In 1094, when at war with William Rufus over the border county of the Vexin, in dispute between Normandy and the King, the bishop of Chartres refused to send his vassals to the King's support on the ground that he was not held to obedience to a suzerain under ecclesiastical censure. Fortunately for the interests of the crown, Philip I's disability gave room for his active son, afterwards Louis VI, to exert himself early.

*Rise of the
French mon-
archy begins
with
Louis VI
(1108-37)*

✓ From Hugh Capet to Louis VI—that is to say, from 987 to 1108—the French monarchy endured, but grew little in prestige and power. A new day dawned with Louis VI, who at least accomplished the liberation of the royal domain, the Île de France, from the tyranny of the petty baronage. So great was the danger from these marauders that Louis dared not go to Reims to be crowned and went instead to Orléans. The territory of the enemy began outside the walls of Paris. The field of the active young King was confined to the region between Paris, Orléans, Étampes, Melun, and Compiègne. The conflict was fierce and unrelenting, and Louis displayed prodigious courage. He was always in the forefront, urging his men on by word and deed. In the siege of the Château de Mouchi his ardor carried him into the keep, although the castle was a mass of flames. He escaped, but lost the use of his voice for months to come. In the autumn of 1107, in the campaign against Humbaud of Sainte-Sévère-sur-Indre, when the king's men had to cross the

*Strife with
rebellious
baronage*

river in the face of the foe, Louis set an example by leaping into the water and fording the stream, although it was up to the barred front of his helmet.

As Louis's power grew, the sphere of application enlarged. The barons were to learn, as Suger aptly said, that "kings have long arms." In 1115 Alard Guillebaud, of Berry, solicited the King's help in recovering the seigniorship usurped by his uncle, Aimond Vairevache of Bourbon. Louis lost no time. The way to the south was open. No French monarch had been so far from his capital since Hugh Capet. But a grander opportunity for the extension of royal power to the south was at hand. The Bishop of Clermont had complained of the Count of Auvergne in 1121. Five years later another expedition was necessary. But the Count was a vassal of the great Duke of Aquitaine, the most powerful lord in the south. Interference by the king with a rear-vassal was a thing hitherto unheard of in feudal law. But the King was strong. He had with him Charles the Good of Flanders, Fulk of Anjou, and the Count of Brittany, besides many barons of the realm. Thus surrounded by what was in fact his *curia regis*, Louis entered Auvergne, gave judgment, and made execution. The Count of Auvergne called upon his suzerain. Duke William came with his army, but when he saw the host of the King he was filled with fear and admiration. He did homage to Louis VI and acknowledged the royal right to take cognizance of the indirect vassals of the crown. *Arrière-ban* had been delivered a telling blow. The precedent was not forgotten, although it took years of patient persistence for the crown entirely to establish the new right. It is to be noticed that the history of these wars has an intimate connection with the *curia regis*, and therefore has a direct relation to the general history of France and the progress of royal power. The king had a triple office: he was legislator, judge, and sheriff, all in one. The administration of justice was in a sorry state when Louis, as prince, assumed active direction. His campaigns were in reality executions of judgments, often by default. They were preceded by a court process, although such process was little more than a matter of form in the case of such bandits as Thomas de Marle and Hugh of Puiset.

*Extension of
royal
authority into
the south*

These repeated campaigns of Louis VI, and his indefatigable energy in reducing the baronage of the Île de France to subjection were so effective that one may say that by 1115 the royal authority had gained preponderance over feudal power within the royal domain. In the latter half of his reign royal jurisdiction was extended into Berry, Nivernais, Bourbonnais, Auvergne, Vermandois, and Flanders, though in the last the King's intervention was unsuccessful.)

*Estimate of
Louis VI's
achievements*

Little constructive statesmanship was required of Louis VI, but what he achieved had permanent effect. He was the first king to break through the barrier of rear-vassalage, and it is to him that the honor is due of

establishing the right of royal appeal, although it took years for the crown to make it entirely successful; he maintained the competence of the king over the clergy; he modified the judicial duel; he asserted the dependence of royal offices, which had become fiefs, like land, upon the crown, in the face of the rebellion of his chancellor and seneschal, who sought to establish them in the Garlande family; he purged the administration of the promiscuous attention of a motley array of court retainers, all of whom had taken a hand in public business under the early kings; he revived the old Frankish chancery, insisted upon more care in the attention and dispatch of public business, and enforced summons; he substituted, at least in a degree, in place of simple homage, the obligation of liege homage, which in future held the vassal to personal service in the field, irrespective of the traditional forty days or the territory to be entered; and, finally, he raised the dignity of kingship out of the feudal sphere by declaring that the king could do homage to none—an assertion that the king was more than chief suzerain, that the monarchy differed in kind, as well as in degree, from the baronage.

*Abbot Suger
his chief
minister*

In all this work Louis VI was aided by his remarkable minister, Suger, who had been the King's schoolmate in the fine old Capetian abbey of Saint-Denis. When Suger was appointed minister, he had served a long apprenticeship. He had been episcopal *prévôt* of Berneval-sur-Mer in Normandy, and later at Toury, on the high road from Chartres to Orléans. In Toury Suger had been forced to assume the rôle of a warrior, for the country around was fast being reduced to a waste by the depredations of the lord of Puiset, whose castle was hard by. Here also began Suger's public career. Twice he was sent to Rome. When Henry V, the Emperor, died, although he had no official vote in the German diet, Suger went to Mainz and contrived to win the favor of the grand chancellor of the Empire, Adalbert, who threw his influence in favor of Lothaire of Saxony and thus prevented the continuance of the Salian hostility to France. And yet, in spite of his abilities and his honors, from a legal point of view, while Louis VI reigned, Suger was never more than the abbot of Saint-Denis. Even when the direction of the State was in his hands, he bore no secular title.

Agriculture

No part of the policy of the King was less his own than that relating to public economy. In fostering agriculture Louis VI applied the policy Suger had already adopted on the estates of Saint-Denis. These had been organized by the abbot under an administration calculated to produce the best results. In all the domains of the abbey, the *prévôts* and their subordinates were obliged to transmit exact accounts of the condition of affairs. Suger induced the King to relieve the inhabitants of the *ville* of Saint-Denis of the right of mort-main; he redeemed the *octrois*, repurchased rights that had become alienated or usurped, and, by planting vineyards and orchards,

advanced the temporal interests of the people. In like manner did the King; for in Saint-Quentin, Soissons, Laon, and Orléans the right of mort-main was abolished, and an endeavor was made to promote centers of population and agriculture by means of assurances of protection, exemption for a term of years, or franchises and liberties. Cases in point are those of Toury, Beaune-la-Rolande, Augere-Regis, and Étampes, which were populated and put in a prosperous condition. The most notable instance of such resurrection is Lorris in the Gâtinais, whose constitution was widely imitated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Out of the depths of the feudal age the customs of Lorris reveal in a remarkable manner the purposes and teachings of a broader and more expansive era. The inhabitant of Lorris paid only the nominal sum of six deniers for his house and each acre of land that he possessed. Commerce was protected; purchase and sale were without restraint; the use of the oven was free; the tax on salt was reduced to one denier per cartload; military service was for a day at a time only; a more liberal process of law was introduced; and trial by battle was discouraged. The sixteenth article of the Customs, however, is the most remarkable. "No one," it runs, "shall be detained in prison if he can furnish bail for his appearance in court"—an assurance of civil liberty actually startling in a feudal epoch. In his last campaign, at the end of 1135, Louis VI burned the castle of Saint-Brisson-sur-Loire, whose seignior preyed upon traveling merchants, and thus gave security to the commerce of the Loire and the abbey of Fleury.

*Social
improvements*

Thus during the eleventh century the growth of the French crown was neither continuous nor consistent. The kings were defied by the puniest of their vassals. Their resources were hardly greater than those of the last Carolingians. The awakening came with Louis VI, who cleared the royal domain and in the latter years of his reign even ventured to assert the royal authority in fiefs round about.

The chief check to such extension and the greatest single danger which the French monarchy faced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the continental power of the English kings as dukes of Normandy. The Norman conquest of England in 1066 by William the Conqueror was a major event in French history. The military and financial resources of England thereby were available to the Norman duke and were used for the formidable extension of his power in France. It is fair to say, however, that the inception of the long conflict between the kings of France and the English sovereigns was largely of French incitement. For during William's protracted struggle with the Norman baronage before he established his authority in the duchy, some of the border nobles of the French king, notably the seignior of the Vexin, made incessant incursions upon Normandy, especially into the lands of two of the Duke's vassals,

*Rivalry of
French and
English kings*

*William the
Conqueror
(1066-87)*

William of Breteuil and Roger of Ivry. The Conqueror, in order to put a stop to these outrages, demanded damages.

Border warfare was rife and the Conqueror at last determined to put a stop to the trouble by a peremptory demand for the disputed tract. The result was the war in which he met his death (1087). The conditions of his will brought peace for a time by the separation of England and Normandy. But when Normandy fell to William Rufus, a dream of continental empire filled his mind, and England was forced again to become a partner in the interests at stake between France and the great barrier province. By gaining the Vexin, Rufus would deprive France of frontier protection and make way for further encroachment. In 1092 Philip had granted to his son Louis the rule of the Vexin, with the towns of Mantes and Pontoise. Five years later Rufus made his demand of the French King, specifying Mantes, Chaumont, and Pontoise, and the war began in serious earnest. The strength of William lay in the vast sums of money at his disposal. The weakness of France lay in the venality and disloyalty of the border barons and in the impoverished condition of the monarchy.

William Rufus
(1087-1100)

When Henry I of England succeeded his brother in 1100, the situation grew even more dangerous, for Henry I was a diplomat as well as a soldier and built up a formidable coalition of Louis's vassals, headed by Theobald of Blois. Even Fulk of Anjou was lured away from the French side by the marriage of his daughter to the English heir, the Aetheling William. On August 20, 1119, Louis VI was badly beaten at Brenneville in Normandy and all but captured. When the English crown prince was drowned in the sinking of the "White Ship" in the next year, Louis sought to give Normandy a duke who would never be king of England, in the person of William Clito, son of the unfortunate Robert of Normandy; but Henry I stirred up his son-in-law, the Emperor Henry V, who had married his daughter Matilda. The new adversary was enough to tax the prowess of a greater king than Louis VI. They did not come to battle, however, for the Emperor was recalled, when about to invade France, by the revolt of Worms, and his death, in 1125, removed the danger from the east. But Anjou still was kept in English alliance by the marriage of the widowed Empress to Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Fulk, so that Louis VI was checkmated in every move.

Henry I
(1100-35)

Coalition of
vassals
against France

It was probably the futility of the French struggle against England and Normandy that induced Louis VI to seek a territorial counterpoise in Aquitaine. In the last years of his reign Louis's influence had grown in the south, especially in Poitou and Auvergne. In 1137, by the death of Duke William of Aquitaine, the King became the feudal guardian of his daughter Eleanor. The union of France in the north and France in the south was consummated by the marriage of Eleanor and Louis VII in the very week of his father's decease (August 1).

Aquitaine

Death of
Louis VI

When Louis VI died, the French monarchy was not left in uncertain hands: Suger and the Count of Vermandois, who shared the responsibility, were reliable and efficient; the royal domain was a compact territory; the finances were well administered; the machinery of justice worked smoothly; and the court of the king, relieved of the feudal excrescences that had once encumbered it, had become an effective instrument of power. And yet the increase of royal power in France under Louis VII was arrested. The principal causes of this fact were: the character of the King, the Second Crusade, and, above all, the formation of a vast Anglo-Angevin dominion in France. In truth, in the reign of Louis VII French history became a portion of English history, except so far as the institutional development of the monarchy is concerned.

*Louis VII
(1137-80)*

In character Louis VII was a second Robert the Pious; he was morbidly religious and weak of will. Yet his first acts show a desire to continue the policy of his father. On his return from Aquitaine he crushed the revolt of Orléans, where the citizens sought to erect a commune, and in the next year crushed a similar movement in Ponthieu. In other ways also he displayed energy. Numbers of the nobles had thought to take advantage of the youth of the King to revive the old tactics against which Louis VI had so long contended; but the good days were soon over.

In 1141 began that series of untoward events which had so sinister an influence on the King's mind, culminating in the ecclesiastical encroachment upon the royal authority and the disastrous Second Crusade. The immediate occasion was the defection of the Count of Champagne while Louis VII was engaged in warring in Toulouse. On his return the King invaded Champagne and fired Vitry. Thirteen hundred persons perished in the flames, although Louis was hardly responsible for the horrible circumstance. The horror of the burning of Vitry preyed upon his mind, until at last in expiation he undertook the Second Crusade. The situation, moreover, was aggravated by trouble between the King and the Pope. Louis had established a commune at Reims during the time when the bishopric was vacant. The inhabitants at once, in excessive enjoyment of their new-found privileges, committed depredations upon the property of the Church, which the King was powerless to prevent. In consequence Innocent II laid Reims under interdict and would not raise it unless Louis VII consented to accept a bishop of the Pope's own choosing and abolish the commune.

Grave events

Meanwhile the external peril to the monarchy was even greater than papal encroachment upon the royal prerogative. In 1135 Henry I of England died, leaving the crown to his grandson Henry, son of Geoffrey of Anjou and the ex-Empress Matilda; but a claimant arose in Stephen of Blois, son of Theobald and Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror. The struggle was one of profound importance to France. The

*Growth of
English domi-
nation in
France*

union of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine with England was a danger equalled only by the possible union of England and Normandy with the estates of Blois, which included Chartres and Champagne.

*Disastrous
Second
Crusade*

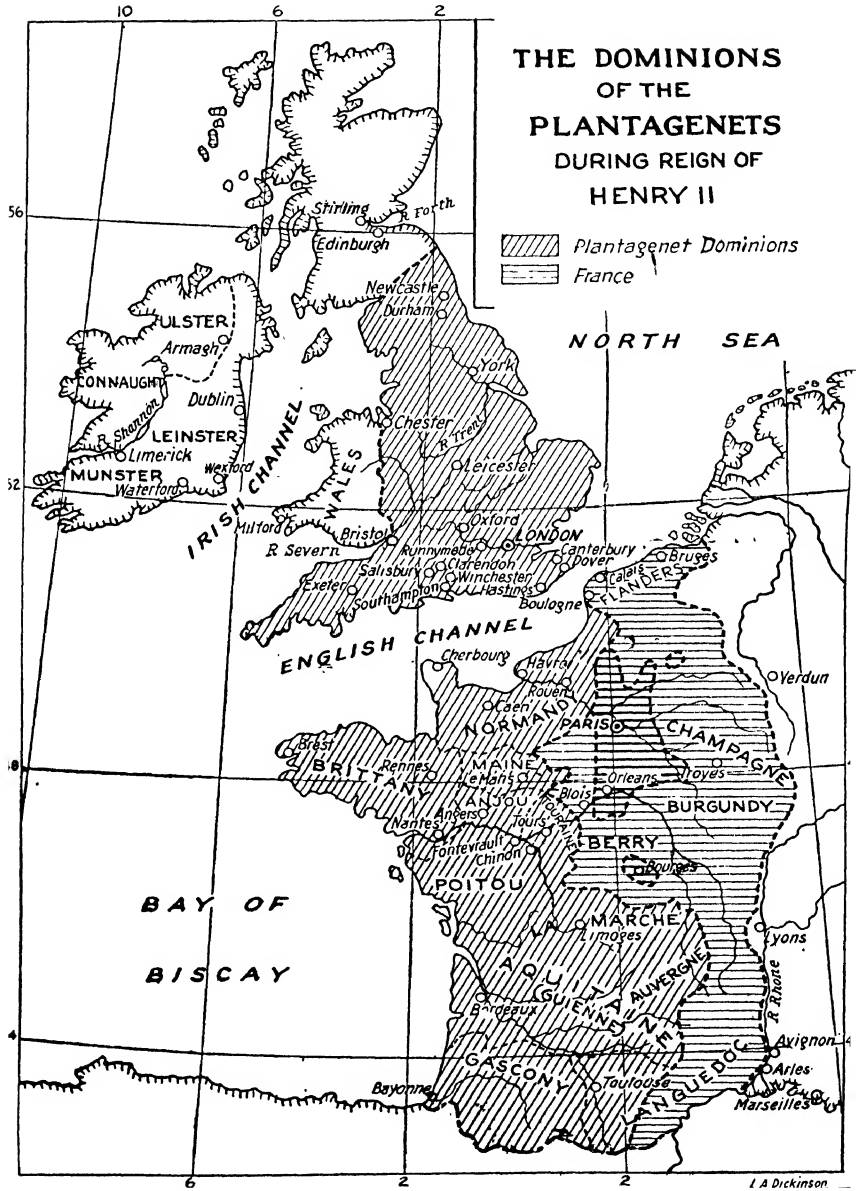
Nevertheless, against the protest of Suger, Louis went crusading while the rivals warred, and for three years he wasted blood, treasure, and time in the Far East to no purpose, while his faithful minister importuned him to return. "While you, who are bound to defend your subjects," wrote Suger in a letter whose details illustrate history, "remain like a captive in a foreign land, the disturbers of the peace vex the realm. What are you thinking of that you thus leave the flock confided to your care to the mercy of wolves? How can you conceal from yourself the peril with which the despoilers threaten your dominions? . . . Everything here claims Your Majesty's presence. We entreat your pity; we appeal to the goodness of your heart; we conjure you, by the faith that binds the prince and his subjects together, not to prolong your stay beyond the festival of Easter [1150], lest a further delay render you guilty in the sight of the Lord of breaking the vow you made on receiving the crown. You will have reason, I think, to be satisfied with our conduct. We have placed in the hands of the Knights Templars the money we have resolved to send you. . . . We reserve for your return an account of the revenues of the fiefs tributary to you, and of the tax and provisions for your household which we levy on your domains. You will find your farms and your castles in good condition from the care we have taken of them. I am now in the decline of life and may freely say that the occupations that I have undertaken for the love of God and my attachment to your person have hastened my old age." At last the King ingloriously came home, to find that his minister had been faithful unto death. Suger died January 12, 1151.

*Divorce of
Queen
Eleanor*

Suger had been able while he lived to avert the divorce of Louis VII and Eleanor, but the growing disagreement of the royal pair led to its being sanctioned in March 1152 on the thin but canonically available ground of consanguinity. The king's great-great-grandmother, Adelaide, the wife of Hugh Capet, had been the sister of Eleanor's great-great-grandfather, William VI of Aquitaine.

*who marries
Henry II of
England*

Within the year the fair Eleanor married young Henry of Anjou, destined in 1154 to become king of England; and all her fiefs in the south were added to the dominions of the English crown. From the Channel to the Pyrenees the Angevin empire extended, and France was in the greatest danger of being dwarfed in its shadow. For some time, however, save for skirmishing in the Vexin, matters were friendly between England and France. Henry II was engaged in arranging affairs in England, where the long civil war between him and Stephen at last was settled by a compromise which provided that Stephen should remain king of England, but that



when he died — as he did in 1154 — Henry Plantagenet should succeed to the throne.

*French
diplomacy
in Spain*

In the meantime Louis VII's sister had married the Count of Toulouse, a circumstance that augmented the influence, if not the power, of the French monarchy in the far south. In the same year (1154) the King made a pilgrimage to the great shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain, but that the journey also had political implications is shown by the fact that he returned with Constance, daughter of Alphonso VII of Castile, as his wife. The object of this alliance was to flank the power of Henry II as duke of Gascony with a powerful pro-French ally, but within two years the Spanish Princess died, and Louis VII then married Alix of Champagne, a daughter of the Count of Blois, a deadly foe of Henry II.

English historians, and American historians who have written of English history, in the stress that they have laid upon the influence of Normandy and Anjou, have failed to see the almost equally important, although very different, influence of Aquitaine and Gascony upon English history. Yet the new and wider imperial position of England was an influential factor in England's political and constitutional history for the next three hundred years (1151-1453). Guienne and Gascony were very like a separate kingdom, which cannot be said of Normandy and the Angevin lands. The barons there were a powerful and semi-independent body of lords who played an important part in the struggle between the father and his rebellious sons.

*War with
England
(1159)*

In 1159 Henry II, as the French King anticipated, asserted his suzerainty over the county of Toulouse, while Louis VII sustained the claim of Raymond of Saint-Gilles. The French King adroitly threw himself into the city of Toulouse and laughed in his sleeve. Henry II was loath, as yet, to war directly with the King. By feudal law, a vassal could not make war in person on his suzerain without previous declaration, and Henry knew too well the danger of setting a lawless example to his turbulent barons in the south. With rage in his heart he marched northward and, before Louis VII dreamed of it, entered the royal domain near Orléans. The Count de Montfort supported him, and placed the three strong castles of Montfort, Rochefort, and Épernon at the English king's disposal. Louis had to capitulate and arranged a marriage to be in the future concluded between his daughter Margaret and the young English Prince Henry, pledging the Vexin as dowry. But to Henry no time was like the present; the papal legate was persuaded, and the marriage took place in November 1160, although, says Roger of Hoveden, "they were little children crying in the cradle." At once Henry began the fortification of the castles of the Vexin.

Church politics averted an open rupture for a while. Pope Eugenius III had died (July 8, 1153), and a contested succession had widened into

a matter of huge dimension. The majority of the college of cardinals elected Alexander III, while the imperialist minority put up Victor IV, whom Frederick Barbarossa supported. Most of Christendom, including France and England, recognized Alexander III, for both kings were hostile towards the Emperor. The influence of the Pope, while a refugee in France (1162-5), when a German force occupied Rome, kept the balance between the kings. It might have been wiser for Louis VII to have recognized the Emperor's papal candidate, for in that event he would have been sure of Frederick I's aid against Henry II. The Count of Champagne pointed this policy out to him, but tradition was too strong for the French monarch. The Count, who had energetically supported Louis VII in the Vexin, now in disgust deserted him so far as to declare allegiance to Frederick I for certain of his fiefs. The absence of Alexander III after 1165 and Champagne's resentment might have proved almost the extremity of France, had not a new resource arisen in the conflict between Henry II and Thomas à Becket. That controversy is a matter of English history; but it had its effect on France, for the French crown supported Becket in the conflict. Many of the disaffected nobles of Brittany, Poitou, and Guienne joined the French King, and the shock of Becket's murder stirred them to fiercer rebellion.

*Papal
influence
in France*

*Effect of
Becket's
murder on
French
politics*

To intensify Henry II's embarrassment, his three sons, to whom he had delegated the government of most of his continental provinces, joined the insurrection (1173-4) and allied themselves with Louis VII. The charters reveal that the English princes and many of the French barons of the Angevin provinces were secretly subsidized by the French monarchy. In this way Louis VII prevented Henry II's design of consolidating his provinces across sea and obscurely prepared the way for their acquisition later by France. It was not an heroic policy, but it was measurably effective.

*Rebellion of
Henry II's
sons against
him
(1173-4)*

Intrigue and countermining, so to speak, were Louis VII's means, not war. He weakened the Duke of Burgundy by promoting disaffection within his territory and tampered with the vassals of Frederick Barbarossa in the Rhone valley. In the reign of Louis VII French influence, which had been checked in the eleventh century by the Salian emperors, began to penetrate into these imperial provinces, which, though French in culture, were politically attached to the German Empire. The King's "piety" was sometimes of a very practical sort. For example, in 1162-3 he made a pilgrimage to the Grande Chartreuse, which was the point of departure of new French relations in the imperial lands. Similarly he extended the *droit de régale* into the archbishopric of Lyons, a see within German-ruled territory. Thus into many provinces outside of the royal domain the influence of the French monarchy was cleverly insinuated. Louis VII was not a striking character and in some ways was an ignoble

XXI

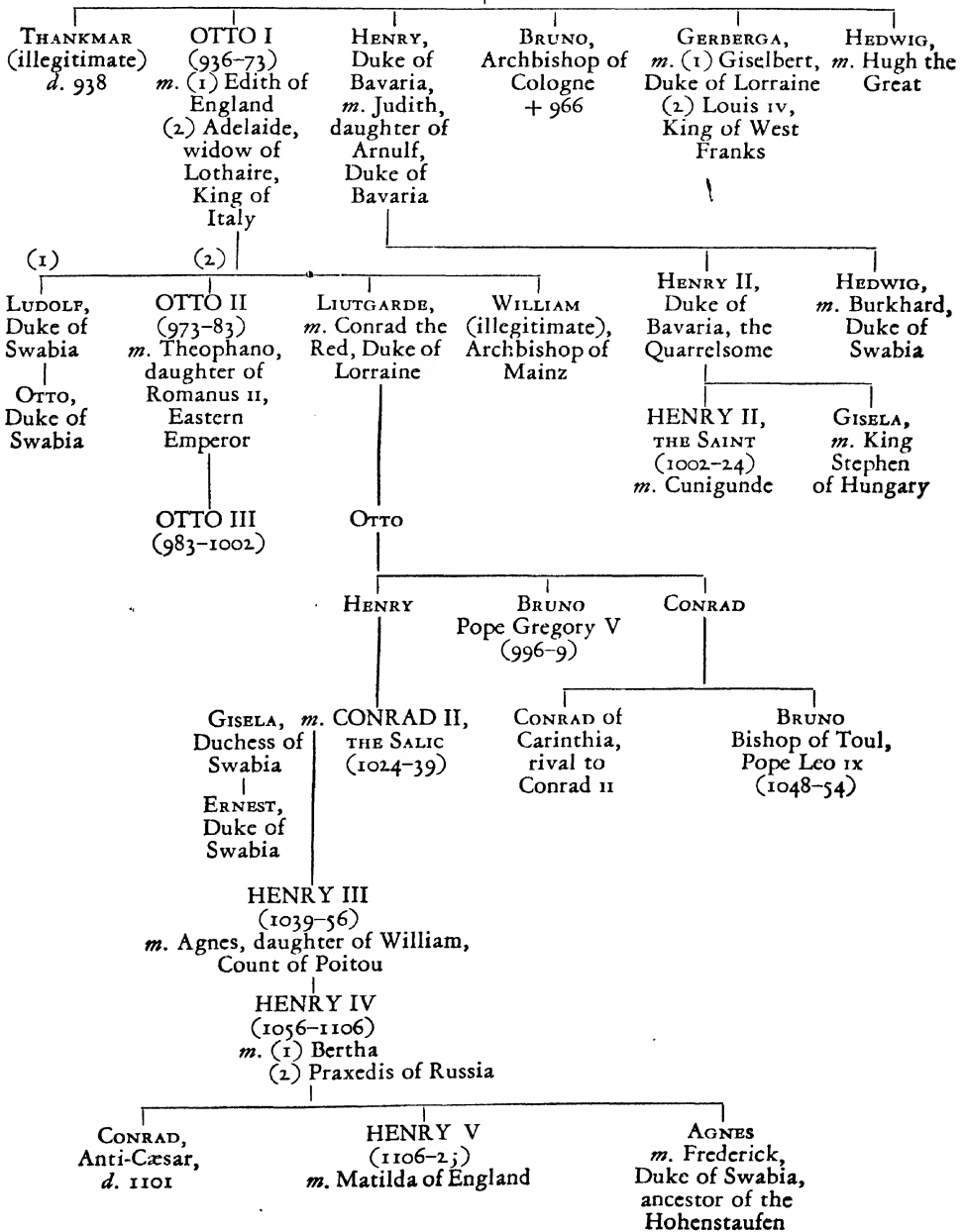
one. He was an ineffective soldier, but compensated for this deficiency by a supple diplomacy. When he died, in 1180, the French monarchy was prepared for more effective development.

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GENEALOGY OF THE SAXON AND SALIAN EMPERORS

HENRY I, THE FOWLER, Duke of the Saxons,
German King (919-36)
m. Matilda



GERMANY AND ITALY UNDER THE LAST CAROLINGIANS
AND THE SAXON EMPERORS

IN a former chapter the series of events in the ninth century that culminated in the partition of the Frank Empire into five separate kingdoms was traced. It is now incumbent to relate the history of two of these — Germany and Italy — which, though disunited in the ninth century, in the tenth were joined together by the extension of the German domination again over the peninsula as far as Rome.

*Tribal
organization
of Germany*

Germany, like France, in the ninth century was broken and divided into feudal provinces. But beyond this broad generalization comparison ceases. For Germany, unlike France, had a racial and ethnic homogeneity. The "six nations" that formed the German people were of the same race, spoke the same language (for the linguistic differences were only dialectic variations of one mother speech), and had essentially the same institutions. These six nations were the Franks, in the middle Rhine and lower Main lands; the Swabians, in modern Württemberg, Baden, and German Switzerland; the Bavarians, on both sides of the middle Danube; the Thuringians, between the Weser and the Rhine; the Saxons, inhabiting the great plain of lower and northern Germany; and the Frisians, along the coast of the North Sea. The political divisions of Germany in the ninth century corresponded to the territory and tribal identity of these six fundamental groups. Except Frisia and Thuringia, each of the territories was ruled by a tribal duke, whose feudal pretension reposed upon the tribal consciousness of his people. Thuringia was a dependency of Saxony, being too weak to maintain its independence against its powerful neighbor; and Frisia was yet without firm political organization.

*Influence of
physiography*

Although Germany thus possessed much more homogeneity than France, yet, unlike France, its physical geography operated against the development of political unity. The Paris basin is like the bottom of a bowl to France. But Germany is physically divided into two sharply different parts: North Germany is a great plain; South Germany is mountainous. The river system of Germany accentuates this difference: the rivers in the north are vertical and flow north; those in the south, the Danube, the Main, the Eger, are longitudinal and flow either east or west. Contrast this with the "hub-and-spoke" arrangement of the rivers in France.

The epoch of medieval German history between the deposition of Charles the Fat, in 887, and the death of Henry III, in 1056, is a single

whole in that it is characterized by the founding of the German monarchy and the organization of the German nation upon a positive feudal base by the genius of the kings of the Saxon house, chiefly Henry I (919-36) and Otto I (936-73), and their successors of the Salian dynasty, Conrad II (1024-39) and Henry III (1039-56). But the epoch, nevertheless, may be clearly differentiated into three subordinate periods, each characterized by special conditions and policy, and each answering to a stage in organic development.

*Importance of
period
887-1056*

The reign of Arnulf (887-99) and that of his young son and successor, Ludwig the Child, who died in 911, is the epilogue of the Carolingian house. The lineage of Charlemagne east of the Rhine died out in the latter. Only in France did the house continue to survive — and that precariously — until 987. Under Arnulf the government of Germany was largely — under his infant son wholly — in the hands of the German bishops.

The external history of Arnulf's reign was his own; its internal policy was dictated by the episcopate. On the west, in the Rhine lands, the Norsemen were in occupation of Frisia and possessed a permanent encampment in Flanders, at Louvain, whence they intermittently raided the neighboring territory. The new king's first important achievement was the storm and capture of this stronghold. The battle (November 1, 891) on the Dyle River, on which Louvain was situated, relieved the German kingdom henceforth from peril of the Norsemen and went far in public estimation to justify the revolution of 887. Less successful was Arnulf's effort to bind the wavering duchy of Lorraine, the policy of whose nobles was to play fast and loose between the two kingdoms, to the German kingdom by installing his natural son Zwentibold in it as "king"; thus yielding to the feudal particularism of the time by unnecessarily creating another vassal kingdom in the already dissolved Frank Empire. The act incensed the greater nobles, each of whom aspired to ducal authority there, and at the same time offended feudal pride by advancing a bastard to authority and rank. Thus in Lorraine it created more than plausible pretext for constant revolts by the baronage, who contended that the feudal rights of birth and proprietorship were violated.

*Reign of
Arnulf
(887-99)*

*Great victory
over the
Norsemen
(891)*

But more important than either the Norsemen or the truculence of the Lotharingian feudality was the growing Slavonic danger along the eastern frontier of Germany. Border warfare between the Germans and the Slavs had been intermittent during the ninth century. Sorben and Moraven chiefs had made their submission in the reign of Louis the Pious; the chain of forts established by Charlemagne still held. But the increasing frequency of Slavonic raids upon the frontier was an ominous sign. In 866 the Winidi or Wilzi had given trouble. In 869 the Moravians and Bohemians attacked the Bavarian border, while the Sorben and Siusli

*Growing
danger from
the Slavs*

invaded Thuringia. We find record of heavy fighting in 872, 874, 877, 880, 889, 892, 893, 898. As long as the Slavonic tribes remained divided against themselves, a floating mass of unorganized peoples, the danger was not great. But a new stage in the conflict of German and Slav is marked by the union at this time of the Slavonic tribes along the middle border, where the territory of the Moraven, between the Hron and the Váh rivers, and of the Bohemians made a deep cleft in the frontier, like a spear-head, under a Moravian chieftain named Svatopluk. If Svatopluk had succeeded in welding these Slav peoples together, he would have made his name and his people's great in history.

*Italian
politics and
German
intervention*

Unfortunately both for the German kingdom and for Arnulf himself, like Charles the Bald in 875 he was infatuated with the ambition to acquire the imperial crown, although the Empire was by now a thing of shreds and patches, and the imperial crown a mere glittering bauble wrangled for by upstart, petty princes in Italy, where even the papacy had become degraded to the dimension of a local power. These ephemeral and petty kings had their palaces or their castles at Pavia and Milan and in other towns, disposed of territories and vacant offices, summoned diets, invariably packed assemblies of their partisans, and maintained the shadow, if not the substance, of former Carolingian administration. They distributed fiefs and episcopal offices among their supporters when and where they could.

The most notable of these princelings were Guido II, Duke of Spoleto, and Berenger, Duke of Friuli. The former was descended from an old Austrasian family in the valley of the Moselle. His great-great-grandfather had been count of the Breton Mark, his grandfather Lambert, Count of Nantes, who, as the result of trouble with the Emperor Louis the Pious, in 836 had gone to Italy. For the peninsula was already in the ninth century an Eldorado of broken adventurers. There Lambert's son Guido I luckily acquired possession of the duchy of Spoleto. Berenger of Friuli, unlike his rival, had Carolingian blood in his veins, his mother having been the youngest daughter of Louis the Pious. The two adventurers were merely two more "kinglets" whose ambitious struggle aggravated the disunion prevailing in the Frank Empire. Each had his partisans, not all of them Italian; for many Frankish nobles, driven out of France for rebellion by Odo, crossed the Alps to mend their fortunes elsewhere. They were joined by similar broken nobles from Germany, former partisans of the unfortunate Charles the Fat.

*Importance of
imperial and
papal tradi-
tion in Italian
history*

Two things remained to Italy as its heritage from the past: Rome disposed of the imperial crown and was the seat of spiritual authority in the West. But these facts were obstacles to the formation of Italian unity. The emperors, first the Franks, and then the German kings, having their kingdoms and their habitual residence far from Italy, were unable to

extend and maintain effectively their domination south of the Alps. Moreover, the popes, whether as spiritual heads of the Church or as temporal princes in Italy, were always opposed to the establishment of any strong political power in the peninsula lest it dwarf their own temporal power. The popes were the most declared and the most obstinate opponents of any strong domination in Italy. Finally the Italian towns, especially in Lombardy, as they grew in population and wealth, contested the imperial claims of the German emperors and contributed greatly to the annulment of the German domination.

It is an idealistic view to regard either Arnulf or Pope Formosus as having been primarily actuated by a determination "to save the principle of unity" of the shattered Carolingian Empire. Arnulf may possibly have been vaguely so inspired. As for the Pope, the day of Nicholas I was past; the papacy by the end of the ninth century had become the victim of those centrifugal and divisive forces which had rent the Frankish Empire in pieces quite as much as the secular rulers. The pope's spiritual and political authority was almost nil everywhere in Europe. The Holy See was principally engaged in conflict with the violent and ambitious barons of Italy to preserve its temporal power and its lands from seizure by the feudality. The Roman magnates from whose midst the popes were elected, eagerly stretched forth their hands over the patrimonies; and "the popes soon found themselves obliged to squander St. Peter's estates on these partisans under the form of leases, repaying in this way their own elevation, or securing adherents."¹ We learn nothing of Capua, Gaeta, Benevento, Corsica, Sicily, or Sardinia at this time, regions that in the pontificate of Gregory the Great had been important parts of the papal patrimony. The islands had been overrun by the Saracens; Capua, Gaeta, and Benevento were possessed by local feudal dynasts.

*Degradation
of the
papacy*

This was the situation that faced Pope Formosus (891-6), whose career before his elevation is a picture of the kind of political conditions in which the papacy was involved. At first Bishop of Porto, Formosus was distinguished under Nicholas I as a missionary among the Bulgarians (877). Upon his return he enjoyed the confidence of Hadrian IV (868-72) and was entrusted with an important mission to the Frankish kingdom in 869. At the beginning of the pontificate of John VIII (872-82) he is found in the same brilliant position and was sent to Charles the Bald in 875. But the reversal of politics in Italy following the return of Charles deprived Formosus of his bishopric and he took refuge at the West Frank court until the accession of a new pope. In 891 he secured the coveted papal tiara, having successfully purchased the support of the faction of Berenger, whom as a Carolingian prince he favored against the claims of Guido of Spoleto and Adalbert of Tuscany, and who was also, owing to his Carolingian

*Pope
Formosus
(891-6)*

¹ GREGOROVIVS, *The City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, III, 191-2.

lineage, the protégé of Arnulf of Germany. But, unfortunately for the Pope's calculations, the Spoletan party gained the upper hand. Berenger fled to Germany. In this crisis Formosus appealed to the German King for help, and Arnulf crossed the Alps, protecting himself from becoming too seriously compromised with the Pope by representing that his intervention was in behalf of Berenger. Milan and Pavia opened their gates, Bergamo resisted and was frightfully sacked, the Margrave of Tuscany forsook his alliance; Guido died; and, leaving his claims to his son Lambert, Arnulf returned to his kingdom. The Pope, being left in the lurch, renewed his policy and recognized Lambert of Spoleto. But the new shoe pinched as badly as the old.

Arnulf's second Italian campaign (895)

It would have been well for Germany if Arnulf had never seen Italy; for his brief expedition stirred his ambition to be made emperor, and the Pope flattered him into that determination. In the autumn of 895 Arnulf again crossed the Alps. "His warlike progress is the first in the list of ominous descents of German kings on Rome. . . . Rome for the first time was besieged by the troops of a German king."¹ The Eternal City, aided by Spoletans and Tuscans, and in defiance of the Pope who had invited Arnulf, put up a spirited defense. It was taken by siege, however, and Arnulf was crowned emperor in February. He stayed but fifteen days in Rome, made a military demonstration against Spoleto, and then resumed the road homeward. The Pope, to whom he owed his crown, died soon afterwards, on April 4, 896, not without suspicion of poison.

Infamous scenes in Rome

In Rome party feeling ran so high that the body of Formosus was disinterred by Stephen VI, reclad in full pontificals and brought to trial before a packed synod of Roman clergy for violation of the canon law in having tried, while Bishop of Porto, to assume the throne of St. Peter; and after this ghastly mockery the corpse was stripped of its robes, three fingers of the right hand, which had conferred the blessing, were cut off, and the mutilated remains were thrown into the Tiber. Nor was this all; in a few months a reaction ensued. The body of Formosus was fished out of the Tiber by boatmen and decently buried by John IX, who saw that his only hope of holding his own against his enemies in Rome was in seeking the friendship of Lambert.

Italy rent by factional strife

The co-operation of Spoleto and the papacy might have been effective over most of Italy; but the hope was blasted by the death of Lambert while hunting. The vacant throne was again claimed by Berenger, while the party of Spoleto, left without a leader, offered their support to Louis of Provence, son of Boso, who was foolish enough to take the fearful risk, with the result that he was captured by Berenger, blinded, and driven home (905). John X, the new Pope, adopted his predecessor's policy of alliance with the strongest power, and for a time things went well. Some-

¹ GREGOROVIVS, *op. cit.*, III, 220.

thing like a sense of unity, even, was given to Italy about this time by a great expedition against the Saracens. Nothing had been done to stem their advance since the death of Louis II in 870, and from their strongly fortified place on the Garigliano River the Saracens had overrun the principalities of Beneventum and Capua.

Saracens

The danger was so great that it induced a coalition of the princes of these two states with the Duke of Naples, and in 910 the Emperor Leo, who ruled in Constantinople, was invited to join them. This opportunity to restore Byzantine sovereignty in provinces long lost to the Empire was too good to be missed. John X also interested himself in the enterprise, and almost all the Italian princes furnished troops. Finally in 916 the great stronghold of the Saracens at the mouth of the Garigliano was beset by land and sea. For three months the Saracens stood the siege, and in the end, being destitute of provisions, they fired the place, not sparing even their treasure, and in a close body endeavored to cut their way through the host encamped against them. A terrible slaughter was made of them, which ruined the Saracen power in middle Italy. But the strife was not ended yet. Middle Italy was free, but Apulia and Calabria passed under the sway of Constantinople. Not being willing, however, to endure the rule of the Greeks, these provinces revolted and offered themselves to Landulf of Beneventum, who planned to add Bari and other cities of Apulia to his principality. In the conflict that ensued Landulf was beaten, and to save himself he had recourse to the Saracens. Years of confused fighting followed, but at last both Apulia and Calabria were recovered by the Greeks and erected into the theme of Lombardy.

*Pope John X
crushes the
Saracens
(916)*

More important than these incessant quarrels in this epoch is the rise of the tiny maritime republic of Amalfi. Safe in an independent treaty with the Saracens, it grew rich and populous on the commerce of the east.

*Rise of
Amalfi*

We may leave the history of Italy at this point (916), and return to Germany, whither Arnulf had returned in 896.

Fortunately for the German kingdom the danger along the middle border had been removed almost as soon as created, by the death of Svatopluk in 894; for his two sons soon quarreled, and one of them appealed to Liutpold, Margrave of the Bohemian Mark, and to the Duke of Bavaria for help, with the result that a Bavarian host invaded Moravia and dissipated the peril. But a far greater storm-cloud began to form at the same time in the great angle of the Danube beyond Bavaria. In 996 the Magyars or Hungarians settled on both banks of the Theiss river. What the invasions of the Norsemen had been in France in the ninth century the inroads of the Hungarians were to be for Germany and northern Italy in the tenth. Central Europe, as a century earlier with the Avars, was again called upon to face formidable barbarian attack.

*First appear-
ance of the
Hungarians
(996) in
central
Europe*

*Early history
of the
Hungarians*

The Magyars — the name is said to have been derived from the word “madgyar” (wagon), and is thus reminiscent of their nomadic life — were remote kindred of the Avars and remoter still of the ancient Huns, in that they, too, pertained to the great Finnish-Hunnish-Tartaric race of the Asian plateaus. The migration of the Bulgarians in the seventh century from lower Russia into the Balkan peninsula had given room for the Avars to spread westward. The Hungarians seem at this time to have drifted into southern Russia, whence they moved up the lower Danube by stages, pushed by the pressure behind them of other peoples, like the Kumans and Petchenegs. Charlemagne’s destruction of the Avars left a void in the middle Danube lands, into which the Hungarians slowly filtered, until by the end of the ninth century they were in full and formidable occupancy of the great plains of the Theiss and Maros rivers, whose nature answered to what they were ancestrally used to, cattle-raising. Adjacent to them lay the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire, northern Italy and eastern Germany, whose lands and peoples tempted their predatory disposition. The dismantled Carolingian Empire, now broken up into a confused mass of petty, warring states, was in no condition to repel such invaders.

*Terrible
inroads*

In 899, the year in which Arnulf died, the Hungarians began that long series of invasions which dismayed Europe for over half a century, by invading Italy. A defending army was cut to pieces on the banks of the Brenta; the rich monastery of Nonantula was sacked and burned. A similar inroad the next year was repulsed and the Hungarians found new spoil in the territory between the Drave and the Save rivers, which pertained to the Byzantine Empire, and which in 900 was overrun and annexed to their kingdom. In the same year they ravaged Moravia, where Duke Mojmir in dread of them had made an alliance with the Bavarians. They also crossed the Enns and attacked the Bavarian border. In 901 a formidable invasion of Italy was made. Passing by Aquileia, Padua, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, and Milan, they stormed Pavia. Here King Berenger gave them battle, and the Hungarians retreated to the Brenta, where they turned in desperation and inflicted a crushing defeat. Only those towns that had walls thereafter escaped ravage. Late in the same year Bavaria was invaded and a German army repulsed near Augsburg, on the Lech. As in France in the previous century, further ravages were bought off by gold and silver, principally derived from the monasteries. Again in 902 Bavaria was ravaged. In 903, 905, and 906 Italy was devastated. But by that time the peril had begun to find its antidote. The towns feverishly repaired their old walls or erected new ones, and the proprietary class, as earlier in France, built castles to protect their domains. There is still preserved a song that the night guard at Modena sang while the Hungarians lay before the bishop’s town:

*"Fortis iuventus, virtus audax bellica —
 Vestra per muros audiantur carmina,
 Et sit in armis alterna vigilia,
 Ne fraus hostilis hæc invadat mœnia.
 Resultat eccho comes, Eia, vigilia!
 Per muros eia dicat eccho vigilia."*

The partial closure of the rich Lombard plain to the Hungarian by these effective measures had the result of redoubling Hungarian fury upon Germany. A German army was beaten again near Augsburg. In 908 for the first time Thuringia was attacked. In 909 and 910 the Hungarians invaded Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia, and even extended their inroads into Lorraine, where the monasteries especially suffered. For the Hungarians, like the Norsemen before them, had soon discovered that the monasteries abounded with plate, bullion, and jewels.

In the meantime Arnulf had died, in 899, and was succeeded by his infant son, known in history as Ludwig the Child, the last melancholy scion of the Carolingian house in Germany. His reign was one long struggle against the Hungarians without, and a ceaseless and futile effort to repress the strife of the noble families within. The beginning of Ludwig's reign saw the erasure of the last traces of the Moraven kingdom, and a grand invasion of the Hungarians into Bavaria as far as the Enns, which was repulsed by the Margrave Liutpold and Richer, Bishop of Passau (900).

*Death of
 Arnulf
 (899)*

In the German kingdom, ever since the deposition of Charles the Fat through clerical influence, a fierce feud had prevailed between the bishops' party and the great dukes. The rise of these latter is an important historical phenomenon. Charlemagne had crushed the tribal dukes of Germany like Tassilo of Bavaria and Widukind of Saxony in the interest of his centralizing and imperial policy. But the sentiment of German tribalism was strong. Bavarians, Swabians, Franks, Saxons, and Thuringians were deeply conscious of their tribal nature; each was a homogeneous people within its own ancient historic borders; and with the relaxation of royal power in Germany, as elsewhere in Europe in the ninth century, when local forces gained the mastery, German tribal self-consciousness reasserted itself and found expression in the emergence of the great tribal or "stem" dukes, each of the important German tribes being regarded as a "stem" of the great German racial trunk. But these tribal dukes, though differing historically in origin from dukes found elsewhere in France and Italy, who were strictly feudal emanations, naturally were influenced by the feudal conditions and the feudal spirit of the age, so that they were at once tribal and feudal political forms. The grouping of the separate German "nations" was instinctive, and the people naturally rallied around their tribal leaders in this time of stress. [This ingrained tribal spirit of the

*Ludwig the
 Child
 (899-911),
 the last
 eastern
 Carolingian*

*"Stem"
 Dukes*

German people is one of the most important facts of medieval German history. For it was a condition with which every king had to reckon. It explains why Germany never became a united, compact kingdom, as France became, but remained from first to last a sort of federal feudal monarchy.

*Power of
German
bishops*

The powerful German bishops, rich in lands and temporalities, having acquired control of the crown in 887 and being desirous of increasing their power, soon found themselves involved in a bitter struggle with these dukes, who resented the dictatorial course of the episcopate, which used its control more for its own ends than for the real interest of the crown. At the same time they strove to increase and consolidate their own local and tribal authority. Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz, was the regent of Germany for the child-King. The conflict came to a head in 903 in the struggle with the great Babenberger house in Franconia, itself at feud with another powerful local house, the Conradiner.

*Feud of
Babenbergers
and
Conradiner*

The founder of the Babenberger was Poppo of the Sorben Mark, who left four sons, Conrad, Adalbert, Adalhard, and Henry, and the clan was represented by the four brothers. The seeds of this famous feud between the Babenberger and the Conradiner were sown in the reign of Arnulf. The Babenberger were strong Carolingian partisans and had resented Arnulf's usurpation in 887. In revenge Arnulf had conferred the bishopric of Würzburg upon Rudolf, one of the Conradiner brothers, giving the margraviate of Thuringia to Conrad, the eldest of them. The Babenberger resented the gift of the rich see of Würzburg, for it was an invasion of their sphere of influence; and thus was begun a war for feudal supremacy in Franconia, which ended in the disruption of the duchy. In the space of three years the strife involved all the aristocracy of Franconia and even spread over into Lorraine. The whole land was pillaged and plundered. In 906 Conrad lost his life. By this time the crown, in the person of Hatto of Mainz, regent for the boy-King, interfered; an army was sent against the Babenberger fortress on the Main, which was captured, and Adalbert was hanged, with numbers of his followers. The residue of the members of the fallen house were exiled to the Bavarian Ostmark where their prowess was destined to create the future duchy of Austria. The Babenberger lands were partly confiscated to the fisc, partly appropriated by the victorious bishops, who cannot be acquitted of selfish motive in the conflict. This struggle of the Babenberger and the Conradiner was a matter of profound importance to Germany, for although the crown was yet strong enough to command the balance of power, it is none the less true that, historically speaking, the German kingdom was re-forming on a feudal and ducal basis.

*Germany
invaded by
Hungarians*

The invasions of the Magyars are the only other important feature of the reign of Ludwig the Child. In 900 they invaded Pannonia; in 901, 902, and 903, Carinthia; in 906 Saxony for the first time, the Hungarians giving

Bavaria a wide berth on account of the energy of Liutpold, who fell in battle with them, in July 907. In 908 Saxony and Thuringia again were devastated, and Burkhard, Margrave of Thuringia, and Rudolf the Bishop of Würzburg, were killed. In 910 Augsburg and Swabia were besieged in a cross-country raid up the Danube, and the united Franconian, Swabian, and Bavarian army was beaten. In such a time Ludwig the Child died (September 24, 911). With him the last of the eastern Carolingians expired.

*Death of
Ludwig the
Child
(911)*

When the last Carolingian died, the German Church, having almost complete control of the machinery of election, won the reluctant approval of the dukes to its determination and put Conrad of Franconia, its "Schützling (little creature)" in as king. An important condition henceforth must always engage the observation of the student of medieval German history. In 911 the German crown became legally an elective crown, in that every vacancy on the throne had to be filled through the joint vote of high clerics — the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne always having a hand in elections, and sometimes other bishops also — and the great "stem" dukes. Feudal and ecclesiastical authority and interest, not always working harmoniously, were thus continuously involved together.

*German
crown
becomes
elective*

Conrad I (911-18) not only was a political protégé of the German Church. His head was filled with old Carolingian notions of kingship, which had become obsolete and ineffective owing to the growth of feudalism in the ninth century and were inapplicable in the tenth. Although a duke himself before he was made king, the prevalence of ducal authority everywhere in Germany irked him, and Conrad thought that he could handle the dukes as summarily as Charlemagne had done. Consequently he was speedily involved in a struggle with them. The first broil was with Henry of Saxony. The history of the rise of ducal power in Saxony in brief was this: Under Charlemagne, Ekbart possessed immense estates in Westphalia and in Lorraine from the Ruhr and the Lippe to the Weser. His son Liudolf had possessions along the Elbe, in the Harz, and even in Hesse. He was the father-in-law of Ludwig the Young, a son of Ludwig the German, from whom he obtained the military power and ducal title in Saxony. His sons, Bruno (d. 886) and Otto the Illustrious, succeeded him as dukes. After the death of Burkhard, Margrave of Thuringia, who fell in battle with the Hungarians in 908, Otto the Younger extended Saxon sway over Thuringia by marrying Bruno's daughter. When Otto died, in 912, Conrad I demanded the surrender of Thuringia to the crown. War followed, in which Conrad I was worsted. The issue was really whether the crown was to be able to enforce feudal law or not. North, east, and south, feudal opposition raised its head. The dukes were complaisant enough when the King sought to coerce Lorraine (912-13), which was half French, and whose Duke Renier had taken advantage of the

*Conrad I
(911-18)*

*Quarrels be-
tween the
King and the
feudality*

Thuringia

Lorraine

passing of the Carolingian house to make himself practically independent, by playing off Charles the Simple against the latter's contemporary east of the Rhine. But when Conrad sought to restrain Henry of Saxony from seizing Thuringia as the dowry of Burkhard's widow, whom he had married, although the King's cause was just, since Burkhard left two sons, all the great dukes made the Saxon's cause their own.

Swabia

In Swabia during the previous reign a feud had broken out between Salomon, Bishop of Constance, and two powerful local nobles who were brothers, Erchanger and Berchtold, the former of whom was count palatine of the crown lands in the duchy, who were aided by Burkhard, the Count of Thurgau, whose brother had been murdered at the instigation of Salomon. The feud was laid for a time, but broke out again in 913. The real issue was whether Swabia was to preserve its tribal autonomy as a duchy or whether it was to be englobed by the Bishop of Constance. The King was unable of his own resources to cope with the situation, and besides, his sympathy or weakness made him advocate the cause of the Bishop. In consequence the whole weight of the German Church was thrown into the scale against the rebels at the synod of Hohenaltheim in 916, to which they were summoned, although the issue was a civil matter save in so far as the Bishop of Constance meddled in it. When they did not come, anathema was pronounced against them, and the King took the field with a force of church vassals at his back. The brothers were captured and executed. But Burkhard maintained the conflict and in 919 was made duke of Swabia by Henry I, the successor of Conrad I.

Bavaria

In Bavaria Duke Arnulf was driven out for offensive partisanship — that is, for espousing a policy of ducal autonomy under the crown — but soon succeeded in returning when Conrad I got involved with Charles the Simple of France over Lorraine, which, after the death of Zwentibold, had thrown its allegiance to the western kingdom. The result of all this meddling on the part of Conrad I was that “although he succeeded in making the royal authority felt in all directions, he succeeded also in making it thoroughly hated, and at the end of his life the stems were more active, more conscious of their identity, and less inclined to bear the aggressions of a royal house than ever.”¹

*Tyranny of
the German
episcopate*

It does not exculpate the King to say that the ambitious and overbearing Hatto of Mainz was the evil genius of this policy. For Hatto died in 913. The German episcopate as a body must bear the onus. While an argument may be made that the Church was sometimes justified in interfering in ducal politics in the interest of strengthening the kingship against the excessive tendencies of feudalism and preserving the State from dissolution, it is abundantly evident that the Church was primarily actuated by that political ambition which had arisen in the ninth century,

¹ EMERTON, *Medieval Europe*, p. 101.

and was striving to establish ecclesiastical authority over secular authority, to subordinate State to Church. Since 887 its power had grown apace until the Church registered the principle of the right of the Church over the State in the high pretensions of Hohenaltheim (916). There was thus a real principle at stake in the conflict of the great dukes with the Church, and the subservient royal authority of Conrad I; the rebellion of the dukes everywhere was not entirely mere violence. The issue was between a church-ridden Germany or a Germany to be governed in compliance with the feudal inclinations and conditions of the time. The real issue was whether the duchies were to preserve their local and tribal rights and liberties under the crown, or whether they were to be deprived of their historical identity and be reduced to mere administrative provinces in a kingdom in which the crown itself was to be subordinate to ecclesiastical control. This principle—and not mere avarice and love of violence—explains why Arnulf of Bavaria forcibly deprived the monasteries and bishoprics in his duchy of so many of their lands. The power and wealth of the Church in Bavaria was a real menace to Bavarian independence.

The odds were against Conrad. The feudal tendency of Germany was irresistible; and this the King at last sadly realized when he came to die (December 23, 918). Before the termination of his reign Conrad I seems to have had some intimation of the fact that his policy had been a wrong one, and that the natural political development of Germany would have to be feudal—would have to give simultaneous and due expression to the rights of the crown, the rights of the duchies, and the rights of the Church. It is interesting to learn that on his deathbed he recommended the succession of his most ardent opponent, Henry, Duke of Saxony. Even the clergy seem to have acquiesced in this recommendation.

*Death of
Conrad I
(918)*

The story is told that Henry I of Saxony was hawking when the messengers of Conrad found him and apprised him of the royal designation, and that from that circumstance he is called Henry the Fowler (919-36). The new King, who was readily confirmed by the great dukes at Fritzlar, in the Hessian land (April 14, 919), was the son of Otto the Illustrious and was already distinguished for his feats of arms against the Slavs of the middle Elbe and the Hungarians. Through his mother Henry was descended from Widukind, the great war-chieftain of the Saxons. From the first, Henry marked out a course of his own. He refused to be crowned at the hands of Heriger, Archbishop of Mainz. The precaution was well taken. Henry probably knew something of the part the Church had played in the deposition of 887. He certainly had evidence of the German Church's political ambition in his own time. He had no wish to be, or to seem to be, dependent in any way on the authority *or wealth or power of the clergy. The bishops, whatever they thought,*

*Henry I, the
(919-36)
Fowler*

*Refuses to be
crowned*

could not well criticize, for "they remembered the humility of David amid the distinctions of valor." Henry could dare to take so hardy a step, for Saxony was far the greatest of the duchies in territorial extent, and the prowess of the Saxons was well known. He could be more independent than any other Duke in Germany.

Policy

Henry I's policy as king was what might have been expected of one who had been the champion of feudal interests. He relied almost wholly upon Saxony for his strength, giving the great dukes a large liberty, so that the feudal bond of kingship and vassalage did not chafe them into rebellion. Of course the superior justice of the king was recognized, though Henry seldom insisted upon the prerogative. Only in the matter of appointment to bishoprics did Henry insist upon the entire control, and even in this Bavaria was an exception. He could afford to be lenient with Arnulf in return for the latter's recognition of his kingship, for, situated as Bavaria was between Swabia, whose duke was a jealous rival in south Germany, and the Hungarians beyond the Ostmark, a word from the King might have all but compassed Bavaria's ruin. This policy of Henry the Fowler was wise. The reign of Conrad had demonstrated in Germany, like that of Charles the Bald in France, that feudalism could not be suppressed or crushed. Henry would direct the stream, but he would not seek to arrest its flow.

*Strife with
the great
dukes*

Nevertheless we must not get the idea that Henry the Fowler was too cautious even to use force against the feudal dukes. His aim was to secure recognition of his authority (by force of arms if necessary) and then allow the largest latitude compatible with the maintenance of the unity of the kingdom. In 919 Germany was in danger of decomposing into its ethnic duchies. Conrad at desperate cost had only partially reduced Swabia; Eberhard, the late King's brother, sought to recover control of Thuringia; Lorraine pretended to adhere to France and was actually independent. Eberhard was crushed in 919 at Ehresburg and was suffered to remain duke of Franconia; Burkhard of Swabia and Arnulf of Bavaria recognized the Saxon kingship in 920; in 925 Henry recovered Lorraine, binding Duke Gilbert to the Saxon house by a marriage with his sister.

*Peculiar ex-
posure of
Saxony to the
Hungarians*

Having thus saved Germany from internal dissolution, Henry sought to save her from destruction from without by the Hungarians. The German kingdom was peculiarly exposed to the attacks of these marauders by reason of the flow of its rivers, Saxony most of all. Moreover, Saxony was but a hundred years old, and the Saxon people dwelt in the primitive German manner, in scattered villages, in forest clearing or river valley, instead of in walled towns, as in older Franconia and Bavaria. In consequence, Henry set himself the task of making the Saxon people give up their old manner of life and dwell in towns. A nine years' respite

for Saxony was purchased from the Hungarians, for annual tribute, in 924. The interim was none too long for the reforms Henry I had in view.

The first of these was the erection of *Burgwärde* (walled strongholds) in Thuringia and eastern Saxony. These structures were not isolated castles such as had been built in France during the invasions of the Norsemen, but walled communities like convents, cloisters, episcopal centers, *Pfalzen* or great manor-houses. Only in a few places were actual blockhouses built. It must not be imagined that these walls were built of stone; they were palisades of logs set vertically in the ground and strengthened at the corners by timber towers, with a fosse and glacis on the outside. Henceforth the business of government in Saxony and Thuringia tended to be conducted, where practicable, inside of these communities, which in course of time also attracted commerce and trade to them. Thus, in addition to the old episcopal seats established by Charlemagne, but now walled, arose new walled communities like Naumburg, Nordhausen, Merseburg, Duderstadt, Grona, Pohlde, Quedlinburg. It is notable that the names of many of these places terminate in the suffix *-burg*. Even monasteries and convents, like Gandersheim, were also palisaded. The closest historical parallel to these foundations is the Five Burgs in Anglo-Saxon England built to protect the Midlands against the Danes by Edward the Elder. It is not impossible that Henry I got the suggestion from across the Channel, for the relations between England and lower Germany were close at this time.

Burgwärde

These *Burgwärde* were garrisoned by permanent detachments of armed servitors from Henry's own immense and numerous domains in Saxony. In addition there were other contingents of a more variable nature. Saxony was a far less feudalized land than the rest of Germany, and most of the Saxon freemen fought on foot with short swords—the "seax," whence their name was derived. Horse service was chiefly confined to the nobles, whereas elsewhere in Europe all military service was mounted and all warriors were nobles. The king's problem was to train large bodies to fight on horseback, to teach them the feudal manual of arms and feudal military technique. To this end the male population was divided into ninths, and one-ninth of the men of the Saxons capable of field service was required each year to go into the new training and to live in the *Burgwärde*. These raw Saxon levies were drilled by service beyond the Elbe against the heathen Wends. One of these campaigns has an important historical bearing. In 929 the Saxons in a winter campaign rode across the frozen marshes of the Havel River, stormed and took the Wendish towns of Branibor (Germanized into Brandenburg), and drove thence up the Elbe to Meissen. These towns became the centers of two new marks, which later, with the dependency of Lausitz, guarded

Military reforms

Expeditions against the Wends

Creation of
Brandenburg

the whole middle Elbe valley. This is the beginning of the history of the great margraviate of Brandenburg.

Battle of the
Unstrutt
River
(933)

When the truce with the Hungarians expired, in 933, Henry defied them, relying on the strength of his new cavalry. The battle was fought near the Unstrutt River not far from Merseburg. The Thuringian infantry lured the lightly-mounted Hungarians within striking-distance of the Saxon heavy horse. The battle of the Unstrutt was a distinct victory for Henry I. It raised his prestige as a ruler higher than that of any other European monarch, save Athelstan of England. He was hailed on the battle-field as "*Pater Patriæ et Imperator Romanorum*," which was moral recognition of the fact that he was virtually Romano-German emperor and the successor of the Carolingians. Militarily, the battle discovered to the Germans the fact that the Hungarian terror could be coped with.

Conquest of
the Caro-
lingian Dane
Mark
(934)

In 934 Henry added to his laurels by reconquering from the Danes the ancient territory of Charles the Great between the Schlei and the Eider rivers — the Dane Mark — which the King colonized with Germans, thus assuring Germany command of the mouth of the Elbe. Moreover, old King Gorm of the Danes had to pay Henry tribute and receive Christian missionaries within his borders.

Two years later (July 2, 936) Henry the Fowler died, having re-founded the German kingship on a new and firm feudal base, having saved Germany from feudal dissolution, having arrested the Hungarian invasions, having extended his kingdom beyond the Elbe and initiated the great movement of German eastward colonization, the effects of which were finally to add a new east Germany to old west feudal Germany. The sad feature of this eastward expansion of Germany is that the German race was so pitiless to the weaker race.

Otto I, the
Great
(936-73)

Henry I saved Germany from feudal decomposition. His son (Otto the Great (936-73) sought to weld the duchies into a solidier kingdom and establish a strong and effective monarchy, not so purely Saxon in nature, but more generally German. (The father had leaned upon Saxony; the son would rely upon a united German state.) In the very inception of his reign Otto foreshadowed this policy. Henry I had refused to be crowned; Otto invited coronation and thereby held out the hand of conciliation to the Church. (The very fact that he was crowned in Aachen was in itself a declaration that the Saxon King was the successor of, and ruled in the place of, the former Frank house.) The coronation festival (August 8, 936) was a gorgeous affair. Eberhard of Franconia, Hermann of Swabia, Arnulf of Bavaria, and Gilbert of Lorraine served the King in the honorable capacities of chamberlain, seneschal, cup-bearer, and marshal. This performance was not mere flourish; the ceremony had a symbolic meaning. (In feudalism nobility was fundamentally not of blood, but of service. The service of the great dukes was the outward, visible sign that

Coronation

Feudal
symbolism

fealty and service to the King were to be demanded of all of them. The whole German kingdom was to serve him, and not Saxony alone.

The new King soon showed his determination in unequivocal acts. Otto had an older half-brother, Thankmar, whose grievance was that the Church refused to recognize his legitimacy, because his grandmother had abandoned cloister life; also a younger brother, Henry, who claimed the German crown for himself, on the ground that he had been born while Henry the Fowler was king, while Otto, the elder, was born when his father was but duke of Saxony. This claim, eccentric as it seems to us, was not an impossible one in a day when law was custom and not the written article, especially with a crown neither yet hereditary nor wholly elective. No doubt young Henry honestly believed in the justice of his cause. All the elements of discontent in the land soon gathered around the rebellious brothers. Eberhard of Franconia revolted. But the death of Thankmar temporarily checked the movement of insurrection. More formidable was a rebellion in Lorraine, stirred up by the recent restoration of Louis IV of France (936), where Duke Gilbert revived the old Lotharingian policy of shifting allegiance and counter-play. Under such encouragement Eberhard renewed the struggle. The fortunate separation of his opponents gave the King an opportunity to rout the Franconians at Andernach, where Eberhard was killed. Gilbert soon after was drowned in the Meuse while trying to escape.

*Feudal
reactions*

Franconia

Lorraine

But peace was yet far away. In Bavaria, Arnulf's son sought to succeed his father without the formality of confirmation by the King. Otto deposed him, put Berthold, younger brother of the Bavarian Duke, in his room, and when he died, in 945, gave the duchy to his brother Henry, who after having been crushed when he, too, rebelled, became a staunch supporter of the King. This series of feudal rebellions hardened Otto's policy. The lands of the revolted Franconian nobles were distributed among the Franconian clergy, pre-eminently the Bishop of Würzburg and the Abbot of Fulda. Lorraine was left vacant for four years.

Bavaria

On the frontiers of Germany the work of the Saxon was quite as effective. When Harold Bluetooth of Denmark drove Henry the Fowler's German colonists out of Schleswig, Otto reconquered the country.

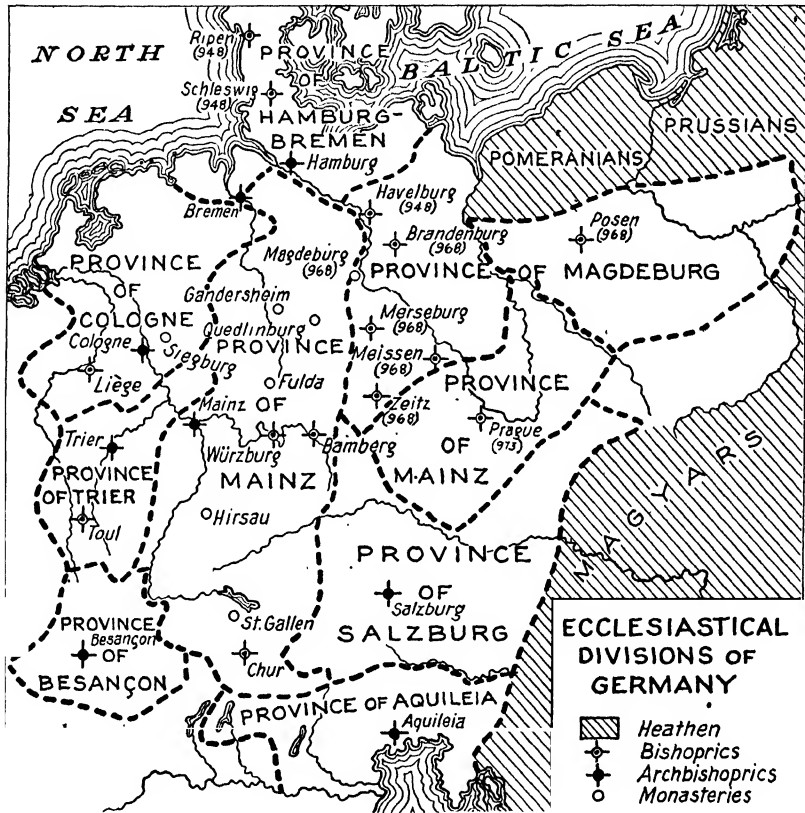
*Danish
border*

The lineaments of Otto's policy of using the Church as an instrument of government come out prominently. "The strength of the bishops meant the weakness of the nobles and the break-up of tribal bonds. . . .

The alternative was between a Church dominated and bullied by dukes and counts, and a Church controlled and utilized for the service of the nation by the king. As the Church required aid of the civil power, the civil power required aid of the Church. . . . The State required a fund out of which to salary and reward its servants; the benefices of the Church alone constituted such a fund. The State required agents who would not found

*Otto's
feudo-ecclesi-
astical policy*

formidable families and create hereditary interests. Such agents alone were to be found within the Church."¹ Otto I had the precedent of the great Charles in this policy, who, as we know, made much use of the Church as an instrument of government; but he pushed it further than the Carolingians. The combined donations of Ludwig the German and of Arnulf to the German Church amounted to one hundred and nine. There are one hundred and fifty-two donations from Otto the Great alone to the German Church.



In one of the duchies, however, Otto I made an error of judgment that was destined to have very great influence upon the future history of Germany; and, strange to say, this was in Saxony. The strength of a king in the feudal age did not rest wholly upon the royal prerogatives or the resources of the crown lands. It was also conditioned by the house power or family resources of the king as a feudal proprietor in his own right, independently of his kingly prerogatives and resources. For Otto I this

Division of
Saxony (956)
C. 1000

¹ FISHER, *Medieval Empire*, II, 65.

house power was Saxony. But in 956 the King gave the territory between the Weser and the Elbe rivers (Eastphalia) to Hermann Billung, together with the ducal title, retaining only Westphalia as crown land for himself. The King undoubtedly felt that it was necessary to have a loyal and efficient ruler in Saxony, as he himself could be there but little of the time, owing to the wider politics of his reign, especially the revived German intervention in Italy, and perhaps he may not be blamed for his action. The Danish King and the Slavonic tribes in Wagria also needed constant watching. But the history of the eleventh century was to prove Otto I's indiscretion in this matter, since the Billunger so rapidly extended their sway as to become formidable lords of the north, making Saxony the strongest and most independent of the German duchies, and doing more to deter the unification of Germany than any other single factor.

*Rise of the
Billunger
dukes of
Saxony*

In 950 there came a change in German history. The theater of Otto I's activity was no more Germany, but Italy. How had Italy been faring since 916? The effort of Berenger II (died 924) to restore the royal authority in Italy had proved tentative. True to their habitual practice of inviting foreign intervention in order to liberate themselves from present restraint of their evil practices, the factious Italian nobles appealed to Rudolph II, King of Upper Burgundy, who accepted the precarious honor of the crown of Italy held out to him. In spite of the assassination of Berenger, the last Italian who possessed the imperial dignity, Rudolph was unable to hold his position; for a new pretender came into the field in the person of Hugh of Provence, who eclipsed both Rudolph and Berenger's own son, Adalbert. Hugh was the most powerful count in Provence; and he had Carolingian blood in his veins — always a political asset — being grandson of Lothaire II and Waldrada. He became interested in Italy through his sister Irmengarde, widow of the Margrave of Ivrea, who formed an Italian party in his favor (926). This woman seems to have exercised as great an influence over the north of Italy as did another woman, Marozia, over Tuscany and Rome.

*Condition of
Italy*

Marozia was a Roman adventuress of senatorial family, whose mother, Theodora, before her had controlled the papacy for years. John X (914-28) owed his preferment to the fact that he was her paramour. When Theodora died, the Pope chafed under the tutelage of her daughter Marozia, who had married the Margrave Guido of Tuscany, the most powerful lord of central Italy. In consequence John X, in order to free himself from Tuscan control, was a party to the plot for the intervention of Hugh of Provence. This complicity cost the Pope his life. The issue now might have been joined between the Burgundian-Ivrian party and the Tuscan party and civil war ensued, had it not been for the timely death of Guido in 929. Hugh saw his opportunity to acquire control of Rome and the papacy, and Marozia saw her chance to keep Tuscany in her hands. The

*Degradation
of the papacy*

uncanonical bar to marriage between them, owing to the fact that Hugh and Guido were half-brothers, was easily removed, for the new Pope John XI was a son of the bride. The further obstruction in the person of Guido's brother Lambert was easily removed by capture and blinding (931). Burgundy, Tuscany, and the papacy were all thus in the hands of this infamous pair.

*Roman re-
public of
Alberigo
(932-54)*

Berenger II

*Italian
appeal to
Otto I
(950)*

But unexpected opposition developed from a new quarter. Marozia had another son, Alberigo, whose father was count of Camerino, and who had been commander of the expedition against the Saracens in 916. Alberigo headed a rebellion of the Roman populace against Burgundian domination and expelled Hugh and his mother from the city. For twenty-two years (932-54) Alberigo governed Rome with an iron rule, depriving the Pope of his temporal power and reducing his authority to the mere bishopric of Rome. The creation of this queer Roman republic balked the designs of Hugh to unite Italy. Three times (933, 936, 941) he futilely attacked the city. His failure emboldened the Ivrean party under Berenger II, grandson of "the man who had gone nearer to forming an Italian kingdom than anyone since the death of Theodoric," to rise in revolt. Milan opened its gates, and Lombardy again was divided by factional strife. In 946 Hugh resigned the precarious Italian title to his son Lothaire and returned to Burgundy. Four years later Lothaire died, perhaps of poison. Berenger II, in the hope of uniting the Burgundian party with his own, sought to marry Lothaire's widow Adelheid, daughter of Rudolph II of Upper Burgundy, to his own son. The lady, who was young and beautiful, resented the match and to protect herself from the involuntary courtship appealed to Otto I. Thus (950) was the chain of circumstances forged that ultimately led to the revival of the medieval Empire. In September 951 Otto crossed the Brenner, dispersed the army of Berenger II, and himself married Adelheid at Pavia.

*Pope
John XII*

*appeals to
Otto I
against
Berenger II*

As yet Otto seems to have entertained no thought of a Roman coronation, or at least was not rash enough to force it against Alberigo, who continued to rule the Roman duchy until 954 with justice and force. His death brought a change. The temptation of greater power was too much for Alberigo's son Octavian, who united again in his own person the secular power of prince with the office of pope, taking the name of John XII. At once the papacy was plunged again into the vortex of Italian politics. John XII attacked Berenger II, who, since Otto's visit, had been a passive vassal of the German King, in the hope of recovering the Exarchate and Pentapolis. But Berenger II was too strong an antagonist, and the Pope, to save his temporal dominions, fell back on the last resource of the popes — foreign aid — and called upon Otto I for help.

But Otto I could not come at the moment. He was engaged in crushing a revolt of his son Liudolf in Swabia, another of Conrad of Upper

Lorraine, and a third instigated by Frederick of Mainz (954). It was the last great feudal manifestation he had to contend with. From the first the revolt was doomed to failure. In Lorraine Renier of Hainaut opposed Conrad; in Swabia Liudolf was opposed by Burkhard, a local count whose father, Herman, had been duke of Swabia (926-48). The break came when Frederick of Mainz died; this gave the King the opportunity to give the powerful see to his natural son, William; Conrad was deprived of Lorraine; Liudolf forfeited Swabia, but was given an opportunity to rehabilitate himself in Carinthia; and Burkhard succeeded him in Swabia.

*Internal
troubles in
Germany*

With the subjugation of this great rebellion feudal opposition to Otto I came to an end. The King now performed a momentous act in the west. He broke Lorraine into two portions. Lower Lorraine now gradually ceased to be called Lorraine, and the counties of Hainaut and Brabant began slowly to be formed out of it. Henceforth the name Lorraine was attached only to the upper part of the duchy, including the county of Bar and the dioceses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which was intrusted to Otto I's loyal and able brother Bruno, the Archbishop of Cologne. The Church had become so far feudalized that there seemed nothing incongruous in a bishop's becoming a duke. "The art of war was an important episcopal accomplishment."

*Separation of
Lorraine into
two parts*

The restoration of peace in Germany had come none too soon; for the Hungarians had seized the opportunity afforded by the rebellion to invade Germany, and swept up the Danube, across Bavaria, clear to Augsburg. Here they were heroically checked by Udalrich, Bishop of the city. At last Otto I came to the city's relief at the head of feudal contingents of the whole kingdom except Lorraine. There were three Bavarian corps, four Franconian, under Conrad, who wiped out the shame of his treason in his achievements on this day, two Swabian columns under the new Duke Burkhard, the King's own choice corps, doubtless Saxons, and a thousand Bohemian troops. Before these mail-clad troopers the light-armed Magyar had little chance. The battle of the Lechfeld (August 10, 955) broke the power of the Hungarians so effectually that never again had the German people need to fear them.

*Hungarian
invasion*

*Battle of the
Lechfeld
(955)*

Meantime in Italy complications were developing. Berenger II threatened the Romagna. John XII was in despair and appealed frantically to Otto I for relief, proffering not merely the crown of Italy, but the imperial crown as an inducement. But the King could not come until he had made things sure at home. In May 961 Otto II, then only seven years of age, was crowned at Aachen as co-king and his father's successor, and left under the joint guardianship of his episcopal uncles Bruno of Cologne and William of Mainz. The North Mark was entrusted to Hermann Billung. In the southeast the East Mark was enlarged by the addition of the marks of Verona and Aquileia, cut from Italy, and

*Changes on
the eastern
frontier*

given to a margrave named Burkhard, under Bavarian suzerainty. When he died, in 976, Leopold of the house of Babenberg succeeded.

*Otto I in
Italy (961)*

*Imperial
coronation
(962)*

Only after these arrangements had been made did Otto I dare trust himself out of Germany. He entered Italy in December 961 and reached Rome on the last day of January 962. Two days later, when the formalities between him and John XII had been complied with, Otto I was crowned Roman emperor in the place where Charles the Great had stood. But no shout, as in 800, hailed his coronation. The Roman populace looked on in sullen silence, for to them it was the fall of the republican liberty Alberigo had given them. The natural separation of Germany and Italy, which had been the tendency ever since 887, as of Germany and France, was prevented, and instead an artificial union of two countries that were ethnically and institutionally distinct was enforced, the national development in Germany was diverted from its normal channel, and Italy was to be for centuries subjected to the government of foreign rulers. This Otto himself well knew; he realized that in the last analysis the empire he had restored relied upon the power of the sword for its right to rule. Neither country profited from the forced relation. Germany was not deeply influenced by the culture and civilization of Italy.

*Significance
of the restora-
tion of the
medieval
Empire*

Many consequences were to result from this imperial restoration in 962: Otto I was determined that the imperial fiascos and petty coronations that had taken place between Arnulf's crowning and his own should not be construed as precedents by the pope, but that the event of 962 should be directly connected with the event of 800; that the relation between him and John XII should be the same as that between Charlemagne and Hadrian; that the Pope should acknowledge his dependence upon the imperial will and seek the Emperor's confirmation of his election and as lord of the States of the Church owe feudal allegiance to the Empire. John XII readily subscribed to these terms in the Roman Charter of February 13, 962, but never intended to keep them, now that he was relieved of Berenger II. When Otto was besieging Berenger's last fortresses in the north of Italy, John XII was intriguing with the Greek Emperor, and even with the Hungarians and Saracens. Some of his messengers were intercepted by the Emperor and confirmed the suspicious information the imperial party in Rome had communicated to him. On November 2, 963 Otto I for the second time entered the Roman city, and John XII fled to the Alban Hills. Then ensued one of the most remarkable scenes in history. The Emperor summoned a synod (November 6), the composition of which shows how far feudalism had penetrated into the Church, and the curious intimacy between the secular and spiritual functions. There were present twenty-five bishops, thirteen cardinals, the leading Roman nobles, and the captains of the city militia, besides bishops, dukes, and counts from Germany. The finding of this august body, at

*Tortuous
policy of
John XII*

once synod and diet, was as remarkable as its make-up. In Rome itself the Emperor indicted and tried the civil and episcopal head of the Roman State and the ecclesiastical head of the Latin Church, deposed him, deprived the Romans of the right to papal election in the future, put the city under the rule of an imperial prefect, and appointed a Roman clerk to be pope as Leo VIII. The Romans could forgive the depravity of John XII sooner than this humiliation. On January 3, 964 the city rose in revolt. It was crushed, and Otto, taking one hundred hostages, retired. Again the city rose and expelled Leo VIII. For the third time the Emperor came back, this time to take Rome by storm. On January 23, 964, after a week of stress, he quitted it, leaving it at last broken and humbled.

It was fortunate for Otto that this was so, for Germany had need of him, since both Bruno of Cologne and Gero the Margrave died in 965. Leo VIII died in this year also, and the humbled populace of Rome sent to Germany to solicit a nomination. The Emperor chose the Bishop of Narni, John XIII. The new Pope was of the family of Crescentii, who had been foes and rivals of the house of Alberigo. The memory of that great Roman and the recent discipline the people had undergone fired the city again to rebellion, led this time by the Emperor's newly installed prefect, who was too much tempted by the possibilities of his office. Once more Otto I came to Rome, and visited it with awful punishment. The captains of the regions were hanged; numbers were blinded, others banished, while the luckless prefect, after suffering torture and ignominy, was exiled beyond the Alps. For the next six years Otto I was wholly occupied in Italy, warring in Calabria and Apulia, where he carried his sway farther south than Charles the Great, since the Lombard princes of Beneventum, Spoleto, and Capua were not in a condition to oppose his domination as Arichis and Grimwald did that of Charles. The ground of this war lay in the fact that the Roman Emperor of the East, Nicephorus Phokas, refused to recognize the Saxon's imperial title and styled him merely "Rex." Moreover Constantinople was the asylum of the fugitive sons of Berenger II and other political refugees from Italy. But despite his successes the Emperor could accomplish little that was permanent in the far south. He was repulsed before Bari, Capua, and Naples. Finally (968) he tried diplomacy and sent the witty Bishop of Cremona to Constantinople to ask the hand of the Eastern Emperor's stepdaughter, Theophano, for Otto II; but Nicephorus mocked at the idea. Better fortune attended a new overture made to his successor, John Zimisces, in 972, and the Greek Princess was sent over sea and wedded to young Otto II in the spring of that year, although the hope of acquiring the southern provinces of Italy as dowry for the young Empress failed of fruition. Theophano herself must have been glad to go anywhere away from Constantinople. Her own father, Romanus II, had been poisoned by her mother to make

*New rebellion
in Rome
(965)*

*Otto I's rela-
tions with
south Italy
and the
Byzantine
Empire*

way for Nicephorus, her paramour. He in turn was murdered by Zimiscus, again with her mother's connivance.

In March 973 the Emperor returned to Germany after an absence of six years in Italy; and at Quedlenburg received the fealty of the German dukes and the homage of Polish, Bohemian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and even Russian lords. Two months later, May 7, 973, he died at Memleben.

Otto I is with justice called great. His empire was not so vast, his government not so centralized, his abilities not so versatile, as Charles the

*Death of
Otto the
Great (973)*



*Estimate of
his character*

Great's; but it must be remembered that his power was largely built on Saxony, and that Saxony had behind it less than two hundred years of Christianity and civilization, while the Frank Empire had had all of four centuries of historic development to build upon. Moreover feudalism, with its centrifugal institutions and intense local tendency, was stronger in the tenth than in the eighth century and could not be so coerced as in the days of Charlemagne. The historic importance of the reign of Otto the Great is that he gave to the broken and feudalized Europe of his day a new unity, that he made feudalism constructive instead of destructive and

again exhibited the type of a sovereign whose sanction was high, whose aim was wide, and whose power was strong.

Otto II was but eighteen years of age at his accession and was far different from his father in both disposition and training. He had been educated in Italy and was highly cultivated, of buoyant disposition, devoted to Theophano, who charmed him with her wit and beauty. His youth aside, the condition of things on the threshold of Otto II's reign was not cheering, owing to the exceptional situation of Bavaria.

Otto II
(973-8.)

Judith, the daughter of Arnulf I, the old Bavarian national duke and widow of Henry the Wrangler (died 951) was ruling there for her son Henry, just coming into manhood. Swabia also was under Bavarian influence, for Judith's daughter Hedwig had married the Duke of Swabia; the Bishop of Augsburg was her nephew. Even on the Rhine Judith's power was felt, for young Henry of Bavaria married a daughter of Conrad of Burgundy. Thus it happened that the whole of south Germany from the Jura to the bend of the Danube was under Bavarian influence when Otto II came to the throne. The young monarch's determination to weaken so powerful a combination was immediately put to the test, for Burkhard II of Swabia died six months after Otto the Great (October 973). This raised the issue of succession. Otto II refused the fief to Burkhard's widow, giving it instead to his nephew, Liudolf's son, and the war was on. The Duke of Bavaria received support from Poland and Bohemia, from the bishops of Augsburg and Freising, and from the dowager-Empress Adelheid, who was jealous of Theophano. But the power of Saxony and the loyalty of the bishops supported the monarch; the conspiracy fell through, and young Henry the Wrangler was imprisoned in Ingelheim (974). But the punishment did not end there: Bavaria was shorn of part of its strength by Otto II, who adopted his father's policy of breaking up the larger political units, such as Lorraine. North, east, and south Bavaria was reduced. On the north, that part of Bavaria north of the Danube between the river and the Böhmerwald, known as the Bavarian Nordgau, was cut off and given to Berthold, eldest brother of the famous Babenberger house; on the east, the East Mark was separated also and given to Leopold, the younger Babenberger, a circumstance that marks the beginning of the duchy of Austria; on the south, Carinthia and Verona were broken off from Bavaria and made an independent duchy. The loyal bishops of Salzburg and Passau were rewarded with fiefs and honors, and Bavaria for the time being was annexed to Swabia. But Otto II was careful to check the aggrandizement of his nephew by dividing his authority over Bavaria with his own count palatine. Meanwhile Henry the Wrangler made his escape and fled into Bohemia. He was pursued by Otto of Swabia, who in spite of a defeat at Pilsen by Boleslav, forced the latter to terms of peace. Henry found

Rebellion

*Territorial
reduction of
Bavaria*

refuge in Carinthia — a protection which cost the new Carinthian Duke his title — and in the end the Wrangler was again imprisoned at Utrecht.

French invasion of Lorraine (978)

Almost immediately a new danger threatened: King Lothaire of France thought to profit by the troubles of the German kingdom and invaded Lorraine in June 978. The Emperor, who was at Aachen, was forced to fly, but avenged the outrage by invading the French realm in the autumn with a great army. It was not even a Pyrrhic victory, however, for he failed in the assault upon Paris, and his rear-guard was cut to pieces in the passage of the Aisne River. Peace was made in 980.

Italian campaign

Rome

As fast as one conflict was closed, another was begun. In Italy Crescentius had returned from his retreat in the Sabine Hills, recovered the Roman city, and strangled the Pope before the last German banner of Otto the Great had passed through the defiles of the Alps. For a wonder, Crescentius does not seem to have abused his power; at any rate the life of Rome was uncommonly quiet for the next few years. The serious trouble in Italy was not on the Tiber, but in the south, where a bitter war of the feudality against the Byzantine government afforded opportunity for the Saracens, under Abul Kasem, Emir of Sicily, to invade the country. Otto II entered Italy in November 980, was reconciled with Adelheid at Pavia, and went thence to Rome, where he received the imperial crown. Fortunately for his design of repulsing the Saracens and conquering Apulia, Rome remained quiet, and he advanced southward, his army swelled by contingents from Capua, Benevento, Naples, and Salerno (December 981). But the battle of Colonne, on July 13, 982, in Calabria, ruined everything. The Emperor barely escaped, and the best soldiery of Germany perished on the field. The disaster in Italy was immediately followed by a far worse disaster in Germany, where the Slavs of the Elbe rebelled against the German domination, stormed Brandenburg, Zeitz, and Havelberg and even threatened the neighborhood of Hamburg, slew or drove out all the clergy and settlers in the land, and reverted to paganism once more. Only in the more submissive Sorben Mark and its dependencies, Mark Meissen and Mark Lausitz, did German rule still stand firm, thanks to a victory over the united Slavonic forces achieved by the margraves, supported by troops of the Archbishop of Magdeburg and the Bishop of Halberstadt. The Emperor never retrieved either of these reverses. He died on December 7, 983, at Rome, while arranging for a second campaign into Apulia.

Disastrous defeat of Germans in lower Italy (982)

Rebellion of the Slavs in Germany

Otto III (983-1002)

His successor was a child of three and a half years, Otto III (983-1002), under the regency of his mother, Theophano, until her death in 991. The Bavarian party put up as regent Henry the Wrangler, who had escaped from imprisonment in Utrecht, with the connivance of Poppo, Archbishop of Cologne. His claim was recognized by the ecclesiastics of Trier, Metz, and Magdeburg and by the Bohemians and Poles. Moreover, Henry had

secret dealings with Lothaire of France and promised to renounce Lorraine to him in reward for French support. But fortunately for Otto III, two of the last acts of his father had been to give Swabia to Conrad of the old Franconian family when Liudolf's son died (982), and to unite Carinthia again to Bavaria in the hands of Henry the Young. These two were loyal to the Saxon house in its hour of trial. The Saxons themselves supported the monarchy as a matter of course. As for the plot of Henry the Wrangler with Lothaire, it was foiled by the quick work of Godfrey of Lorraine, whose brother, Adalberon, was Archbishop of Reims, and Gerbert, his coadjutor, who had been Otto's tutor and was soon destined to become pope. These three secured the support of Hugh Capet, Duke of France and Count of Paris. In Italy Adelheid and Theophano had been equally active at the same time. In the face of such effective measures Henry renounced his pretensions, and for abstaining from the effusion of blood was rewarded with the Bavarian duchy, which young Henry was persuaded to renounce, retaining only Carinthia and the Veronese Mark.

*Attempted
feudal
reaction*

The education of Otto III had been intrusted to three men of learning of that day: John of Calabria, Bernward of Hildesheim, and Gerbert of Aurillac, afterwards Archbishop of Reims and then Pope Sylvester II (999-1003). The last was one of the most remarkable men of the Middle Ages. His career illustrates the possibilities that the medieval Church afforded one of ability, in an age when feudal privilege and class distinction were all-prevailing. Gerbert was born in Auvergne in France, the son of a serf. He was educated in a monastery school and became a monk. By chance Count Borel of Barcelona visited Saint-Geraud, was attracted to the young monk, and took him with him into Christian Spain, where perhaps, it is not certain, Gerbert came in contact with Saracenic learning, which was eminent in mathematics and the physical sciences. In 970 Gerbert visited Rome with his patron, and there he attracted the attention of Otto II and Theophano. In 972 he visited Reims to study under Garamnus, the famous logician of the day. He speedily surpassed his teacher in knowledge and eminence, so much so that Archbishop Adalberon gave him charge of the episcopal school. His rare attainments initiated a revival of learning there, which made the school of Reims famous. Returning to Italy, Gerbert was appointed abbot of Bobbio in north Italy, by Otto II, though he retained an intimate interest in the affairs of France, as was evidenced in 983.

*Remarkable
education of
Otto III*

*Gerbert of
Aurillac*

Although officially a churchman, Gerbert was far more a politician and a diplomat. He had a keen interest in the public affairs of every country he visited, and intimate relations with men of power like Otto the Great and Hugh Capet. He was in correspondence with kings and dukes, bishops and abbots, in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, and devised a system of cipher-writing for his own use. In spite of these occupations, he found time

to devote himself to pure science. A pupil of his, Bernelinus, may have been the first European to make use of the Arabic notation. His researches into the nature of steam led to the invention of a steam organ, the musical scale of which was secured by a series of graduated pipes, through which the steam was forced. In after years he was looked upon as a necromancer and a wizard and when he became pope, was popularly believed to have sold his soul to the devil in return for the honor. But the patronage of the Saxon house protected him while Otto III lived.

In 996 Otto III reached his majority, and the regency of Adelheid came to an end. As he reached man's estate, Otto III's character unfolded strangely. The rare tuition he had enjoyed, united with his own abilities, made his fame as a scholar equal to his preceptor's. The chroniclers call him "*Stupor mundi* (the wonder of the world)." Otto III's conception of rule was most striking: By birth he had a double imperial lineage, and he dreamed of an empire made not merely of the fusion of Germany and Italy, but of the Eastern and Western Empires united. His grandfather's practical view of the imperial title was lost with him. Much learning had made him mad with the idea of Cæsarism. He dreamed of ruling in Rome as the secular center of the world once more; he built a palace on the Aventine, affected Roman dress, sneered at German speech and manners as uncouth, and talked of himself as men spoke of Constantine and Justinian. But Rome would none of him. In 985, when Otto III was a mere lad, a son of the former Crescentius seized the temporal power and finally banished John XV in 995. The latter appealed to Otto III, and the eternal issue between the Roman emperor and the Roman pope was joined. He entered Italy in 996; Crescentius cringed before him; and the timely death of John XV gave Otto III an opportunity to nominate his chaplain Bruno as pope — the first German pope, who took the name Gregory V. By him Otto III was crowned emperor. Hitherto, during the two hundred and fifty years that had elapsed since the reign of the Syrian Zacharias, out of the forty-seven bishops who had filled the papal chair, all but two had been either Romans or natives of the States of the Church. Of these, Boniface VI was a Tuscan; the other, John XIV, was a native of Pavia. Under German domination the papacy assumed wider relations and became independent of local Roman politics and the Roman aristocracy. It was, moreover, in harmony with the broad idea of the Emperor as secular head of the universal Church and the new Empire, uniting Roman imperial tradition and authority with German political and military power.

"Although the principle was in no way expressed as a law by the elevation of Bruno or after him, nevertheless since the great universal forces were more powerful than the voices of the Romans, who incessantly demanded a Roman pope, the realization of this principle followed after some interruption as a

*Singular
character of
Otto III*

*First German
pope*

natural result. Throughout the entire Middle Ages, Romans, Germans, Greeks, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Spaniards, rose to the apostolic chair until with the end of universal dominion — with the Reformation — the principle died out and the custom that none but an Italian should sit on the papal throne again silently became law.”¹

No sooner was the youthful Emperor well out of Italy than Crescentius rose in revolt; Gregory V fled the city, and a proscription of the entire German party followed. But in 998 Otto returned and visited an awful vengeance on the leaders of the rebellion; John XVI, the antipope, had his eyes burned out, his hands and tongue cut off; and after still further indignities he was flung into a dungeon to die. Crescentius sought refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo; but after a fierce siege the fortress succumbed to the Duke Eckhard of Meissen, and Crescentius experienced the fate of his pope, his mutilated remains finally being gibbeted on Monte Mario. Less fortunate in his life than Alberigo, Crescentius's aim was the same. He failed partly because the odds were against him and partly because any healthy political life in Rome had been crushed out or poisoned by the base political atmosphere and never was able to grow again under the double weight of papal and feudal authority.

*Revolt of
Crescentius in
Rome (998)*

The next year (999) Gregory V died (it is not unlikely of poison) and Otto III named as his successor his former preceptor, Gerbert, whom Hugh Capet had made archbishop of Reims when Adalberon died. Gerbert, whose devotion to his pupil was great, and who enthusiastically sympathized with Otto III's dream of empire, took the appropriate name of Sylvester II, the name of the great pontiff of Constantine's time. But the Roman people tolerated him as little as they tolerated the Emperor, to whom a summons to Germany came at this juncture. His return, in June 1000, fired the Romans into new rebellion. The Emperor was besieged in his palace on the Aventine and wept over the city that would not own him.

*Gerbert be-
comes Pope
Sylvester II
(999-1003)*

“Are you,” he said, “the people whom I have called my Romans, for whose sake I have forsaken my country and my relations? Out of love to you I have shed the blood of my Saxons and of the Germans — yea, even mine own; I have led you to the remotest corners of my empire, to places untrodden even by your fathers when they ruled the world; I would have borne your name and fame to the very ends of the earth. You are my favorite children; for you I have incurred the ill will and jealousy of all the rest. And now in reward you desert your father! You have cruelly slaughtered my trusted friends; you have driven me myself out from among you; though this you cannot wholly do, since I cannot

*Humiliation
of Otto III*

¹ GREGOROVIVS, *The City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, III, 411.

entirely banish from my heart those whom I have cherished with a father's love."

*Death of
Otto III
(1002)*

The pathos of the appeal stayed the revolt for a season, and in the respite the Emperor retired, or rather retreated, from the city. But all Italy was fuming with rebellion; and "the monarch who had dreamed of restoring the universal empire of the Romans found himself dying in an insignificant fortress, suffering from hunger and menaced by the influence of the Roman vassals." Otto III died on January 23, 1002, in the twenty-third year of his age.

*Anti-German
feeling in
Rome*

In 962 Italy had found a master. But the distance of Germany from Italy always was a difficulty. The Saxon kings, whose seat of power was in the far north of Germany, made nine expeditions across the Alps and long sojourns in Italy. During these protracted visits they had broken the Italian party sustained by the Margrave of Ivrea, subdued Rome, and with fair success united central and upper Italy together under the German rule. But although successful in destroying every effort to establish an independent Italian kingship, the Saxon emperors were unable to consolidate Italy under their sovereignty. Rome checkmated every such design. In this age Rome was less a place of religious than of political rule. The Saxon emperors had hardly retired from the city before the Romans drove out the German garrison left there and the German-made Pope, and placed in the papal chair some feudal noble of the Campagna or an audacious Roman baron. The severest form of German chastisement never overcame this turbulence.

*Henry II
(1002-24)*

The direct line of Otto the Great died in the person of his grandson. The crown fell to Henry of Bavaria, Henry II (1002-24), son of Henry the Wrangler, and great-grandson of Henry I. He had powerful competitors in Eckhard, the Margrave of Meissen, and Hermann, Duke of Swabia. The former, however, was assassinated — it is not entirely clear for what reason — and the rivalry of the Swabian Duke was soon overcome. It must be observed here that although the German crown was legally an elective one, yet the tendency was towards its becoming hereditary. In this tendency lay the firmest assurance of the establishment of strong government in Germany. Nothing save the hereditability of the crown could assure it against feudal reaction and the ultimate victory of local, particularistic, tribal, and feudal forces over unity. For at every election the new emperor was compelled to make pre-election promises to his supporters which compromised his independence and his strength.

Poland

As usual after an election, the first duty of the new King was to crush those vassals who had seized the opportunity to rebel. Boleslav Chrobry of Poland — the true founder of Poland — was the most dangerous of these. This accomplished, Henry II turned towards Italy, where Arduin of Ivrea was posing as Italian king. Henry suppressed him and was

himself crowned king of Italy. Meanwhile Boleslav rebelled again. This time the Emperor sought aid from Jaromir of Bohemia and thus recovered the territory in the Oder valley. But Henry II was to discover that his worst enemies were those of his own household. At his accession the Emperor had given his ancestral duchy of Bavaria to his brother-in-law, Henry of Luxemburg. Two other brothers-in-law were the Bishop of Metz and the Bishop of Trier. This precious pair turned the Moselle lands topsy-turvy with their depredations. So far could feudalism go in corrupting the high clergy. The diocese of Trier was made a solitude by its own episcopal head, who is an advanced type of the medieval robber-bishop. The desolation of the country is thus described by a contemporary writer:

*Italy**Lorraine*

"Cities were depopulated, towns and villages burned, men, women, and children slain by the sword or consumed by famine, fire, or disease. Many nobles even were reduced to poverty and great distress, and many perished by the sword."

The Emperor's way of settling the disturbance was typical of the time, and casts light upon the feudal character of the medieval Church. He appointed a hardy young warrior named Poppo to be archbishop of Trier. Poppo distributed sixty prebends as fiefs to as many knights and with this feudal army restored the land to a state of peace. This conflict caused the Emperor four years of hard work. During its continuance Boleslav Chrobry twice overran Meissen (1002, 1003).

But Henry II had not time to spare for German affairs at this time. Italy required him. Since the extension of German sway over Lombardy two parties had disputed for power. One was the German party, the other the Italian. When Otto III died, in 1002, the Italian party, in defiance of imperial authority, put up Arduin (or Hartwig; the name is interesting as showing Lombard lineage), the Margrave of Ivrea, to be king. It was a turning-point in the history of Italy. If the movement had been successful the Germans might then have been excluded from the peninsula. But Arduin's strength was not sufficient, and not all his partisans were sincere. Numbers of them were ambitious barons seeking to fish with profit in the turbid waters. Arnulf, Archbishop of Milan, was the head of the German party.

*Arduin of
Ivrea en-
deavors to
establish an
independent
kingdom in
Lombardy*

Henry II arrived in Lombardy in the spring of 1004. Arduin, "disappointed in his hopes and betrayed by the nobles," as the contemporary Milanese historian writes, withdrew into the Piedmont, and Henry II was crowned king of the Lombards at Pavia by the Archbishop of Milan. In the evening of that day some of his German soldiery got into a fight with the townsmen which culminated in a sedition, during which part of the city was burned. Henry II was recognized in most of the Lombard towns. But with his return north of the Alps, Pavia rose from its ashes,

Arduin emerged from his retreat, and the anti-German movement acquired new headway once more, so much so that in 1013 the Emperor again returned. Arduin did homage.

Henry II in
Rome (1014)

From Lombardy Henry II passed on to Rome, where the Pope was now hard pressed by the faction of Crescentius, led by a son of Otto III's victim and sustained by the Count of Tusculum. The sedition was suppressed and Henry II was crowned emperor by Benedict VIII in 1014.

War with
Poland

These successes in Italy, however, were outbalanced by disaster in Germany. It was the aim of Boleslav of Poland to establish a great Slav realm on the eastern edge of the German kingdom. The danger was a real one, and in 1007 Henry made the greatest military effort of his life against Boleslav. Three armies concentrated their attack upon Poland; but the country was a wilderness of lakes, swamps, and forests. Two of them were utterly overthrown, and the Emperor's own army was the only one that crossed the Oder River. In 1010, 1012, 1013, 1015, and 1017 there were five abortive expeditions. In desperation Henry II courted the Duke of Bohemia and Stephen, the now Christian King of Hungary, and even sent messengers to Jaroslav, Duke of Kiev in Russia. But the Poles remained unconquered, and finally, in 1018, Boleslav was recognized as a vassal of the Emperor, and the Poles remained in possession of the lands that they had so dearly won.

Henry II's
second Italian
campaign
(1023-4)

In Italy no sooner was Henry II again beyond the Alps than the opposition blazed forth once more. But concerted Italian action was impossible. The bishops and the nobles were at odds; the lesser nobles (*vavassors*) were hostile towards the great nobles (*capitani*); the towns were in conflict both with the feudality and with one another. The maintenance of the German domination was the more possible owing to this divided and even internecine political condition. Arduin died in the habit of a monk in Fructuaria, a monastery situated upon his own domains, a worn-out adventurer, and in the same year Henry II also passed away (1024). With him died the Saxon dynasty of Henry the Fowler and Otto the Great; for the Emperor's brother was bishop of Augsburg and could not perpetuate the house. The one hundred and one years of rule of the Saxon kings had saved Germany from the anarchy and desolation that characterize French history in the tenth century. It founded the first strong government to appear above the rack and ruin of the Carolingian Empire. It proved that feudalism might be made a constructive force and not a merely local and dissolving force in society. It established an administrative system compatible with the preservation of feudal rights, to which it gave due expression. In a word the Saxon government proved the use of feudalism by co-ordinating local and central authority and preventing the *abuses* arising from exaggerated feudal expression. At the same time the Saxon kings worked the organization of the Church into

Estimate of
the feudal
policy of the
Saxon house

the body politic, checking the ambition of the bishops to rule in a sphere which was not theirs in law, but giving the Church ample room and verge enough to function as the Church naturally should function in a feudal age, combining spiritual and temporal prerogatives, but not having sovereignty.

When the high clergy and the great dukes assembled at Oppenheim in September 1024 to elect a new king to succeed Henry II, the electors were divided into two parties. The bishops by this time had become well worked into the Saxon administrative system and were content with their feudal position as fief-holders of the crown, for they had received large grants of crown land from the Saxon kings, which they held on terms of military service and political support, in addition to the possession of lucrative market and toll rights. They advocated the election of Conrad of Franconia. Against them were arrayed some of the Rhenish and Moselle bishops and the monastic party, which sought to secure the election of Conrad the Red, also a Franconian, and cousin of the other Conrad. Both Conrads had Carolingian and Ottonian blood in their veins. This cleavage of the German clergy is interesting and important. The Saxon kings, as we have seen, had greatly promoted the power and wealth of the episcopate; but they had had little use for the monasteries. The abbeys were much richer than the bishoprics and needed no new endowments, hence the kings had not been lavish of donations of land or grants of market rights to them; moreover, monks, by their vows, were recluses, disqualified from commingling with secular affairs in the same degree or capacity as bishops; abbots could not be employed so readily as administrators and soldiers as bishops. The Saxon kings even went so far as to secularize huge portions of the lands of the richest abbeys, distributing them instead among the bishops as fiefs. Henry II, in spite of his piety, was drastic in this anti-monastic policy, especially to the profit of his three favorite bishoprics, Merseburg, Würzburg, and Bamberg, the last of which he founded.

*Accession of
the Salian
house in
Germany
(1024)*

*Political cleav-
age between
secular and
regular clergy
in Germany*

But there was another ground of cleavage between the two branches of the clergy. Many of the monks were in sympathy with a new movement abroad in the Church, which emanated from France and which in the name of reform advocated the independence of the Church of any secular authority. The monks especially were imbued with these ideas and looked to Rome as the means to attain this end. The papacy, invigorated by the enforcement of German domination in Italy, in the person of Benedict VIII (1012-24) had espoused the reform movement — not without self-interest, as we shall see later on — and sought to reassert the pretensions of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals which Nicholas I had so boldly asserted in the ninth century, according to which the national church organizations of Europe, the German Church, the French Church,

*Movement for
church
reform*

*Independence
of the Ger-
man Church
of Rome
asserted*
(←→)

the English Church, had no separate identity or independent prerogatives, but were "provinces" of one great Latin Church, of which the pope was ruler. But when Benedict VIII sought to enforce these pretensions in Germany, he met with rebuff from the bishops, who in the canons of Seligenstadt (1024) asserted the administrative independence of the German Church (though, of course, admitting the spiritual headship of Rome) and denied the right of ecclesiastical appeal from a German church council to Rome. This latter provision was specially intended to prevent the monastic clergy from escaping the jurisdiction of the bishops over the monks. For from the time of the appearance and spread of monasticism in the West, monks had always by canon law been subject to the authority of the bishops in whose dioceses their monasteries were situated. But as time passed and the monasteries became rich and influential, the monks began to chafe under this regulation and claimed to be an "order" on a parity with and independent of the secular clergy.

*Election of
Conrad II
(1024-39)*

At the election at Oppenheim in 1024, accordingly, the two branches of the German clergy locked horns, the episcopate sustaining one Conrad, the monastic party the other. The feudal party, the great dukes, were less in evidence than these two clerical factions. They were really indifferent to the choice, for the reason that neither of the Conrads was a great landed or feudal lord, since the old duchy of Franconia had been divided between the bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg by Henry II, so that the ducal title was an empty one, neither Conrad possessing more than family lands. In the issue the choice fell upon Conrad the Salian, the candidate of the episcopal party.

*Feudal
rebellion*

Although the new King's cousin manfully accepted the verdict and the abbots veiled their chagrin, the bishops of the Rhine and the Moselle, those of Cologne, Verdun, Trier, Nijmegen and Liège, aided and supported by Frederick, Duke of Lorraine, raised the standard of revolt. The rebellion was actuated more by feudal than by strictly ecclesiastical interest and was an evidence of that intense spirit of separation and reluctance to incorporation within the German kingdom which characterizes the history of Lorraine for so many centuries. It was not that Lorraine wished to become French, but rather that the Lothringian feudality, the bishops among them, aspired to as complete independence as possible and adopted the policy of playing France against Germany as the readiest means to that end.

*Lorraine the
storm-center*

*French
intrigue*

Accordingly the rebels intrigued with Robert the Pious, King of France, who vainly hoped to annex German Lorraine to French Lorraine (the distinction, it will be remembered, had been created by the Partition of Meerssen in 870). The movement was also supported by a pro-French faction of nobles in the kingdom of Transjurane Burgundy. This petty realm also had been created in the ninth century, intermediate

between the western and the eastern kingdoms, and the reversion of it was eagerly looked forward to by both the German and the French kings at this time, since Rudolph III was childless. In 1006 Rudolph III had made a treaty with Henry II, who was a son of Rudolph's sister, by which Transjurane Burgundy should pass to Germany at his decease. But a Burgundian faction, abetted by the French King, was offended by this arrangement and agitated for annexation to France. Conrad II was equal to the emergency. He flattered Pilgrim, the Archbishop of Cologne, by allowing him the separate honor of crowning the Queen and estranged Gozelo, Duke of Lower Lorraine, by promising to unite the two Lorraines again in his hands, and the rebellion collapsed. A few years later Rudolph III of Transjurane Burgundy died, and, to the mortification of the French King, the German kingdom in 1032 united the territory to Germany. The acquisition was especially important in that it gave the German King possession of passes in the western Alps which led into Italy and so northern Italy and Germany became more closely united.

*Annexation
of Trans-
jurane
Burgundy by
Germany
(1032)*

Between these two events Conrad II had made an expedition into Italy destined to be of great significance for future events in both Italy and Germany. The reason for the journey lay in the fact that immediately after Henry II's last appearance in Lombardy the Italian nobles, who resented the German domination over them, had rebelled and put up a pretender to the Lombard crown. This insurrection was also joined by some of the Lombard towns, notably Pavia. It is difficult not to sympathize with the Lombard Italians in their struggle against German rule, and at the same time one feels inclined to justify the German course. For the violence of town life in Italy at this time bordered upon anarchy, and the nobles had no larger interest than self-aggrandizement and exploitation of the lands, the commerce, and the industry of Lombardy. True it is that Germany's hand was heavy upon Lombardy, but it is equally true that Italy seemed incapable of governing itself.

*Conrad II
in Italy
(1026-7)*

The word of the change of dynasty in Germany had stimulated the Italian party to new hope. But its members had learned from previous failure that their own resources were insufficient for their purpose. While the Pavians destroyed by violence the imperial headquarters in the city, the leaders of the party sought outside support in France and offered the Lombard crown successively to King Robert the Pious and, when he cautiously rejected the proffer, to William of Aquitaine. He too refused.

*Revolt of
Pavia*

Conrad II arrived in Italy in the spring of 1026 and was crowned king of the Lombards at Milan. All Lombardy was submissive except Pavia. Unable to take the city, whose walls were too formidable to be breached without siege apparatus, the Germans devastated the country side around, though the King himself was not directly responsible, for he was at Ravenna. Everywhere the Italians were sullen, and constant friction

*Imperial
coronation
(1027)*

arose between them and the Germans. There were riots in Milan and Ravenna. On March 27 in the following year (1027) he was crowned emperor by the Pope. An eyewitness of the coronation was King Knut of England and Denmark, then in Rome on a pilgrimage. The meeting of the two rulers had momentous consequence. The Billunger dukes of Saxony by this time had become so powerful in northern Germany, and their ambition was so manifest, that they gave the Emperor serious anxiety. The Saxon duchy was the greatest, the strongest duchy in Germany and exhibited a spirit of independence that almost approximated secession. Conrad II saw a use for Danish support in this situation.

*Momentous
diplomacy of
Conrad II*

Denmark was now a Christian kingdom and Knut ruler over a Baltic and North Sea empire. The Danish King coveted possession of the little territory of Schleswig, which Henry the Fowler had established in the isthmus in the days when the Danes were still pagan and their piratical forays formidable, in order to protect lower Germany from Danish incursion. But the danger was now removed. Conrad II saw in the cession of Schleswig to Denmark little territorial loss to Germany in comparison with the opportunity presented of securing the alliance of the Danish King as a means to coerce the Duke of Saxony if coercion became necessary. Accordingly Schleswig was ceded to Denmark. The future was to show that Danish ambition to extend its sway farther in Germany was inspired by this event and that the seed of future war between the Germans and the Danes was in this cession. But Conrad II may hardly be censured for political short-sightedness. He could not see ahead for two hundred years, and the immediate issue was a pressing one. He seized upon the readiest solution practicable, although the separation of England and Denmark later in the century so reduced Danish power that it was ineffective as a means to check the policy of the dukes of Saxony. All the sovereignty Germany cared to exercise in Schleswig was retained in the primacy of the archbishop of Bremen, whose authority Conrad took care to protect.

*Rebellion in
Germany*

The Emperor was recalled to Germany by the revolt of Conrad the Younger, Ernest of Swabia, and Adalberon of Carinthia. The rising was crushed by the capture of Kiburg, but the fiery Swabian Duke continued to live the life of a robber baron for several years afterwards, in his stronghold of Falkenstein in the Black Forest. This rebellion marks a point in the internal history of Germany: It is the first time in German history in which a ducal revolt was defeated by the almost unanimous resistance of the nobility of the duchy. As a result, some changes were made in the arrangement of duchies: Swabia was given to a brother of Ernest named Hermann, upon whose death, in 1038, the duchy passed to Prince Henry; Bavaria was also given to the latter, who became Henry III, of that name, and Carinthia was directly assumed by the crown.

In 1032 the long awaited reversion of Transjurane Burgundy befell when King Rudolph III died. But Eudes of Champagne a French vassal, contested the act and found support in Lorraine. The situation was similar to that of Conrad's first year. Eudes was lord of Champagne in eastern France, and Count of Blois, Tours, and Chartres in the central part of the kingdom; but his very power was his weakness, for his estates surrounded those of Henry I of France, and he, wiser than his father, feared Eudes more than he coveted the Burgundian kingdom and in consequence listened to the overtures of Conrad II for an alliance. In consequence the Count of Champagne, in alarm for his French possessions, withdrew his claim, and the annexation of Burgundy was completed, in 1032. He could not forgive Henry II of France, however, and took up arms against his suzerain. In the plains of Bar the battle between lord and vassal was fought, on November 13, 1037. Eudes perished, his nude corpse lying uninterred for the space of two days. Before this, on August 1, 1034, Conrad II had been crowned king of Burgundy, at Geneva. The work of Otto the Great was complete: the Alpine passes were in the hands of the German crown; French aggrandizement towards the east and southeast was checked for centuries, and the union of Germany and Italy was made closer than before.

*War with
Eudes, Count
of Cham-
pagne*

Successful in his external policy, the King turned his attention to the internal administration. We had an indication of the strength of the crown in the revolt of 1027; it remains now to consider the feudal policy of Conrad II at some length. The Saxon feudal policy had been to use the Church as a makeweight against the power of the great dukes; but this policy, in Salian times, was in danger of defeating its purpose; for the bishops and archbishops of Germany, now become powerful territorial lords through the munificence of the Saxon emperors, menaced the sovereignty of the crown quite as much as the feudal dukes had in the tenth century. The progress of feudalism in the eleventh century had gone so far, however, that lesser vassals were rising in importance. In consequence we find the landgraves especially becoming of increasing importance and enjoying positions similar to that of the dukes of Bavaria and Swabia, on a smaller scale. Such were the burgraves of Magdeburg, from the time of Otto I, the Ekkehardiner of Thuringia and the Zähringer of Freiburg. The inevitable tendency in these cases, as with the duchies, was towards hereditary; and without attributing to Conrad II any conscious design to check the higher dukes and bishops by elevating lesser nobles, or even of being consistent in his feudal policy, it yet remains true that Conrad partially checked the great vassals by allowing under-fiefs to pass from father to son, to the discomfiture of the high feudality.

*Internal ad-
ministration
of Conrad II*

But more effective than this measure was Conrad II's practice of

*Rise of the
ministerials*

elevating serfs who had shown administrative ability in supervision of the estates of the crown to royal offices of an inferior sort. Some of these became influential officials, through whose hands civil and ecclesiastical appointments passed and who largely controlled the royal patronage. Others were made armed servitors and were used for military service instead of ordinary vassals. These "ministerials," as they were known, had everything to gain by supporting the King and were much more reliable than officials drawn from the feudal class, as their tenures were money fiefs rather than land or offices endowed with land for the support of them. Naturally the feudality, both clergy and nobles, resented the rise of these parvenus, but henceforth the employment of ministerials in lieu of feudal nobles is an increasing practice. The most successful of these upstarts later even rose into the lower ranks of the feudality, and some became bishops in a time when episcopal office was almost wholly monopolized by the aristocracy. In this wise in Germany the great feudality was pulled down and the lower class was elevated. This development was peculiar to feudal Germany and entirely different from the course of feudal government in France and Norman England.

*Conrad II's
remarkable
government
in Italy*

It was in Italy, however, more than in Germany that Conrad II showed his high originality and resourcefulness as a ruler. The Saxon emperors had initiated the policy in Italy of filling Italian sees with German bishops. Between 950 and 1000 the presence of forty-seven German bishops in Italian bishoprics is established and undoubtedly there were more. But Conrad II pushed this Germanization of the Italian episcopate further than his predecessors. It would have been perilous to select bishops from among the powerful feudal families of Italy, for they were too hostile to imperial domination south of the Alps to be trusted. The great houses of Friuli, Ivrea, Tuscany, Camerino, were too great to be permitted to get control of the offices and lands of the Church.

*Constitution
of Pavia
(1037)*

The most remarkable example of Conrad II's originality and resourcefulness as a ruler is the famous *Edictum de Beneficiis* or Constitution of Pavia, promulgated in 1037. In order to understand this important document it is necessary to enter in some detail into the condition of Lombard politics. Incomparably the most powerful person in Lombardy was Aribert, the Archbishop of Milan. His popularity was great among the masses of the people, whose distress he had relieved during the prolonged famine of 1030-3. At the same time Aribert was active in the German service. In 1034 he participated with his vassals in Conrad II's campaign against Eudes of Champagne. He shared, according to a Milanese contemporary historian, with Boniface of Tuscany the glory of being "one of the two lights of Italy" and disposed of the realm of Italy according to his pleasure. But Aribert's sympathy and interest were with the upper class of nobles (*capitani*), who naturally were intensely determined not to let

their control of the lower nobles escape them and therefore rigorously and violently fought to prevent the fiefs of their vassals (*vavassors*) from becoming hereditary. So acute became the feeling and so widespread the movement that the lower nobles formed leagues in self-defense, with whom were associated small freeholders and petty bourgeois.

It was not long before the tense condition in Italy was called to the Emperor's attention, and, from the accounts given us by his biographer Wipo and Hermann the Lame, the annalist of Reichenau, it is evident that Conrad II fully understood the nature of the movement in Lombardy. His sympathy and interest were naturally with the small nobles. He soon perceived that the alliance between Aribert and the great nobles was the old movement of Arduin under another guise, deposed the Archbishop, and decreed the hereditability of fiefs among the lower nobility, insuring it the protection of imperial authority in enforcement of the new law. The *Edictum de Beneficiis* was sealed by the Emperor while the siege of Milan was in progress. This act went far towards diminishing the power of the great Italian nobles and — what Conrad II could not anticipate — towards promoting town life in Lombardy.

Yet another feature of Conrad II's Italian policy was in forming marriage alliances between the noble families of Italy and Germany. In this he was very successful, for before the end of his reign three of the great houses of Italy had intermarried with German families.

After the fall of Milan, Conrad proceeded to turn his attention to the outrages of Pandulf of Capua, who had even seized upon the lands of the Abbot of Monte Cassino and distributed them among his vassals. Pandulf proving impossible to capture, the Emperor contented himself with formally declaring his deposition and giving the principality to the Duke of Salerno, by which act the two cities were united. But the most important result of this expedition into Italy was the imperial recognition of the Norman power recently established in Lower Italy. The Emperor claimed the sole right to grant the investiture of fiefs throughout Italy; and the Duke of Salerno, grateful for the support the Normans had given him against Capua, secured from Conrad II the first formal investiture of a Norman lord in south Italy — Ramnulf, Count of Aversa (1038). This recognition antedated papal recognition (1053). In the same year Conrad II returned to Germany. A year later he died at Utrecht, June 4, 1039, and was buried in the old Franconian city of Speyer.

We must now narrate the history of southern Italy. Events in southern Italy had taken a remarkable turn since 916, when the great Saracenic fortress on the Garigliano had been destroyed and Saracen raids upon the Italian coast had diminished, though far from entirely stopped. For in the first quarter of the eleventh century there was a new insurgence of Mohammedanism and the port towns of the western shore of Italy

Lower Italy

*History of
Lower Italy
since 916*

seriously suffered from attacks by the Sicilian Arabs — Salerno, Amalfi, Gaeta, Pisa, Genoa — the last two quite suddenly emerging into the light of history in this period. Once more in a broken and divided Italy the pope rose to meet the danger. Benedict VIII in 1016, like John X before him, got together a fleet and beat the Saracens in a naval engagement off the Ligurian coast.

But in this selfsame famous year, 1016, new invaders began to arrive in southern Italy who were destined to wrench the land from Byzantine Greek and Saracen alike and to establish there the most brilliant dynasty of rulers of which medieval history can boast. The newcomers were Normans from France.

Norman conquest of southern Italy (1016-53)

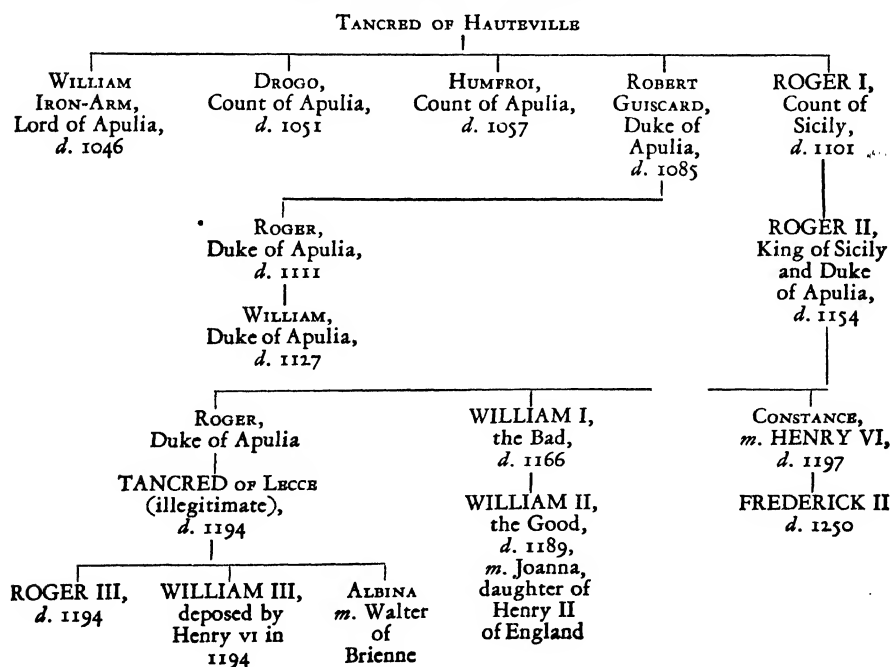
After their establishment in Normandy in 912 the Northmen had abandoned piracy and brigandage and, having accepted the Christofeudal civilization of France, had rapidly become French in speech, manner of life, institutions. The body of the Normans were as other men in the same age, servile farmers, artisans, fishermen, small traders. But the Norman noblesse retained to an unusual degree the old *Wanderlust* and spirit of adventure that had characterized their ancestors. In consequence a remarkable phenomenon of the eleventh century is the adventurous enterprise of Norman knights and nobles. Pilgrimages were a ready means of satisfying this ambition at this time. We find bands of armed Norman nobles beyond the Pyrenees in Spain journeying to the great shrine of St. James of Compostella and soon fighting the Spanish Mohammedans on the frontier of Castile for the glory of God, the zest of adventure, and the hope of possessing new lands. In similar wise we find Normans also soon making the longer and more dangerous pilgrimage beyond sea to the Holy Land. When we reach the Crusades, the importance of these Norman pilgrimages will appear in full.

For the present we are interested only in one such pilgrimage, destined to be of momentous historical importance. The accident of a pilgrimage of forty Norman knights to the grotto of St. Michael in Mount Gargano in 1016 changed the history of Lower Italy. The rule of the Greek emperor in Apulia and Calabria was to be finally extinguished, and the ruin of the Lombard duchies of Benevento and Spoleto achieved "by brigand adventurers who united these fair provinces for the first time into a political whole." The population in these provinces, outraged by excessive Byzantine taxation and driven to desperation by the inroads of the Sicilian Saracens, had just revolted against the Byzantine yoke. The leaders of the insurrection, a nobleman named Melus of Bari and the Prince of Salerno, appealed for assistance to these forty men of prowess so suddenly come among them. The invitation was most welcome. While the struggle waged, the word went home to Normandy of this rich and

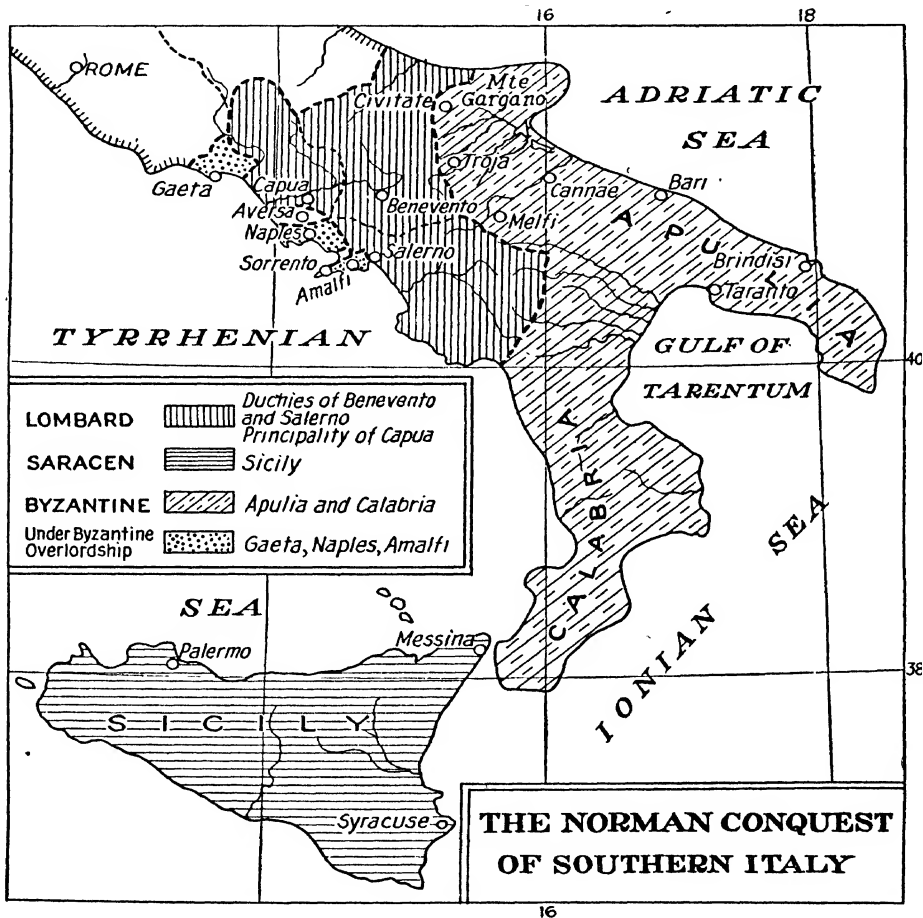
populous land of southern Italy, where a poor knight might make his fortune with a horse and a sword, and it was not long before a stream of Normans, most of them cadets of the Norman families, whom the rule of primogeniture deprived of inheritance of the home acres, was flowing towards southern Italy. A striking illustration is the sons of Tancred of Hauteville, a Norman noble of good blood but few lands, ten of whose twelve sons found fame and fortune in the southland, the most successful being Robert, nicknamed Guiscard (crafty) Roger, William Iron-Arm, Drogo, and Humfroi. The Catholic bishops and abbots in Lower Italy also welcomed these bold newcomers and hoped to find in them means to destroy the detested Greek ecclesiastical occupation—a policy that the papacy encouraged. But for a long time the Byzantine catapan or governor in Bari more than held his own against the double foe, so that in 1019 Melus and the pope hastened to Germany for assistance, having a conference with Henry II at Bamberg. This was the chain of events that had summoned the Emperor to Italy in 1022. The German intervention turned the scale and put the Byzantine government upon the defensive. But the overthrow of Greek domination and the expulsion of the Saracens were not to be the work of the German emperors, but of Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger.

Robert
Guiscard

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF TANCREDE OF HAUTEVILLE



These Norman adventurers played their hands adroitly in the game of war and politics in Apulia, fighting sometimes for the Lombards against the Greeks, sometimes allying themselves with the Greek governor against the Lombards or the Saracens. Their primary object was always to get possession of more and more land. In 1038 the catapan, at the head of a force of Normans, invaded Calabria, the toe of the boot, which was almost wholly under Saracen control, and Messina was cap-



tured. But the Greeks refused to share the conquest with the Normans, whose military camp at Aversa was a formidable place. The upshot was that the Normans invaded Apulia, the catapan was beaten at Cannæ and the Normans established a new camp at Melfi, at the foot of Mont Voltura, and from this strategic point conquered the plain, reducing the Greeks to possession only of Bari, Brindisi, Otranto, and Tarento. In 1043 William Bras de Fer (Iron-Arm) became duke of Apulia. When

he died, three years later, his brother Drogo succeeded him. Meanwhile the native population had found that a change of masters meant no change in their condition. It was as much oppressed under the Norman regime as it had been under the Byzantine. In 1051 Melus's son murdered Drogo in church and Humfroi became duke of Apulia in his room.

By this time Pope Leo IX also had grown alarmed over the extension of power of these doughty Normans; for they manifested such a greed for land that they had few compunctions about depriving the Church of its landed property and were suspected of coveting possession even of portions of the States of the Church. From welcome allies the Normans had become masters of the political situation and the territory of Lower Italy. When the Pope at the head of a mixed Italian and German force threatened Humfroi, the latter offered to become the pope's vassal. But Leo IX, now determined to expel the Normans, haughtily rejected the overture. In the battle of Civatella which ensued in 1053 the Normans defeated the papal army and took the pope prisoner. But the clever pontiff, who kept his head, turned the Norman victory, if not into his own triumph, at least to his own advantage by offering to legalize the Norman occupation of Lower Italy by granting them investiture of all the lands which they had acquired of the Greeks and Saracens. Of course, legally the pope had no right to do so. He was not ruler of the southland, he was not a prince anywhere except within the States of the Church. But feudal ideas had so deeply penetrated even the papal policy, spiritual and temporal prerogative had become so fused together, that the papacy could boldly assume a right it had not, more especially since the dispossessed sovereignty was either schismatic Greek or infidel Mohammedan. Thus the Norman State in Lower Italy was founded and formally legitimated.

*Battle of
Civatella
(1053)*

The Normans well knew how to make it grow and to rule it. In 1056 Humfroi died, leaving Apulia to Robert Guiscard. Slowly he completed the conquest of the southern provinces, reducing the strongholds of Greeks and Saracens one after the other with consummate military skill — Reggio, Cosenza, Salerno, which was taken after four months of siege, Tarento, Otranto, Troja, and finally Bari, after a four years' siege, in 1071. During the same period his brother Roger, the youngest of the Hautevilles, began the Norman conquest of Sicily. We must leave the subsequent history of the Norman State in Lower Italy until later, for the relation of these events has carried the history of Lower Italy much beyond the point where that of German history was left.

When Henry III, at the age of twenty-two, succeeded his father, the German monarchy at least internally was broader and stronger than it had ever been. An evidence of this is found in the fact that his was the first reign in which a feudal reaction was not forthcoming immediately after his accession. The reason lay in the fact that of the six German duchies

*Henry III
(1039-56)*

His power

two alone had dukes of their own, Saxony and Lorraine; the other four, Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria, Carinthia, were in the hands of the king, who ruled from the Rhine to the Morava and from the Harz to the Brenta both as duke and as king. Unlike his father, Henry III was highly educated, his teachers having been Bruno of Augsburg, Eigelbert of Freising, and the Burgundian cleric Wipo, his chaplain and biographer.

But it was a sullen, not a pacific quiet that pervaded Germany. The upper feudality was incensed over the Salian policy of elevating the lesser feudality and hankered to acquire ducal power; the lesser feudality, on the other hand, was irritated because the King would not break up the duchies and distribute portions among them. Henry III partially yielded to the former feeling. He gave Bavaria in 1040 to Henry VII, son of Count Frederick of Luxemburg, then to the Count of Zutphen, then to his baby son Conrad; but fortunately it was returned in 1056 to the crown by the death of the holder. He renounced Carinthia to Welf, marcher-Count of Verona. In Lorraine the situation was acute. Henry's father had united the two Lorraines in the hands of Godfrey of Lower Lorraine, thereby insuring the safety of the western frontier. But Henry III again, in 1044, divided the duchy between Godfrey's sons. The younger was content with Lower Lorraine, but the elder, Godfrey of Upper Lorraine, intrigued against the King, being angry that he had not received the two united duchies, and was imprisoned in 1045. When released by Henry III he plotted with the counts of Holland, Hainaut, and Flanders and with the French King, so that the whole western frontier of Germany was in a state of unrest.

Sullen position of Saxony

But it was the condition in the north that gave greatest ground of anxiety. The alliance between Germany and Denmark had reduced, though not entirely removed, the aggravation of Norse piracy in the estuaries of the Elbe and the Weser rivers, but serious danger lay in the ambition and disaffection of the Billunger dukes of Saxony, who studied to make their power nearly if not wholly independent of the crown. As counterpoise Henry III played the Margrave of Thuringia and the bishops in Saxony against Duke Bernhard. His chief instrument was the famous Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, upon whom he showered lands and administrative offices in addition to his episcopal authority. As a final means of coercion Henry III began the erection of a multitude of castles upon the crown possessions in Saxony, which were garrisoned with Bavarian and Swabian ministerials, to the fury of the Duke and the wrath of the people; for the exactions of this bold and sometimes ruffian soldiery were heavy upon the farm-steads.

The tribal antipathy of the Saxons to the Franconians, the hereditability of the Saxon ducal title, the material and social differences prevailing between the Saxons and the rest of Germany to the west and south, the

ambition of Duke Bernhard and his equivocal position in regard to the Wendish peoples, towards whom he acted more as a sovereign prince than as a vassal of the crown, strained the relations of the Saxon dukes with the Salian house to a critical point.

At this same time the political and military condition upon the eastern frontier, where Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary impinged upon Germany, was most serious, and we may at this point consider the history of German eastward expansion against these peoples as a whole since the time when Henry I established Brandenburg. in 929, and Otto I defeated the Hungarians, in 955. In 939, three years after his accession, Otto I completed the conquest of the Sorben between the Saale and the upper Elbe, established four bishoprics in the Slavonic land — Brandenburg, Havelberg, Meissen, and Zeitz — and gridironed the country with fortresses, many of which, years later, grew into towns, like Henry's *Burgwärde* in Thuringia and Saxony. For many years the German hero of the border was the Margrave Gero. Bohemia also in 950 felt the weight of the German King's hand, and the Duke was forced to an annual tribute of four hundred oxen. In 954 the Ukri (from whom the later Uckermark took its name) and the Wilzi or Ljutizi (from whom the Mark Lausitz was later named) rebelled and were subdued. Sometimes local German nobles connived at these uprisings, as when Wichmann, a renegade noble, and his two nephews did so; for the border was a place whither fugitives from justice and adventurers flocked. By 960 the territory along the upper Oder — later to be called Silesia — had been conquered. When Gero died, in 965, reorganization of the east border was made and the area that he had ruled as a unit was divided into five marks — the Nordmark, the Saxon Ostmark, to distinguish it from the older Ostmark, or Austria, Mark Meissen, the Thuringian Mark, and Mark Lausitz.

*Slavonic
frontier*

In 983 the first great test of the mark-system had come after the defeat of Otto II in Calabria. In that year there was a formidable uprising of all the Slavonic tribes along the east border, which resented the extension of German sway, the forcible conversion and tithes imposed by the Church, the seizure of their lands by pioneer settlers. The Ljutizi stormed Brandenburg and Havelberg, the Bohemians attacked Zeitz, the Abodrites and Wilzi overran the Billunger Mark and even threatened Hamburg. Further disaster was checked by the Margrave of the Nordmark. German dominion east of the Elbe was obliterated and the offensive was not resumed until 986. This initiative was largely due to the Archbishop of Magdeburg and Ekkehard of Meissen. The latter recovered Meissen, which Boleslav of Bohemia had seized after the rising of 983. When a conflict arose between Boleslav and Meiszko of Poland, the Empress Theophano supported the latter, and Bohemia was reduced to German vassalage.

*Great rebellion of the
Slavs (983)*

again. The Slavs of the middle and upper Elbe renewed hostilities in 994, and three years of indecisive warfare followed.

Poland

Relations with Poland were the most important part of Slavonic history under Otto III. The Duke of Poland suddenly in 999 reversed his policy of opposition to the penetration of German influence in his country and ardently sought the spread of German Christianity and German ecclesiastical culture, if still suspicious of German political penetration. In 1000 Otto III made a spectacular pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Adalbert, who had suffered martyrdom as a missionary among the heathen Prussens and whose remains the Polish Duke had recovered and interred at Gnesen. The archbishopric of Gnesen and the suffragan sees of Breslau, Cracow, Posen, and Kolberg were established at this time in Poland. By this measure Poland had an archbishopric of its own and was freed from the ecclesiastical tutelage of Magdeburg. The concession made by the Polish Duke was worth the price.

*German
colonization
of Mecklen-
burg*

Meanwhile, in the Billunger Mark, since the great uprising of 983, partial German recovery of the land east of the lower Elbe was accomplished. Soldiery, settlers, monks, and priests had slowly penetrated again; with the sword protecting the cross and the plow, new German settlements had arisen in the former Billunger Mark, where the Abodrites and Wilzi were cowed into submission, and which now began to be known as Mecklenburg from the circumstance that a line of *Burgwärde* was erected along its eastern edge from Wismar to Lake Schwerin, of which the old Slavonic walled town of Wiligrad (Great Town) was the most important. This name the Germans translated into Mikelburg (meaning the same thing), whence Mecklenburg. Originally every *Burgward* in this array of frontier posts — Oldenburg, Wismar, Doberan, Ratzeburg, Bützow, Güstrow — had been a Slavonic walled place to protect their land from German encroachment, which shows how the Slavs adopted, though unavailingly, the German method of frontier defense. At the same time a horde of Norse pirates penetrated up the estuary of the Elbe, and the double danger from Slavs and Norse became so great in lower Germany, that Bishop Bernward of Hildeheim built a *Burgward* at the confluence of the Aller and the Ocker to protect the region.

Norse pirates

*Henry II's
Slavonic
policy*

Henry II had new and more liberal ideas than his predecessors with reference to the Slavonic problem of the German kingdom, so far at least as the Slavs of the lower Elbe were concerned, and in the second year of his reign (1003) initiated a conciliatory policy towards them. For he well knew their grievances — the land-hunger of Saxon pioneers, the avarice of the Billunger dukes of Saxony, who rigorously exacted annual tribute of the Abodrites and Wagri, the avaricious and exploitative policy of the clergy, who reduced thousands of the Slavs to serfdom on the church lands and relentlessly collected tithes from a simple people,

who were cruelly exploited in the name of religion. Henry II's motive in this policy towards the Slavs was to make them friends instead of enemies in order to hold in check the dukes of Saxony, whose lordship over the north had now become formidable. But unfortunately the Emperor was too much engaged elsewhere during his reign, the abuses continued, and finally, in 1018, a new Slavonic uprising occurred. The infuriated Abodrites and Wagri slew settlers and priests and burned the German villages. Sixty unfortunate priests, with the sign of the cross cut in ridicule upon their tonsured heads, were whipped through the Slavonic villages and finally sacrificed before the idols in the famous Slavonic fane at Rethra.

*New Slavonic
Revolt (1018)*

Yet Henry II did not despair. He knew that the Abodrites and Wagri had just grievances, which he was resolved to diminish if possible. To that end in 1021 he summoned a diet at Werben, in which were Saxon bishops and high nobles and the leaders of the two Slavonic tribes. It was a remarkable policy on the Emperor's part and a most remarkable assembly, the first of its kind in history, "for finding out what the Slavs thought," as the chronicle relates. The justice of the complaint of the Abodrites and Wagri over the imposition of serfdom, over tribute and tithes, was fully established, "but the Duke and the bishops cared nothing for their promises." The wrongs were never abated.

Henry II's Polish policy was as much a failure, though for a different reason. For the prowess of the Poles was proof against every German onslaught. Boleslav Chrobry the Brave (992-1025), the real founder of the Polish kingdom, was an able ruler and a formidable military foe. The war with Poland began in 1004. The expansive policy of Boleslav was the real cause. The Polish Duke was ambitious to unite the Bohemians, the Ljutizi, the Hevelli, the Siusli, the Sorben, even the Russians, under his sway and displayed an inexhaustible energy and shrewdness in pursuing this course. The Emperor balked the design upon Lausitz and Brandenburg by permitting the Slavs there to continue to adhere to their pagan religion in return for allegiance to Germany, and in this way made the middle Elbe secure, though to the vast discomfiture of the bishops. So secular a policy will not be found again until the time of Frederick II in the middle of the thirteenth century; it is sufficient to stamp Henry II as a bold, clear thinker and one far from servile towards ecclesiastical authority. After three German expeditions had failed to penetrate Poland, whose vast solitudes and marshes and forests repelled the invader, and fourteen years of intermittent war, peace was made at Bautzen in 1018, Poland retaining the territories it had conquered, though it is not certain whether they were held under German suzerainty or not, and the warlike Boleslav Chrobry went off to attack Kiev, which he destroyed.

Poland

*Boleslav
Chrobry of
Poland*

The fiery Boleslav died in 1025 and was succeeded by his son

*Mieszko II
of Poland*

Mieszko II (1025-34). In 1028 he invaded Lausitz, and Conrad II was called to the eastern border. The danger was great enough to compel the transference of the bishopric of Zeitz to Naumburg. The Emperor could rely upon the Bohemians and Russians for assistance, and the Ljutizi stayed loyal. A German invasion was frustrated by failure to capture Bautzen, but Bretislav recovered Moravia for Bohemia. In 1031 the war was renewed. At the end of it Mieszko II resigned the territories acquired in 1018. Upper Lausitz was united with Mark Meissen, and Lower Lausitz with the Saxon Ostmark. In this way Germany's former east border was restored. It was the danger from Russia, however, the hostility of Jaroslav of Kiev, more than German success that achieved this result. Soon afterwards Poland became torn by a conflict between a pagan and anti-German party and a Christian and pro-German party and ceased to be a thorn in the side of Germany. One advantageous effect of this long struggle with Poland was to make the Bohemians, for some time, friendly to Germany out of fear of Poland.

Hungary

As for Hungary, Christianity and a degree of Germanic civilization obscurely penetrated into that land until in 1000 its King professed Christianity and was christened Stephen. The importance of this event for the history of central and western Europe was very great. By uniting with Latin instead of Greek Christendom, an extensive area of Europe was saved from the influence of Byzantinism—that is to say, Balkanization. The Hungarians joined the Romano-German polity of Europe and became sharers in medieval Latin culture. Then, too, by establishing a powerful military and Christian state in the Danubian plain the Hungarians rendered immense service to central Europe by protecting it for seven centuries against the assaults of barbarian forces out of Asia, notably the Tartars and the Turks.

After the year 1000 German influence rapidly made its way into Hungary. Many of the German feudality were in the service of the government, and many German clergy in the Church. But although the Hungarians were favorable to German faith and institutions, they were hostile to any semblance of German domination. The Fischa River formed the boundary between the Bavarian Ostmark (Austria) and Hungary, but the slow expansion of German settlers down the Danube valley led to constant border clashes. In 1030 Conrad II invaded the kingdom as far as the Raab without decisive result. A Hungarian counter-attack captured Vienna, which now first appears. In the peace made in 1031 the territory between the Fischa and the Leitha was given to Hungary.

*Bretislav of
Bohemia*

It is sufficiently evident that by the reign of Henry III the situation along Germany's entire eastern border was a precarious one. The immediate and most pressing danger arose from the new ambition of Bretislav of Bohemia, who aimed to do what Boleslav Chrobry of Poland had

striven for — to make Bohemia a super-Slav state, with dominion over Poland and the Slavonic tribes along the German border. Taking advantage of the anarchy in Poland Bretislav seized Cracow, Posen, and Gnesen, carrying off the bones of St. Adalbert from Gnesen to Prague. At the same time he made an alliance with Hungary. The war began in 1040. The army that Henry III commanded, which attacked from the south, was twice defeated in the mountainous passes near Cham; and the northern army was compelled to fall back. In the next year three new German armies took the field with better success. The defiles were forced and the Emperor encamped before Prague. Betrayed by the Bishop, the Duke surrendered and was permitted to retain his duchy, together with Silesia and Moravia, as German fiefs. Henceforth the Bohemian dukes were loyal to the German kings. In Poland Kazimir was restored as a German vassal.

Henry III then turned his arms against the Hungarians, among whom a feud was raging between a pagan pro-Hungarian party and a pro-German Christian party. The former had expelled King Peter, a nephew of Stephen, and put up a pagan ruler by the name of Aba or Ovo in his room. Peter found refuge in Germany, and war between Germany and Hungary ensued. The Emperor had become the advocate of Christianity against paganism, as well as the supporter of German politics and civilization. In 1042 the Germans captured the two important Hungarian positions of Pressburg and Haimburg, and in the following year a German army, sustained by a flotilla on the Danube, invaded Hungary. Aba submitted, and resigned all the territory from the Kahlenberg to the Morava and the Leitha rivers in addition to paying a heavy tribute. The frontier administrative system was then reorganized. Liutpold of Babenberg was made margrave of the new territory, his father Adalbert retaining the Ostmark; but when the latter died, a few years later, the territories were united and henceforth are known in history as Austria, the eastern frontier of which to this day is as it was then established. East of the Wienerwald German settlers began to drift in. The marks of Styria and Carniola were also organized at this time.

But war was soon resumed between Germany and Hungary. The victory of Henry III at Székesfehérvár (Stuhlweissenburg) in 1044 restored Peter to the throne, and Bavarian law was imposed upon the Hungarians. In less than two years, however, a new national reaction broke out under the leadership of Andreas, a descendant of Arpad. King Peter was deposed and blinded, Pressburg and Haimburg were recovered, a German expedition was repulsed. Finally in 1054 peace was made. The treaty preserved to Germany the territory as far as the Leitha, but Hungary acquired permanent independence.

The speciousness and fragility of the Salian power is manifested in

German intervention in Hungary

Reorganization of the eastern marks

Austria

*Beginning of
Cluny reform
in Germany*

these events. But greater danger to the imperial authority lay in the new program of an active clerical party in Germany at this time, whose designs Henry III did not penetrate and to whose policy he yielded. The ideas of this party were borrowed from France, where the Cluny reform had inaugurated a movement at once idealistic and practical, which appealed to interest as well as to vague moral forces and was singularly different from the *Realpolitik* of the German rulers. Charlemagne and the Saxon and Salian kings had incorporated the Church into their governments, leaving its spiritual authority unchanged, but clearly regulating the Church's temporal authority and always measuring the amount of power that the Church might exercise. But as the new ideas out of Cluny began to penetrate into Germany through Lorraine, first the Lotharingian and Burgundian clergy and then the clergy of farther Germany became imbued with them. They were ruinous to the interests of the State; for the aim of Clunyism was to free ecclesiastical offices and ecclesiastical lands from all royal or imperial control, not with the purpose of separating Church and State—for that would have been impossible in the feudal age—but with the purpose of subordinating the State to the temporal authority of the Church. Of this intention Henry III was blissfully ignorant. In 1043 he proclaimed the Peace of God at Constance, although the "peace" was a dangerous invasion of the police power of government. Three years later Halinard, Archbishop of Lyons, refused to take the oath of fidelity always exacted of a bishop, and the Lotharingian clergy sustained him in the bold action. The Emperor weakly yielded to the requirement, if not the principle involved in it.

It is manifest that the Cluniac program involved a revolutionary change both in the theory of the relation of Church and State and in the working relations between them. Hence it becomes necessary to trace the course of church history through the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries in order to understand the genesis, development, and whole nature of this movement, the result of which was to revolutionize medieval Europe.

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THE CHURCH FROM THE FORGED DECRETALS TO THE
WAR OF INVESTITURE (858-1075)

THE history of the formation of the power of the medieval Church falls naturally into two parts: the power of the clergy over society, and the power of the pope over the clergy. But these two questions in reality are so intimately united that it is necessary to study them together. It is very difficult to ascertain what the laity in the Middle Ages thought. The idea of the Church is a mystical one at best; outwardly we see only the clergy and the faithful.

Double history of the Church

The organization of the ecclesiastical government of the Middle Ages is a capital fact of world history. It is necessary to understand it, no matter how difficult it may seem, in order to understand the actual condition of medieval Europe. The aim of the present chapter is to show how this organization was developed in the period of confusion that extended from the middle of the ninth century to the middle of the eleventh (858-1075), leaving to a subsequent chapter the history of the growth of the pontificate in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Importance of church history

The organization of the Church established by Charlemagne was seriously impaired during the break-up of the Frank Empire by the growth of feudalism. The clergy to a very great degree became feudalized, and adopted the manners and practices of the feudality. The pope became a Roman noble. It was a time of irregularity, of disorder, of disorganization. There was little, if any, general direction given the Church; there were no general councils and few even of a local nature. This period extended down to the middle of the eleventh century, by which time a series of new usages and changes began to arise out of the confusion, which culminated in a broad and deep movement of reform.

Effect of dissolution of Frank Empire on the Church

From the ninth to the twelfth century the Latin Church was a loose federation of national churches, those of France, Germany, Italy, the Spanish monarchies, and England. The pope was vaguely regarded as the spiritual head of the Church, but he had no authority over any of the separate churches. The councils were called by the kings, and no one of them was of a general nature. In spiritual affairs and ecclesiastical discipline these several churches were independent of secular authority — though Charlemagne had even legislated in matters of faith — but otherwise were dependent upon the states. The degree of state control of the Church, however, varied greatly, according to the strength of the crown in each country. In Germany and Italy under the German sovereigns,

Federal nature of church organization before eleventh century

*Dependence
of Church
on State*

and in England, especially after the Norman Conquest, the crown exercised complete authority over the episcopate. In France, although the royal authority over the bishops extended more widely than the political authority — that is to say, the French kings were able to control certain dioceses within the great feudal provinces — nevertheless in the main the Church in each great fief was under control of the ruler thereof, whether duke or count.

*Feudalization
of the Church*

This disunion of the Church was due to the prevalence of feudalism. The same force that had riven the Frank Empire asunder had also riven the Church asunder. The Church became feudalized in the universal feudalization of law, government, society. Bishops enfeoffed their lands and, while vassals of the kings or the great dukes, were also suzerains of vassals. They rode off to war with their feudal trains and performed military service. They held court, administered justice, and collected taxes within their lands like the lay nobles. They were themselves nobles as well as bishops. So feudalized did the hierarchy become that a ninth-century writer wrote a work in which he paralleled the grades found in ecclesiastical and secular society — emperor and pope, kings and metropolitans, dukes and archbishops, counts and bishops, viscounts and archdeacons, barons and deacons, etc. The penetration of feudalism into the sanctuary resulted in the feudalization of church offices, of church property, even of the altar; for since the support of every church incumbent in an age of agricultural economy was derived from landed endowments of the office, inevitably both the office and the holder thereof became feudalized more or less both in idea and in function.

The “spotted actuality” of this feudalized condition of the Church has been graphically described by Mr. Henry Osborn Taylor in his remarkable book entitled *The Mediæval Mind*:

“Through the Middle Ages, Church dignities everywhere were secularized through the vast possessions, and corresponding responsibilities, attaching to them. The clerical situation varied in different lands, yet with a like result. The Italian clergy were secularized through participation in civic and papal business, the German through their estates and principalities. In France clerical secularization was most typically mediæval, because there the functions and the fortunes of the higher clergy were most inextricably involved in feudalism. Monasteries and bishoprics were as feudal fiefs: abbots as well as bishops commonly held lands from an over-lord, and were themselves lords of their subvassals who held lands from them. To the former they owed rent, or aid, or service; to the latter they owed protection. In either case they might have to go or send their men to war. They also managed and guarded their own lands, like feudal nobles, *vi et armis*. When the estates of a monastery, for example, lay in different places, the abbot might exercise authority over them through a local potentate, and might also have such a protector (*vidame, avoué, advocatus*) for the home abbey. There was always a general feeling,

often embodied in law or custom, that a Church dignitary should fight by another's sword and spear. But this did not prevent bishop and abbot in countless instances in France, England, Germany, and Spain, from riding mail-clad under their seignorial banner at the head of their forces.

"Episcopal lands and offices were not inherited: yet with rare exceptions the bishops came from the noble, fighting, hunting class. They were noblemen first and ecclesiastics afterwards. The same was true of the abbots. Noble-born, they became dignitaries of the world through investiture with the broad lands of the monastery, and then administrators by reason of the temporal functions involved. As with the episcopal or monastic heads, so with canons and monks. They, too, for the most part were well-born. They also were good, bad, or indifferent, warlike or clerkly, devoted to study, abandoned to pleasure, or following the one and the other sparingly. Many a holy meditative monk there was; and many a saintly parish priest, the stay of piety and justice in his village. The rude times, the ceaseless murder and harrying, uncertainty and danger everywhere, seemed to beget such holy lives.

"Invectives, satires, histories, and records bear witness to the state of the clergy. All diatribes are to be taken with allowance."

It was impossible for the Church, or at least the really spiritual element in it, to suffer such a condition to remain. Unless the Church were to perish, reformation of this condition was imperative, and both theory and circumstance operated to effect this change. The theory was fundamentally derived from the Bible, from which ecclesiastical publicists had early derived their theocratic conception of the nature of government. As the ancient prophets had stood towards the Jewish kings, so the medieval clergy stood towards the kings. The Church had spoken authoritatively even to the later Roman emperors, by whom the Church had been granted or from whom it had wrenched a large amount of political power.

*Ecclesiastical
theory*

St. Augustine early in the fifth century formulated the political creed of the Church in *The City of God*, in which it was argued that the State, being man-made, was necessarily not only imperfect, but evil; heaven was the only perfect social organism; all governments, unless submissive to ecclesiastical direction and authority, were usurpations; the Church, being of divine foundation, was God's agent and trustee for the management of human affairs on earth, in part directly through its own ecclesiastical organization, in part mediately through guiding rulers in the way they should go and in what they should do.

*Influence of
St. August-
ine's City
of God*

The drift of history, however, in the period of the German kingdoms, was away from this conception. (Conditions were stronger than theory, and in the Frankish monarchy the Church was subordinated to the State and sometimes intelligently and efficiently used as an instrument of the government; sometimes abused, its offices and revenues being deflected unjustly to secular purposes.) Nevertheless, in spite of this obscurity, the

teaching of St. Augustine was not entirely eclipsed, and haunted the mind of dreamers.

The political doctrines of the Church were not stereotyped; they changed according to time and circumstance, as all living thought must do, in answer to new conditions. But the fundamental concept remained constant throughout the Carolingian epoch that the ideal form of government was a theocratic kingship, of which David was the prototype. We can discern the elements of this political philosophy in the writings of the men who formed Charlemagne's court — the idea of a Christian empire in which State and Church dwelt in unison, and their interests were mutual. Charlemagne himself was deeply influenced by Augustine's *City of God*. But nothing then was said of the superiority of Church over State, and the reverse was tacitly accepted by the clergy, for the Emperor acted always as head of both.

Charle-
magne's gov-
ernment of
the Church

Charlemagne's conception was that a strong State and a strong Church might be welded together as the obverse and the reverse sides of a single polity. He believed that the Frankish government and the Church together might be able to introduce some kind of unity and combination among the discordant populations and widely separated territories comprehended within his empire. But in cherishing this purpose Charlemagne failed to understand the elemental discordance between the constitution of the State and that of the Church. Although unexpressed in his time, the Church always regarded itself as co-ordinate with, if not superior to, the State. This was a latent but important source of obstruction to any cordial union of Church and State. As long as Charlemagne's strong will presided over the administration this secret conviction of the Church was kept concealed. Moreover, the Church itself was not yet in a position to grasp the helm of government. The clergy needed time to learn the technique of secular administration. This explains why they so eagerly grasped at high offices of state, presided over the imperial chancellery, became *missi dominici*, accompanied the king to war, and undertook diplomatic missions. In addition the clergy had to move slowly along the new road opening before them for the reason that the great lay nobles were jealous of their growing power in secular affairs and looked with undisguised disapprobation upon the Church's political and military activity. An evidence of this opposition is found in a memorial presented to the Emperor petitioning that bishops and abbots be confined to religious duties only. "We have observed," recites the petition, "God knows with what apprehension, bishops and clerks wounded and slain in the front of the whole army, thus causing many to flee before the enemy. We therefore earnestly beseech Your Majesty not to allow more than two or three such persons to accompany the army, and that only to give benediction before battle and to shrive those in danger of death from wounds."

The nobles further requested that bishops be restrained from appearing in person in the army when their episcopal contingents were sent.

As long as Charlemagne lived, neither group could substantiate its intentions. But under Louis the Pious, whose servility we have already seen and whose piety was imposed upon, a revolution was begun in the Church, and a whole series of ecclesiastical trespasses upon the prerogatives of the State began. Stephen IV (816-17), the first Pope elected after the death of Charlemagne's friend Leo III, pleaded the tumultuous conduct of the Roman populace as an excuse to seek the Emperor; his real motive was to endeavor to establish the coronation ceremony as a papal right, thereby ignoring the earlier coronation of Louis by his father. Unfortunately for future events, the Emperor yielded, not the principle (for Stephen was too cautious to declare his real intention), but the fact of re-coronation, whence papal advocates in after years argued the necessity of episcopal coronation to valid kingship and of papal coronation of the emperors. The emperor still claimed the right of ratifying the papal election; but Pascal I (817-24), by hasty ordination, "anticipated" the exercise of that prerogative, and the complaisant Louis, instead of quashing the election, was content to satisfy himself that it had been canonical.

The Church begins to aspire to political control in the ninth century

Louis's less submissive son, Lothaire, however, who by the partition of 817 had a direct interest in Italy, was not slow to recognize the drift of the papacy. Alarmed at the presumptuous conduct of the popes, who already possessed in the States of the Church a vast ecclesiastical immunity, Lothaire in 824 called the papacy sharply to account. This exercise of prerogative was expressed in the Roman Constitution of November 824. This law definitely asserted the supremacy of the emperor's will in the city of Rome, and the right of the imperial *missi* to review the actions of the papal court, and enjoined the recognition of Lombard or Frankish law at option, in accordance with the Germanic principle of a personal law. This provision, if it could have been maintained, would have seriously weakened the independence of the popes, whose policy was to apply only Roman law throughout their dominions, and it would have materially aided the Frankish element in the Empire against the trespassing of ecclesiasticism.

Roman Constitution of Lothaire (824)

The pope in these practices was actuated more by the temptation to magnify his feudal prerogative as a prince of Italy than by zeal to exalt the Church of Christ. Further evidence of this is afforded by Gregory IV, who was a party to the infamous degradation of Louis the Pious at the Field of Lies (833), where his conduct was that of a feudal noble bent upon the acquisition of whatever lands he might acquire in the nature of reward for supporting the rebellious Lothaire, from whose favor the Pope had more to expect than from the mean and all-but-discarded Emperor. Louis's deposition shortly followed, also dictated by Gregory IV,

Political interference by the Church

and he was reinstated only when he had admitted the competency of the Church to depose him and suffered penance for sins that he had never committed. The inevitable result of such events was to foster the political pretensions of the bishop of Rome.

*Growth of
secular juris-
diction of
the bishops*

But it would be an error to represent the political ambition of the Church in the ninth century as due entirely to selfish motives. The government in its weakness leaned upon the Church. In 864 bishops were given secular jurisdiction within their dioceses and were made *missi* in them. Even parish priests were made constables.

*Theory of
church^a
supremacy
over the State*

The Church suffered much because of the weakness of the imperial government, and a party was formed within it which saw the remedy of the difficulty only in the abolition of the influence that the State had acquired in Church affairs. But this would have been tantamount to the separation of Church and State—a wholly impracticable thing. The solution of the difficulty was found in the theory of the subordination of the State to the Church. The confusion and anarchy of the ninth century gave plenty of opportunity to propagate this doctrine. In 829 the opinion was cautiously expressed that the spiritual power was superior to the temporal. Charles the Bald, in 859, recognized the right of the bishops who had consecrated him to depose him. In 875, at Charles's coronation as emperor, John VIII openly declared the emperor to be his underling. Anointment and coronation of kings and emperors by the pope during the second half of the ninth century became the effective method of subordinating the imperial dignity, and the symbolism of the ceremony served to accentuate the superior authority of the Church.

*Ecclesiastical
right of depo-
sition of kings*

*Abuse of
coronation
ceremony*

*Protests of the
later Caro-
lingian kings*

*Boldness of
Archbishop
Hincmar
of Reims*

(Once introduced, the new doctrine of the superiority of Church over State grew rapidly and the weakness of the later Carolingian kings gave room for its assertion. Hincmar of Reims lectured Charles the Bald and his son as though they had been schoolboys caught in a prank. But even the worm turns. Louis the Stammerer in 881 appointed his chaplain to the vacant see of Beauvais. Whatever the theory of the Church, traditional practice of the Frankish kings was in favor of the King. The Archbishop in high dudgeon called a synod at Fismes and quashed the nomination. His insolence was exceeded only by his mendacity. He declared the royal certificate was "a voice from the pit of hell" and had the hardihood to assert that no Frankish king had ever appointed bishops to vacant sees. The King in reply—one wonders what minister or clerk indited the answer—pointed to historical precedent and reminded Hincmar that the capitularies of Charlemagne made the license of the crown necessary to valid election, and furthermore that the crown possessed the right of appointment for the reason that the greater part of the lands of the bishops were benefices conferred by the crown. The Archbishop's reply is a fla-

grant example of episcopal pretension. He declared that Louis owed his election to the kingship to neither his royal lineage nor the nobles, but that the bishops had elected him king. "Look to your position," he added. "See where they have laid your forefathers; read their epitaphs — the life of each shorter and shorter as they recede from their great ancestor [Charlemagne]. Beware, then, how you follow their wicked example. . . . You shall very soon pass away. But the Church and its bishops, with Christ at their head, shall never pass away."

It is important to observe that Louis the Stammerer in his reply to Hincmar had touched upon a very important historical and legal fact with reference to the episcopate. By the ninth century every bishop had become a baron and every bishopric was a barony. "The clergy had been indefatigable in their efforts to place themselves upon a level with their co-estates by the acquisition of crown grants, all of which still retained the character of lay estate, and were therefore liable to all except the merely personal incidents of feudal tenure. The right of providing properly for the performance of the services attached to these tenures or baronies had, in legal consequence, drawn after it the right of the sovereign to a voice in the appointment of the person who was to perform them."¹ If the Church insisted upon its sole right to fill a vacant see, the crown legally had the right to withdraw these grants of land, a thing that no bishop could have viewed with equanimity. In this wise the crown had a means of coercion of episcopal elections which the episcopate everywhere relinquished. The Church was feudalized, as secular society and government was feudalized, and it yielded to the necessity and condition of the age. If a bishop were forced upon the crown, the benefices of his see might revert to the crown.

The formation of a new society, a new government in Europe, along the lines pointed out in the *De civitate Dei*, like a utopia, became the hope of clerical idealists, "the one far-off, divine event" towards which history was moving.

It is worth while to give some account of this political literature which developed in the ninth century, for it had a profound influence and, moreover, is evidence that there was some ordered thought amid the confusion of the time.

The earliest of these treatises was the *Via regia*, or *Royal Way*, by a monk named Smaragdus, in which it is argued that a ruler is a sort of lay priest who ought by education and prayer to learn the will of God, like David, but personally, and without the intermediation of the clergy. Though overladen with scriptural quotations, this little tract was the effort of an honest mind and a sincere heart to point out to the Emperor the doctrine of better laws and a higher soul. Twenty-five years later, in

*Manuals of
government
for kings.*

¹ T. GREENWOOD, *Cathedra Petri*, bk. vii, chap. iii, p. 295.

833, appeared the *De institutione regia*, or *The Institution of Kingship*, written by Jonas of Orléans for Pepin of Aquitaine. It differs both in law and in doctrine from the preceding manual. In reality the work was written not so much for the King as for his counselors. Kingship is less a power than an instrument. It is a necessity of fact, but not a necessity of law. Law is the product of the agreement of the king with the "political people" of his realm—that is, the nobles and bishops. The duties of the king and the *grandeues* are reciprocal. Kingship thus is not a supreme institution, but rests upon consent. The consent of whom? The clergy and the nobles. Jonas ends his manual by drawing a portrait of an ideal Christian ruler; it is that portrayed by St. Augustine in the fifth book of *De civitate Dei*, the picture of a just and efficient ruler authoritatively guided by the Church. This is the argument of a feudal society. Those great abbots of Carolingian blood, Wala of Fulda and Adalhard of Corvey, together with Hilderic of Saint-Denis, whom Louis the Pious had driven out of the government, made common cause with these ecclesiastical publicists, seeing in the design the only means of saving the Carolingian Empire from decomposition.

Louis the Pious's exclusion of Lothaire from the joint exercise of imperial authority with him, and the assignment of Aquitaine to Charles, mortally offended the High-Church party as a violation of the pact of 817, which was represented as a solemn instrument of a united Church and a united Empire. In 833 Agobard of Lyons cautioned the Emperor that resistance to the demands of the insurgents would involve him in conflict with Pope Gregory III, which is exactly what came to pass. Wala, Adalhard, and Agobard convinced the Pope of his legal right of interference in the discordant politics of the Empire. The method of persuasion was highly significant. It is related by Paschasius Rotbertus, the protégé and biographer of Wala. "We exhibited to him," he records, "certain writings and documents founded on the authority and under the hands of his predecessors, showing past all contradiction that the pope had the amplest powers . . . to judge all men and all things, and in such wise that he himself should be judged by no man." This is the earliest clue, perhaps, to the later Forged Decretals.

Use of forged
documents

About 840 we find the same doctrines in the *Liber apologeticus* of Agobard of Lyons. Obviously by the middle of the ninth century men's minds had traveled far from the Carolingian conception of the sovereign as a priest-king. The royal authority is almost suppressed by these teachings, or, to speak more accurately, it has become diffused among the feudality, bishops and nobles. Later in this century Archbishop Hincmar of Reims composed four treatises upon the nature of government and the duties of kings for the four kings for whom he was minister, analogous to the treatises of Jonas and Agobard, but more audacious, more worldly-

wise, less idealistic, and more pragmatic. The two most important of these are entitled *De regis persona et regio ministerio* (Concerning the Person of the King and the Royal Office) and *De ordine palatii* (On the Government of the Palace). The former was written for Charles the Bald, the latter for his son Louis the Stammerer. In both the new tone of ecclesiastical superiority is clear. "The king is a power, a means in the hands of the Church, which is superior to him, since it guides his destiny. . . . He is a man like all men. He reigns in his office under the Church's direction, whose authority he must respect, whose property he must protect." In order to insure this obedience the Church claimed the sole right to crown the king and at his coronation exacted a "*professio*" or coronation oath — the remotest germ of written constitutions and limited monarchy that history affords. These ideals expressed by Jonas, Agobard, and Hincmar were the ideals of St. Augustine. But in the ninth century they were given concrete reality, they were successfully applied to law and government. The Church made good its teaching that kings were subject to the bishops, that the State was subject to the Church, in substantial political acts. Charles the Bald acknowledged the right of the Church to depose him. In 887 the German Church deposed Charles the Fat and put up Arnulf of Bavaria as king in his stead.

More church
advice to
kings

But side by side with these dreamers were other churchmen of a more practical frame of mind, ambitious, not for the triumph of a great idea, but for the acquisition of political power by and for themselves. They had tasted the sweets of power and hungered for more. Bishops and abbots were statesmen, diplomats, *missi dominici*, soldiers, in the Carolingian government, and in receipt of vast revenues from land endowments and the tithe. The Pope already was a temporal prince in Italy, the Church everywhere had large temporal power. To these ambitious churchmen the Augustinian teaching was a veil to cloak their own ambition; St. Augustine was made a stalking-horse; *The City of God* camouflaged designs of a very worldly sort. The partition of 833 showed that Wala, Adalhard, and Agobard were dreamers of an empty day. The feudal nobles and not a few bishops flouted the idea of the unity of the Empire and divided it among themselves. "The magnificent project of an associated spiritual and temporal monarchy . . . dropped out of the category of possible things."¹

Political
bishops

A new design and a new tactic took the place of the old project, in which the papacy was the cornerstone. But two obstacles were in the way of its consummation. The Pope himself had shown in 833 how little he understood the idea, and moreover there seemed no law or precedent to validate the assertion of papal supremacy over kings and governments. Hitherto the superiority of the Church over the State had only been

¹ GREENWOOD, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 150.

vaguely cherished and vaguely expressed; the pope was not the head of the Church in the capacity designed.

Loose administrative system of the Church in the ninth century

Conciliar theory

The Church in the early Middle Ages was very different in organization from what it later became and now is. It was far from being a compact ecclesiastical entity, and the pope's authority was far more limited than it was later. The Church in each of the kingdoms of Europe — Germany, France, Italy, England, the little Spanish realms — was largely independent and self-governing within its sphere. The bishops were subject to the archbishops or metropolitans in each kingdom, and, while it is true that the latter received the pallium or cape symbolical of their office from the pope, the ceremony was a tribute to the pope's superior dignity and did not entail recognition of the pope's superior authority by the recipient until the time of Boniface (742), when a new canon decreed that an archbishop could not exercise his functions unless he had received the pall. Even after this the various national churches preserved a large amount of ecclesiastical freedom. Church sovereignty reposed in a church council and was not vested in the pope, who was, as it were, a sort of president of a federation of churches. "The Christian Church," it has been written by Fustel de Coulanges, a distinguished historian, "was not a centralized body. It had no common monarchy. Rome enjoyed a pre-eminence, not a power. Monarchy was in every diocese. There the bishop was in authority over all, and himself had no superior save the deference (not recognition of superior authority) due the metropolitan. Christian society was a federation of episcopal cities. The necessity of unity in matters of doctrine was vividly felt, but this unity was maintained, not by a supreme power, but by the holding of assemblies or councils, some local (synods), some ecumenical (or general), all of which were congresses of bishops. The whole constitution of the Church at this epoch was in the power of the episcopate." In the ninth century, as earlier, the pope had no judicial or disciplinary authority over the bishops in any kingdom. This was the "conciliar" theory of church polity and the "conciliar" organization of the Latin Church.

New theory of papal monarchy developed

But in the ninth century a revolutionary movement began within the Church which was destined in the long run to destroy both this theory and this organization and to establish the monarchical supremacy of the papacy over the whole Church. Beginning as a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, the movement spread so widely that it ultimately enveloped all of Latin Christendom. It was secretly and surreptitiously inspired in Frank Gaul by a few disgruntled bishops who chafed under the authority of the archbishops over them and plotted to overthrow it. In the beginning the popes were ignorant of the movement, and only later did they become party to it.

The means taken by these dissidents was to forge a series of ecclesias-

tical documents, the purport and tenor of which was to exalt the papacy and diminish the authority of the archbishops. The awkward hiatus in the series of documentary proofs was overcome by one of the most daring forgeries in history. "The evidence required to complete the chain of proof could not be carried further back than the pontificate of Sylvester, within the first half of the fourth century. A blank of nearly three hundred years intervened. . . . The chain of Roman tradition was broken for want of the links requisite to connect it with its divine original."¹ A precedent already existed in the fabrications presented to Gregory IV in 833.

Forged documents

History in the ninth century abounds with instances of conflict between bishops and archbishops. Ebbo of Reims was deposed in 835 by a cabal of his suffragans; Rabanus Maurus (845-56) of Mainz was in conflict with the bishops of his metropolitanate; and a series of forged documents were devised by his antagonists and put out under the name of Benedict the Levite, famous in the reign of Louis the Pious for a compilation of capitularies; Aldric, Bishop of Le Mans, forged documents to assure his church all sorts of prerogatives which did not legally pertain to him.

Conflicts between archbishops and bishops

Forgery, chiefly by monasteries, of title-deeds and charters of immunity, was an old practice. But forgeries of this kind were a new resort in the ninth century. These lesser forgeries were capped by the notorious "Forged Decretals of Isidore" or the "Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals," which were put forth, we do not know first where or by whom, about 856-7. To this famous collection of alleged genuine ecclesiastical documents the spurious name of Isidor Mercator was artfully attached to give it weight. It contained a certain number of apocryphal documents in circulation before, a series of new falsifications, commingled with a great number of genuine documents borrowed from previous similar collections.

The "Forged Decretals of Isidore"

The Forged Decretals did not come to papal knowledge until 862, when Nicholas I (858-67) was pope, and, indeed, were not generally known until then. The first opportunity for papal employment of them was occasioned by a conflict that arose between Hincmar of Reims and Rothad of Soissons, his suffragan. The latter had disciplined one of his priests for crime without consulting his archbishop, for which Hincmar deprived him of office. Rothad at once appealed to Rome, and it was probably from him that Pope Nicholas I first learned of the Forged Decretals, although he was left in ignorance of their spurious nature. The Pope restored Rothad over the protest of Hincmar, who was silenced by citations from the Forged Decretals. A touch of irony is added by the fact that Hincmar himself was an accomplished forger and now was himself unhorsed by similar fabrications. Trained canonist though Hincmar was, he either had not sufficient critical penetration to discover the spurious

Pope Nicholas I (858-67)

¹ GREENWOOD, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

nature of the documents, or else was cowed by the papal thunder. "What of it," wrote the Pope, "if you in your ignorance can find no such decretals among your provincial statutes and customs? You cannot deny, you cannot abrogate them. Are they not written among the constitutions, customs, and decretals of the Holy See, by which you and all the churches of God are tied and bound? For such are the conditions of your communion with the chair of St. Peter. All that is required of you, when they are brought to your knowledge, is to accept and to obey."

The collapse of the Archbishop of Reims would have been pitiful if it had not been that he was beaten at his own game. He replied to the Pope that hereafter he would never attempt to discipline a suffragan bishop, but would merely admonish him. "Your Holiness," he wrote, "shall have no opportunity in future to address me in the strain you have; for hereafter there will be no occasion for provincial synods. Henceforward it shall be my labor to instruct everyone to inform himself how he may have access to and take the law of the Church from the Holy See. We metropolitans will be too watchful of our own peace and comfort to help you, seeing that by so doing we expose ourselves to the surreptitious attacks of every insolent rebel against our legitimate authority, and to harassing threats of suspension, excommunication, and what not, from Your Holiness, merely for executing powers we have hitherto believed to pertain constitutionally to our sacred office."

*Question of
the divorce
of Lothaire II*

Simultaneously with this controversy Nicholas I was engaged in another with the Church of Lorraine. Lothaire II, King of Lorraine, had repudiated his wife, Teutberge, in order to live with his concubine, Wāldrade. The injured Queen denied before the council of the churchmen of Lorraine the crimes charged to her, but in spite of her disavowal the King's act was sustained by three successive councils held at Aachen, which approved the repudiation of Teuteberge (863) and granted a divorce. The legality of the acts of the Lorraine clergy cannot be doubted. It mattered not in law that Lothaire used undue influence with the archbishops of Trier and Cologne, and that the churchmen concerned yielded to corruption and bribery. Legally the findings of the councils were acts of the Church of the independent kingdom of Lorraine. But the injured Queen appealed for justice to Pope Nicholas I. The law of the Church was against papal intervention, but Nicholas I interfered, with the result that the Church of Lorraine lost its liberties, and the papacy had created a precedent in its own behalf. The Pope at first sent two prelates into the Rhine lands with orders to undertake an examination of the processes and to revoke the condemnation of the Queen. But Lothaire bribed the legates, and the council of Metz, over which they presided, confirmed the former decisions. Nicholas I seized the occasion to extend the rights of the Holy See beyond limits that the Church then recognized. He quashed the

Lorraine

decree of the Council of Metz, deposed the legates, and excommunicated the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, who were remanded to Rome. The papal anathema also fell upon the King and Waldrade. In a letter addressed to the Bishop of Metz Nicholas advanced the maxim of state dependence upon pontifical authority. Lothaire II was obliged to yield.

It may be argued by some that the "higher law" of morality justified Nicholas I in this procedure. But that the Pope was more keenly interested in extending his prerogative and the establishment of a monarchical papacy than in ethics and morality is made evident by the assertions of papal prerogative which he made: (1) that all bishops must submit major ecclesiastical causes and doubtful cases to the Curia; (2) that the pope had the right to send instructions to any church or to the whole Church either by letters or through a legate; (3) that the pope alone was the judge in controversy between bishops and priests or between bishops and archbishops; (4) that the pope had the right to convoke, direct, and approve national councils and to confirm provincial councils and synods; (5) that the sentences of the pope were final; he judges everyone and is himself judged by none. Nearly the whole program of Gregory VII is embodied in these tenets.

*Assertions of
papal pre-
rogative*

The principle of the Forged Decretals was the double one of elevating the papacy to monarchical authority over both Church and State and at the same time emancipating the Church from all state control. Not only the persons and the status of the clergy, but also all clerical property was removed from civil regulation. Ecclesiastical jealousy of and opposition to the laity is apparent. The laity is "the world, the flesh, and the devil," "the kingdom of darkness." Bishops shall be above all secular censure and control. They have sacrosanct immunity. However irregular a bishop's private life may be, he may not be reproved by his flock (*plebs*). No witness save another bishop is qualified to testify against him. No bishop may be impeached, indicted, tried, or condemned except by twelve peers — that is, other bishops. The drift of the decretals evidently was to elevate the bishop and at the same time to assure him of immunity from all authority except that of the pope.

*Complete in-
dependence of
the clergy
asserted*

In further strengthening the episcopal position, at the same time the priesthood was invested with a sacerdotal character not attached to it before, through the doctrine of transubstantiation — Paschasius Rotbertus was the author of a notable tract on this question — by which the priesthood was elevated to the dignity and authority of a mediatorial order. In a word, according to the teaching of the False Decretals, the high clergy were *the* Church.

*Increased
sacerdotal na-
ture of the
episcopate*

It may seem astonishing that this remarkable series of fabrications could have been put forth without detection of their spuriousness. But it must be remembered that the age was credulous, not critical, and the drift

Lack of historical criticism in ninth century

Clear spurious nature of the Forged Decretals

of the times undoubtedly was strongly in support of the new tendencies. Yet even a student of no large historical knowledge and without a technically trained method in historical research would find little difficulty in detecting errors in the False Decretals which reveal their nature. For example, one of the forgers confused the reign of the Roman Emperor Gallienus in the third century, in which Sixtus II was bishop of Rome, with that of the Visigothic kings in the time of Isidor of Seville (601-36). The "precedents" against the interference of princes with the Church are alleged to emanate from Pope Marcellinus, whose term coincided with the last and severest persecution of the Church by Diocletian. The selection was hardly a happy one. The ignorance of the fabricators of Roman law was so great that they did not know the difference between Roman *accusatores* and the *compurgatores* of the Germanic codes! Again, in the plea for the Roman "tradition" a precept dealing with cases appealed to the Holy See is put in the mouth of Pope Gelasius that the decretals of his predecessors are to be observed. But those anterior precepts and precedents must then have fallen within the period of persecution, when it would have been very difficult to bring any causes before the pope's tribunal and indeed long before the appellate jurisdiction of the papacy had even been intimated. Finally it may be added that the Latin of these documents is that of the ninth century and does not reflect that of the second and third centuries. Yet the authenticity of the documents was never impugned during the Middle Ages and their spurious nature was only discovered in the fifteenth century during the Italian Renaissance.

Difference in ecclesiastical development in France and Germany

Nicholas I's immediate successors fell from this exalted plane of papal claim. Yet the spirit of the "new" papacy spread abroad in Europe. The synod of Trosly (909) in France and that of Hohenaltheim in Germany (916) reflect it. But the course of events in the tenth century took different roads in France and in Germany. In France clerical ascendancy grew so great under the later Carolingians and continued under the first Capetians at such a height that the French kings were largely creatures of the episcopate. On the other hand, the German Church maintained its dependence upon the government and became vigorously national in nature. We see this spirit of the German clergy in the canons of Seligenstadt in 1022 and the declaration of the synod of Höchst in 1024. Archbishop Heribert of Mainz was a strong-willed churchman who came into collision with Benedict VIII, the first pope in the eleventh century to revive the claims of papal supremacy over the Church first enunciated by Nicholas I.

"Heribert's idea of the way to improve the German church was to make it a solid body with Mainz at its head, and in pursuance of this idea he called, soon after his election, a council of the suffragan bishops of Mainz at Seligenstadt in Franconia. Two canons of this council have made it famous: one pro-

viding that no person should go to Rome without the permission of his bishop; another, that if any person condemned by his regular clerical superior for a clerical offense should get absolution for this offense from Rome, such absolution would be invalid. . . . Benedict VIII's reply was a declaration that Heribert had forfeited his right to the position of archbishop. Thereupon the Mainzer summoned not merely his own suffragans, but the whole German episcopate to a synod at Höchst, and we have a document in which this body declares itself responsible for whatever Heribert may have done to offend the pope. It, the German clergy as a whole, is guilty if he be guilty."¹

The monarchical papacy did not again lift its head until the pontificate of Leo IX (1048-54), and then the conditions of Church and State had materially altered in both France and Germany. This great change had to do with the rise and spread of that monastic reform movement to which the name of Cluny is attached. As we have seen, the Church at large throughout Europe suffered exceedingly in the ninth and tenth centuries from the invasion of the feudality, who appropriated its lands and revenues, intruded laymen into ecclesiastical offices, etc. The monasteries suffered more than the bishoprics from these evils, for the reason that they were separate foundations, independent of one another and often of private establishment, and the abbots without ecclesiastical authority; whereas the episcopate was a much more firmly knit organization, and, moreover, the bishops had the power of censure, excommunication, and interdict. Many abbeys had disappeared during the Norse invasions and the wars of the ninth century; others fell into poverty, and their membership was reduced to a handful of monks. The better sort of feudal nobles, however, set themselves to repair this deplorable condition by establishing houses secured against feudal invasion. These new abbeys became the centers of a monastic reform movement that in the tenth century swept Flanders and Brabant, spread up the Rhinlands, and covered northern and eastern France.

Causes of decay and corruption of the Church.

Awakening of church reform movement

What were the general characteristics of this movement? The movement was very slow in the beginning. It began in the tenth century and was not ended till the termination of the eleventh. It was much diffused and at first consisted in isolated action by individuals who sympathized with the cause of reform, but who were not organized into a concerted movement; each of these zealots worked by himself to reform a convent. Centers of such local activity were Burgundy, Limousin, Paris, Fleury-sur-Loire, Flanders, and Metz. The principal foundations of this radiant influence were Cluny in Burgundy, Brogne in the county of Namur, Gorze in Lorraine. But the greatest of these separate and distinct reform movements was that of Cluny.

In 910 William the Pious, Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Auvergne,

¹ EMERTON, *Medieval Europe*, p. 165.

*Foundation
of Cluny
(910)*

"for the safety of his soul," granted to Berno, former Abbot of Beaume and Gigny, a freehold of land that he owned in the county of Mâcon, itself within the duchy of Burgundy. Its situation was convenient on the great highway extending from the Mediterranean to the North Sea, formed by the valleys of the Rhone, the Saône, and the Meuse, and almost at the axis of the old Roman road running from central France up the Doubs through Besançon to the upper Rhine and so into Germany. The blue peaks of the Jura, and, farther off, the Alps, were visible from Cluny and it became an important stopping-place for pilgrims, travelers, and merchants bound from or to Italy via the Alpine passes. Cluny was thus admirably situated for expansive influence. The form of the grant was remarkable. The readiest and most effective means to prevent the abbey from falling under feudal tyranny was to put it under the authority of the pope, "in such wise," the charter recites, "that neither by our own intervention nor by that of any other power may the monks be impeded from making a canonical election. . . . From this day forth those same monks there congregated [there were originally twelve of them, six from Beaume and six from Gigny] shall be subject neither to our yoke, nor to that of our relatives, nor to the sway of the royal power, nor to that of any earthly power." The Rule of St. Benedict was to be observed.

*Cluniac form
of govern-
ment*

In both spirit and organization the Cluniac order wrought a revolution in monasticism. Hitherto all Benedictine abbeys had been separate and distinct houses, many of them of private foundation and thus from the beginning under the will of the founder. It was this detached condition that had made the Benedictine monasteries so vulnerable to invasion by private proprietorship. Not only was Cluny assured immunity from such trespass; it established a new form of monastic government. Cluny grew less by establishing new houses like itself than by assimilating old and decrepit houses, which it re-established and invigorated. There were many of this sort. But these houses were not independent, self-governing abbeys. They were only priories, ruled by a prior or sub-abbot, who was appointed by the abbot of Cluny and was responsible to him. The *only* abbot was the abbot of Cluny. This centralization had its justification in the necessity of emancipating monasticism from the evil of "simony," by which term was meant any exercise of outside and lay influence to the prejudice of the freedom and spiritual life of the monastery. "Lay" abbots and the feudal diversion of monastic revenues to secular ends were made impossible under this system. For the immunity of Cluny was extended to all the priories. This centralization and absolutism even touched the office of the Great Abbot. Theoretically the monks of the abbey elected the abbot; in practice, the reigning abbot designated his successor, who was carefully trained for the responsibility. It was this precaution that accounts for the remarkable series of abbots which Cluny had until the middle of the

*Great abbots
of Cluny*

twelfth century, when its influence began to wane. These were Berno (910-26), Odo (926-44), Aimard (944-64), Majolus (964-94), Odilo (994-1044), Hugh (1044-1109), Pons (1109-22), Peter the Venerable (1122-58). The long length of reign of these abbots is remarkable and gave room for the establishment of a sustained policy. Another remarkable fact is their ability. The greatest of them were Majolus and Hugh, the latter descended from the old dukes of Burgundy. This raises another interesting point. All the abbots were of noble birth, and all Cluniac monks were of noble blood. This aristocratic nature of the order both assured it men used to governing and engaged the interest and sympathy of the high feudal class in favor of Cluny, as is manifested in the generous grants of land made to it in these centuries.

Yet Cluny encountered opposition. The bishops resented the independence of Cluniac houses from episcopal visitation, and many of the noblesse resented a movement that abridged their control of monastic foundations. Moreover, many of the old Benedictine monasteries opposed the movement as one calculated to infringe their liberty, and others were so sunk in corruption that they were hostile to reform. Sometimes these various forms of opposition led to violence. The bishop of Mâcon for years was in strife with the abbots of Cluny; the feudality not only made war upon the abbot, they preyed upon the priories in the provinces; the monks of La Réole in 1003 killed Abbo of Fleury when he was sent to reform their monastery. Nevertheless, in spite of this opposition, the Cluniac order expanded rapidly over France, Italy, and Spain and had some houses in England and Germany. In Germany the houses were all localized in the Black Forest, Hirsau and St. Blasien being the most important.

*Opposition of
the bishops*

Until the middle of the eleventh century the Cluniac movement was exclusively a movement for reformation of the monasteries. St. Odilo and his successors had vigorously restored the Benedictine Rule in the abbeys. But so far they had not endeavored to extend the movement to the secular clergy, or to advocate a general reformation of the Church. What ascendancy Cluny had acquired with the papacy or with princes it had employed only to facilitate its penetration into certain monasteries that hitherto had escaped its reach.

*Extension of
reform to the
secular clergy*

In spite of its popularity and widespread activity, the Cluny Reform was not the only reformation movement of the time. In the early eleventh century the question of ecclesiastical reform was in the air, all over Europe. Many bishops independently of Cluny undertook the moral mending of the abbeys within their dioceses; the Emperor Henry III cherished a project of his own towards the same end; in Lorraine appeared a third group of bishops, sustained by local nobles, with whom originated the idea that lay investiture of a bishop was "simony," and who demanded prohibition of such practice.

*"Lay
investiture"*

*Political im-
plications of
the reform*

The purpose and purport of this provision must be clearly perceived and its radical political bearing understood; for thereby a political revolution in feudal Europe and in the papacy was entailed. The episcopate everywhere, as we have seen, was telescoped with the feudal administrative system. Bishops were vassals of the emperor, of kings and dukes and counts; they furnished military contingents and revenues for secular rulers. This condition of things had developed most in Saxon and Salian Germany, but was general all over Europe. It had not been always forced upon the Church by violence, but the Church, as in Germany, had welcomed the arrangement. However incongruous it may seem to us today, it was necessary and even natural in the Middle Ages, given the conditions that then prevailed. The evil in the system lay, not in the use, but in the *abuse* of the practice.

*The Cluniac
reform gets
into politics*

Lorraine and Lombardy were the two regions within the Empire in which the German domination was most resented. Hence the nobles there eagerly clutched at the new propaganda as a means to loosen the grip of the emperor upon these territories by wrenching control of the episcopate out of his hands through prohibition of lay investiture. This purpose explains why Arduin in Italy and Godfrey of Lorraine were such advocates of church reform. They had an ax to grind.

*Celibacy of
clergy made
an issue*

Simultaneously with the progress of this development a new cry was raised among the "reformers" demanding that the celibacy of monks should be extended to the secular priesthood. Hitherto, while it was generally true that bishops in the eleventh century were unmarried, even they were not universally so; as for the lesser clergy — deacons, canons, parish priests — most of them were married. No canon of the Church had ever exacted celibacy as a qualification for priesthood. Even the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals make no allusion to sacerdotal celibacy. This propaganda created a storm of opposition among the secular clergy, especially among the parish priests. This requirement of celibacy alienated and antagonized a large proportion of the clergy. The radical nature of the exaction needs no words to demonstrate. Married priests were required to put away their wives, who were stigmatized as "concubines"; the children of such unions were declared to be illegitimate, the family was divided, the home broken up.

*Revolutionary
nature of the
doctrine of
celibacy*

One may well wonder at the boldness of the demand and question both its justice and its expediency. It certainly would have been wiser if celibacy had been gradually instituted; if it had been provided that *for the future* the marriage of priests was forbidden. In this wise within the space of a generation all the clergy would have become celibate. But the radical element, perhaps just because it was radical, would brook no compromise and insisted upon complete celibacy being enforced at once. As late as 1200 Peter Comestor, one of the great Paris teachers, declared

that the worst mistake the Church had ever made was its determination to impose universal celibacy upon all clergy. There is no doubt, however, about the general wisdom of the requirement, given the conditions of the age, however repugnant celibacy may seem to many today. In the feudal age the overwhelming tendency of lands and offices — which were supported by endowments of land — was to become hereditary. This was as true of church offices as of secular offices. In this way the tendency in clerical circles was towards the formation of an hereditary caste, which inclined to make itself as independent as possible of authority and at the same time alienated itself from sympathetic and social touch with the mass of the people. In many parts of Europe this condition had already come to pass by the eleventh century. Drastic as celibacy may seem, it was the only efficacious solution of the problem at that time. The independence of the Church, the protection of its endowments from dishonest diversion, the devotion of its personnel, its intellectual vigor, and its spiritual vitality could be maintained only by enforcing the celibacy of the priesthood.

Wise and just rulers perceived the abuses in the Church and were whole-hearted in support of the reform except in the matter of investiture. On this rock governments and the Church split. And here the kings were justified. Let the Church give up its feudal lands and its vassals, they said. The Church still would have been very rich in its alods and, moreover, draw large incomes from market rights, tolls, etc. But the Church had too long tasted of the sweets of wealth and power to make such sacrifice, although a few far-seeing men in the Church perceived the problem and approved the solution. Twice in the long conflict between the popes and the emperors in what is known as the War of Investiture, to which we are coming, this compromise was proffered and twice refused.

Complications arising from feudalization of the episcopate

Until the middle of the eleventh century the popes took no part in the various movements for reform of the Church. But the ambitious and radical Lotharingian party determined to identify the papacy with their cause by capturing control of the office. The boldness of the design was exceeded only by its success. In order to understand this development we must go back some years. After the death of Benedict VIII, in 1014, the papacy had fallen under the control of feudal lords of Rome and its vicinity, especially under the tyranny of the counts of Tusculum. Disorder reached its height under Benedict IX, Sylvester III, and Gregory VI. John XIX was a brother of Benedict VIII and, although a layman, had been made pope by the faction that wanted to preserve its control of the papacy. When he died, in 1033, the Tusculan party put up Benedict IX, who was a boy of ten years of age, but who nevertheless reigned until 1044. The Emperor Conrad II was too much of a practical politician himself to be shocked and did not interfere. But a third party, not for any moral

Gradual identification of the papacy with the reform movement

reason, but for the reason that it, too, was desirous of acquiring control of the papacy, drove out Benedict IX and put in Sylvester III. The Tuscans came back, dethroned Sylvester III, and restored Benedict IX, who by that time seems to have got tired of the turmoil and sold out to Gregory VI for a goodly sum of money. The new Pope was personally a pious man. "The singular thing about this whole transaction is that the party which carried out this outrageous act of simony appears at once in connection with the Cluny reform. Gregory VI was the intimate friend of the abbot Odilo and was hailed by Peter Damieni; the most vigorous supporter of the reform movement in Italy, as the saviour of the Church."¹

*Scandalous
condition of
the papacy*

*Synod of
Sutri
(1046)*

The scandalous situation in Rome called Henry III into Italy in 1046. At the synod of Sutri, over which the Emperor presided, two pontiffs were deposed and one abdicated, and the Bishop of Bamberg was designated as Pope Clement II, by whom the Emperor was crowned. These two events mark the apogée of the medieval Empire. But the Cluniacs resented the imperial intervention. Though admitting the corruption of the papacy, they denied the validity of the Emperor's action. The liberty of the Church was more precious than morality. Clement II died the next year, perhaps of poison, and his successor again died within a year. Then the Emperor appointed Bruno of Toul to be pope, who took the name of Leo IX. While not averse from imperial support, the new Pope was opposed to imperial control. A Lorrainer himself, Leo IX well understood the political bearing of the prohibition of lay investiture, upon which the reformers insisted. In Rome Leo IX came in contact with the master mind behind papal politics — Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII, henceforth the brains of the political-reform party.

*Leo IX
(1048-54)*

It is abundantly evident that the reform by this time was far from its early ideals and was meddling in politics. In fact, the reformers pre-eminently advocated the idea that the clergy were superior to the laity and that the regular clergy were superior to the secular clergy, since they were less involved in the world — a claim that provoked the complaints of the prelates and induced the publication of a biting satire upon Cluny. In the second place, they thought that the clergy ought to be pure and free from all worldly taint; that they ought to be celibate, that they ought to abstain from simony — that is to say, from venality and dependence upon the lay authority. Finally, they declared that the pope was the head of the Church universal; in consequence they wanted a centralized monarchical government established in Rome.

With the entrance of Hildebrand into the Curia the Church may be said to have begun to pass from prelacy to papacy, and the pope to be a true monarch instead of the chief of an episcopal aristocracy. Now was revived in new and formidable shape the old Augustinian doctrine of

¹ EMERTON, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

the superiority of the Church over the State. Hildebrand labored for the elevation of the monarchical papacy to the position of super-potentate over the kings. This identification of the papacy with the Cluny reform marks another turning-point. For the popes saw at last what the lay princes in Italy had long seen, that prohibition of lay investiture would cut the tap-root of imperial power and throw control of the episcopate and all its wealth and patronage into papal hands. What was applicable to Italy might be equally applied to Germany and France and Spain and England, with the result that, owing to the diminished power of kings and princes, the Church might rise to ascendancy over the State, and the monarchical papacy become ruler of Church and State, rise to portentous heights of power, and expand to grandiose dimension.

*Rise of
Hildebrand*

Political bearing of doctrine of lay investiture

Under Hildebrand's tutelage Leo IX began a papal campaign of great significance. He traveled through France and into Germany summoning and presiding over synods and councils, not without incurring the mild indignation of Henry III, whom he edged out of the office of presiding officer. The Pope was cleverly "educating" Europe to a new system of ecclesiastical government. He asserted the plentitude of papal authority as presented in the Forged Decretals, he cited the alleged Donation of Constantine. All along the Lotharingian border and in Italy there was significant tumult against imperial authority. The feudality and the Cluniacs were drawing closer together. Godfrey of Lorraine, the son of Gozelo of Lower Lorraine, to whom Conrad II had also given Upper Lorraine, rebelled against the Emperor, was driven out of Germany, and fled to Italy, where all the elements of disaffection against imperial authority under the astute direction of Hildebrand were being marshaled into an increasingly formidable opposition.

The "new papacy" begins with Leo IX

"The first object of Hildebrand and his party was to restore a self-existent, independent papacy; and with that view to emancipate the pontificate from imperial control. But for that purpose it was above all requisite to restore discipline, and to reform immoral practice upon a plan and a principle which should transfer the custody of the public conscience from the hands of the State to those of the Church. It was, moreover, necessary to repress civil disorder and to lay the foundation of a solid political interest in Italy . . . which should balance the merely military preponderance of the empire."¹

Between 1053 and 1056 the juncture of events, especially in Italy, became critical. Count Boniface of Tuscany, the most powerful lord in central and northern Italy, died in 1053, probably at the hand of an assassin. He had long acted so independently that his policy had disquieted the imperial government. His widow, Beatrice, who was a daughter of Duke Frederick of Upper Lorraine, and deeply imbued with

Complications of Italian politics

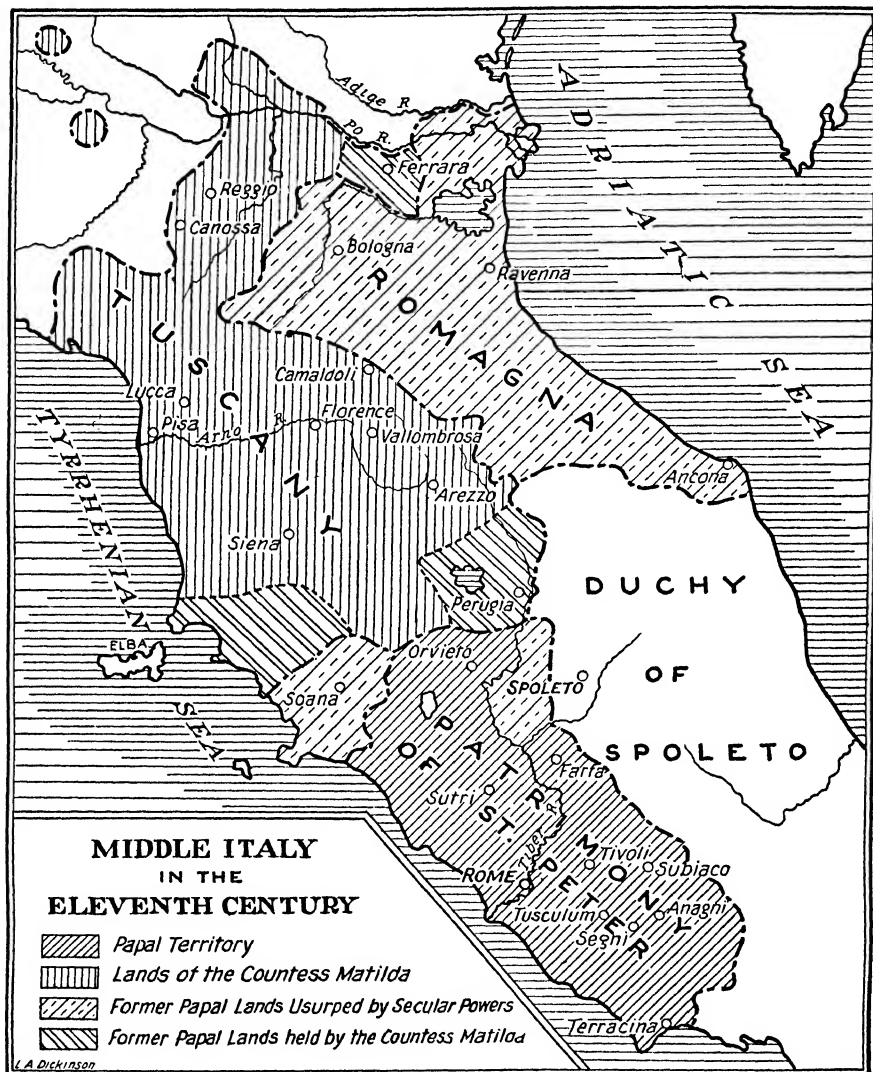
¹ GREENWOOD, *op. cit.*, bk. x, p. 142.

Lotharingian hostility to imperial authority, promptly married the adventurous Godfrey. No alliance could have been more ominous to the Emperor's interest in Italy. At the same time Godfrey's brother Frederick, formerly archdeacon of the cathedral in Liège, made his appearance at the papal court. The tension was made greater by the legal status of the Tuscan lands in consequence of Beatrice's marriage. She had married without the consent of the Emperor, her overlord, and her new husband had assumed the wardship of her infant son also without that consent. Further, German law and Italian law differed in the matter. The customary law of Italy distinguished between patrimonial and feudal estate and admitted a woman's right to hold in fief. German law did neither of these things. The Emperor contended that German law was *ipso facto* also imperial law and applicable to Tuscany as a fief of the Empire, which the Countess protested. To complicate matters still more, the infant Boniface died and Henry III at once resumed all the male fiefs of the house of Tuscany, permitting Matilda, as heiress of her father, possession only of those fiefs which were legally transmissible through the female line, in so far yielding his former objection. But he kept the *duchy* of Tuscany in his own hands, on the ground that it was an imperial, not an Italian, fief, together with Matilda's inheritance in Lorraine. This conflict stirred up bad blood between the Tuscan house and the imperial Salian house and threw the former's sympathy and influence effectively upon the side of the papacy. Meantime Henry III, with the best intentions and the worst practice, guileless himself; believed that Rome also was without guile, and, without understanding the real import of papal policy, secretly directed by Hildebrand, compensated the States of the Church for the loss of Beneventum, which the Normans had taken, by gift of Camerino and Spoleto.

Another storm-cloud hung over Germany. The western frontier of the German kingdom was in a state of peril. Godfrey, of whom the Emperor had been so suspicious, had made his escape to Flanders and he and the Flemish Count made war upon Duke Frederick of Lower Lorraine — a condition which sorely tempted Henry I of France to interfere in Lorraine as Robert the Pious had done before. On the east the Hungarians had lately beaten a German army and were hostile, while the Ljutizi threatened Mark Meissen. In Saxony the Billunger Duke plotted rebellion. Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, always a staunch supporter of the throne, died. The emperor saw that compromise was necessary. He had an interview with the French King, pacified the Count of Flanders with the gift of Hainaut, outwardly reconciled Godfrey of Lorraine by restoring the Tuscan heritage, and married his daughter Judith to the Magyar King. His fatal blunder was in appointing Anno to be archbishop of Cologne, for Anno was shortly to become the most powerful

and intriguing advocate of papal monarchism in Germany. And then, in the prime of life (he was but thirty-nine) Henry III suddenly died.

Untimely death of Henry III (1056)



The decease of the Emperor disrupted the policy that the Salian house had pursued from the beginning, for the infant Henry IV was a child, nominally under the regency of his mother, Agnes, who was a daughter of the French Count of Poitou. The regency of a woman at any season in the Middle Ages was difficult; in Germany at this time it proved impossible. On the other hand, the program of the political Cluniacs or what we may now call the Hildebrandine party moved forward rapidly from

Minority of Henry IV

strength to strength. When Victor II died in the same year, 1056, the last German pope passed away.

Alliance between anti-imperial party in Lorraine and the papacy

Without loss of time, and in his absence from Rome — for he was not improbably engaged in important conference with Godfrey of Lorraine, who had hastened back to Tuscany when he learned of the death of Henry III — the Roman clergy under the direction of Hildebrand elected Frederick of Lorraine, Godfrey's brother, the quondam archdeacon of Liège, to be pope, under the name Stephen IX. Some hesitated to take so overt a step without consulting the German court, but the opinion of the majority was that delay would be dangerous — "*moras nequaquam esse congruas*," records the chronicle. No two steps could have been more significant. The delicate mission of advising the German court of the election and of allaying any suspicion or hard feeling was entrusted to Hildebrand, who apparently was successful, perhaps in part owing to the adroitness of Anno of Cologne.

Wire-pulling in Rome

But the new Pope lived scarcely four months. His death, in April 1058, temporarily gave a set-back to the party of "reform." For the local nobles of the Roman State who resented the movement in progress (lest it diminish their long established practice of forcibly controlling the papal government of the States of the Church), under the leadership of Count Gregory of Tusculum and Count Gerald of Galera, with armed bands in the dead of night surprised the city guard and seized the Lateran. The whole body of reform clergy was driven out of the city, and this feudal faction¹ put up the Bishop of Velletri to be pope. But the exiles retired to Monte Cassino, where under the protection of Robert Guiscard, the Norman King, they awaited word from Hildebrand and the German regent, who had been advised of the derangement that had taken place. Word came back approving the unwonted manner of electing Stephen IX, but condoning it on grounds of circumstance, and nominating Gerhard of Florence, who was elected as Nicholas II at a council held at Siena, in Tuscany. Accompanied by Hildebrand and Godfrey of Tuscany the new pontiff entered Rome in triumph, the Tusculan party beating a retreat. The luckless Benedict X was subjected to degradation from the priesthood and imprisoned within the precincts of the Church of St. Maria Maggiore for the rest of his life.

Election of Nicholas II (1059-61)

In April 1059 a great synod was convened at Rome, the purpose of which was to establish for the first time an election law providing for regular and free election to the papal office.

Creation of the college of cardinals (1059)

The result of the deliberation of the council was the creation of the college of cardinals. In a long harangue Nicholas II denounced the Tusculan intervention, using the incident as a moral to justify necessity. This famous measure placed the right to elect the pope in the hands of the

¹ The offensive conduct and unbridled power of this Roman feudality were truly formidable. See GREGOROVIVS, *op. cit.*, IV, 18-20.

seven collateral bishops of the territory of Rome—that is, the seven highest representatives of the clergy within the diocese of Rome and the States of the Church, who alone, besides the pope, could celebrate mass at the high altar in St. John Lateran. These seven “bishops” (they were not actually bishops) were those of Ostia, Portus, St. Rufina, Albano, Sabina, Tusculum, Præneste. But the choice had to be confirmed by the twelve cardinal-deacons and seven cardinal-presbyters attached to the basilicas of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Maria Maggiore, and St. Lorenzo; and theoretically the lower clergy, the nobles, and the people of Rome had to assent. But in practice all the cardinal clergy soon convened *in collegio*, and the other elements, lay and clerical, were shut out of all expression of opinion. Elections did not necessarily have to take place within Rome, and even a minority of the college might canonically elect the pope. It was a delicate matter to secure this result without offending the German government. But here Hildebrand, while in Germany, had smoothed the way and a diplomatically worded article of the decree saved the honor of the Emperor and at the same time did not commit the college of cardinals to the principle of imperial confirmation of its act. The rights of Henry IV were to be respected, but nothing was guaranteed as to those of his successors. In point of fact, every future emperor who attempted to assert prerogative in papal election was branded as a simoniac and a tyrant. That the council attached immense importance to this decree establishing the college of cardinals and safeguarding the liberty of papal elections in future is manifest by the thunderous malediction and anathema attached to the document in the sixth article.

Another measure of Hildebrand's that was realized under pontiffs succeeding Nicholas II was the establishment of the institution of papal legates. Hitherto in the Church the popes had usually conveyed their will in ecclesiastical matters to countries outside of Italy through certain bishops designated as vicarial bishops—the name and practice of the office were alike derived from the Roman imperial government. In France these are reminiscent of Roman Gaul. They were the bishops of Arles for Provence, Bourges for Aquitaine, Reims for northern France; in Germany they were the archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne and the bishop of Salzburg; in Hungary the bishop of Gran, in Bohemia that of Prague, in Poland that of Gnesen, in England the archbishop of Canterbury, in Scotland the bishop of St. Andrew's, in Spain the archbishop of Burgos.

Papal legates

But such archbishops and bishops were also local bishops within their dioceses, often sprung from the local noblesse and closely identified with provincial politics, a condition inimical to Hildebrand's great design of ecclesiastical centralization and pontifical supremacy. Hence the “new” papacy's recourse to legates *a latere*, who, as the name indicates, were

chosen from the entourage of the pope. Usually they were cardinals on leave and intimate counselors of the pope. The death of the pope who had appointed them did not terminate their commission. They were armed with almost plenary powers and traveled in immense state and with an imposing retinue. The tireless activity and assiduous application of these papal legates powerfully operated to elevate and to increase the authority of the papacy. But their credentials were so exalted and their power so great that not infrequently they abused their office. St. Bernard in the twelfth century denounced their cupidity in scathing words.

*Invention of
new papal
revenues*

Still another Hildebrandine device for the extension — and also the enrichment — of the Holy See was the institution of the practice of papal “protection,” for which an annual payment, known as *census*, was made, which was graduated according to the wealth of the beneficiary. This “protection” was extended to monasteries, collegiate churches, or other corporations, even to individuals. We know in detail what the income was arising from the census in the twelfth century when the cardinal *camerarius* Cencius, afterwards Pope Honorius III, in 1192 compiled the *Liber censuum*, or *Book of the Census Returns*.

*The Church
and the lower
classes*

But amid all this activity among and communication with the high clergy and the high feudality of Europe, Hildebrand did not ignore the lower order of society. The son of a Tuscan carpenter himself, he was of free-born, not servile origin, and he could be democratic in spite of his autocratic nature. But his attitude towards the popular classes was out of policy, not out of feeling. He believed in an autocratically governed, monarchically ruled Church from which all lay power was to be excluded and in which papal authority was to be supreme. Yet he felt instinctively that the cause for which he struggled had to be popularized with the masses. Hildebrand is the first man in medieval Europe who had a perception of what is known today as public opinion. Ignorant as the millions of medieval peasantry were, of servile status, most of them, and not freemen, incapable of expressing themselves except upon most elementary matters and in most elementary ways, nevertheless the very numbers of the common people of Europe gave them a certain weight. The people were a force to be reckoned with. Popular opposition might frustrate Hildebrand's designs; popular sympathy with them, whether understood or not by the people, might further them.

The lower classes did not come in contact with the feudalized Church in the high political aspects of that feudalization. But on almost every manor, in almost every parish, the evil of ecclesiastical proprietorship might be found. This condition was especially prevalent on manors which were so large and upon which there were so many villages that they formed rural parishes by themselves. In these an abusive or avaricious lord often domineered over the priest (who was frequently an emancipated

serf, born and brought up on his own manor), appropriated the tithe, exacted marriage, christening, and burial fees, which of course were entirely illegal, used the local graveyard as a hayfield, appropriated to himself the harvest arising from the glebe—the priest's own land—and compelled the peasants to support the priest out of their own small and hard-earned harvests. Coupled with such parish abuses might be others perpetrated by the priest himself. He might be married—probably was—and too often a priest's son, though morally or mentally incompetent, succeeded him in the parish with the connivance of the lord of the manor, whose interest it was to keep the local church under his control as patron.

For such conditions the remedy lay in compelling celibacy and depriving the lord of the manor or the patron of the parish of his appointive and controlling right. Thus the peasantry of medieval Europe, although they could not understand the higher issues involved in the struggle over lay investiture, nevertheless had some perception of the application of the Hildebrandine reform in its lower stages. For the first time in medieval history Europe had an issue that attracted the interest of all classes of society. It was typical of the awakening for the first time of the group mind, a phenomenon the very antithesis of feudal individualism.

The discovery of the nature and working of the group mind is one of modern psychology; but that type of mind is old in history, and the eleventh century saw its birth in Europe. Hildebrand would not have understood the phrase, but he intuitively understood the thing and perceived its force. The popular element to which Hildebrand appealed was that of the Lombard towns. He knew that the Lombard population was politically self-conscious, actuated by deep civic spirit, and well organized and that it hated the German domination. The chronic insurrection of Pavia, Piacenza, Parma, Ravenna, and, above all, Milan, and their resistance to Henry II, Conrad II, and Henry III, told him this. The siege of Milan was the first successful resistance of an Italian city to German rule. Aribert of Milan especially had capitalized his popularity with the masses there to organize them into a fighting body. In the spring of 1039, after Conrad II had retired north of the Alps, Aribert had returned to his diocese and convoked from all the parishes of the city every person able to bear arms, from peasant (*rusticus*) to knight (*miles*), from the poor (*inopes*) to the rich (*divites*), and brigaded them into a municipal militia. He gave them a standard, too, by inventing that famous war car, which was adopted later by all the Lombard communes in their conflict with Frederick Barbarossa. This was the celebrated *carroccio*. It was drawn by oxen, and on it was affixed a mast, surmounted by a golden apple, from which depended two white banners with a cross between them. Picked troops were charged with the protection of this vehicle.

*Development
of popular
feeling in
Europe in
eleventh
century*

*Popular
unrest in
Lombardy*

Yet the population of Milan — and the same is true of every other Lombard town — was far from being a united body, and years were still to elapse before it became homogeneous and united. The *capitani* and the *vavasors* were at feud over the *Edictum de Beneficiis* of Conrad II, made in 1037. The bourgeois (*cives*), whose number had considerably augmented since the tenth century, felt encouraged by recent events and resented the arrogance of the archbishop and the pride of the nobles. Riot and tumult seemed almost endemic in Milan in these years. "The bourgeois," wrote Landulf of Milan at this time, "perceived that their safety was in their arms. Strong by their very poverty, stronger still because they were resolved to get their liberty, they defended themselves with intrepidity and determination."

Papal manipulation of politics in Lombardy

Hildebrand's instrument in Milan was Anselm da Baggio, an unsuccessful aspirant for Aribert's office when the latter died, in 1045. But by that time the movement for clerical reform had become so strong that the upper clergy took alarm and were sustained by the high nobles, who combined together to thwart Anselm's election. The result was that the cause of clerical reform and the popular cause became identified. Feeling in Milan ran so high that it is impossible entirely to believe the charges made by either side. The clergy are represented as monsters of venality and corruption. The populace is pictured as utterly wanton, violent, licentious, depraved.

Fanaticism and heresy in Lombardy

But we must seek for some of the causes of this factional strife in economic conditions and social unrest, fanned to a pitch by religious fanaticism. This religious element, however, was not single, but a double one. For working in conjunction with Clunyism and the cause of celibacy was an heretical sect in Milan of formidable power among the masses. As yet the heretical nature of this sect was not perceived, for it is unthinkable that Hildebrand would have wittingly co-operated with a heretic group. But undoubtedly Hildebrand made common cause with the Pataria.

The Pataria

The Patarins were an obscure offspring of the ancient sect of the Manichæans, to whom natural relations and the whole material nature of man were evil. Extremists among them decried the institution of marriage as a compromise of man's spiritual nature with carnality, and therefore an evil. Accordingly these fanatics eagerly espoused the Cluniac doctrine of universal celibacy of the clergy and arraigned the clergy for possession of temporalities. Almost every ecclesiastical practice with them was "simony." This sect found support among the lower working classes of Milan, especially among poor weavers and other petty artisans, whose poverty made them readily espouse a teaching of spoliation of the rich clergy. The name Pataria is said to have been derived from a vernacular word for "old clothes" and originally to have been applied to the Patarins

in derision by their opponents. This lower working class dwelt in the lower quarters and faubourgs of the city and was obscurely organized into a kind of trade union. In time the movement was extended to other cities of Lombardy, until it became a vast association of the lower industrial classes.

It was to the Pataria that Hildebrand turned for popular support of the Hildebrandine reforms and in so doing took a momentous step. His lieutenant in Lombardy was that Anselm da Baggio who had been shut out of the archbishop's office by a combination of the *capitani* and higher clergy. Anselm himself was personally a pure and sincere man, well educated (for he had studied at Bec in Normandy under Lanfranc) and descended from a family of wealth. He had great gift of eloquence and was a devoted follower of Hildebrand. His education and persuasive speech had commended him to the Empress-regent Agnes when he came into Germany after his disappointment in Milan, and the Empress appointed him bishop of Lucca. But Anselm did not renounce his work in Milan. He left the continuation of the Cluniac-Patarin movement to two Milanese priests, named Landulf and Ariald, men of rude eloquence, great energy, and a capacity to make a following among the masses. Under them the Patarin movement became a crusade of violence and spoliation of married priests everywhere. The alarm of the higher clergy became so great that the Patarins were excommunicated by the Bishop of Novara. They at once appealed to the Pope, Stephen IX, who promptly sent Hildebrand and Anselm da Baggio as papal legates into Lombardy. Thus openly supported by the Holy See, the papal crusade against married priests and simony spread all over Lombardy and built up for the papacy a strong and organized popular following. In every town was riot; churches were pillaged, married priests assaulted, their wives and children mobbed. The Cluny reform had new and sinister manifestations; it had become a social and economic as well as a political revolution. Anselm da Baggio got his reward for his labor. He became Pope Alexander II (1061-72), who, along with Leo IX, Stephen IX, and Nicholas II, paved the way for Hildebrand's own pontificate.

Now that we have reached the point when Hildebrand is about to ascend the throne of St. Peter, as Pope Gregory VII (1073-85), we may pause to examine the immense ideas that he cherished. Fortunately we are in no doubt as to their nature. His voluminous correspondence, entitled *Registrum Gregorii VII*, has been preserved almost intact and it is a self-revealing body of documents. His clear intelligence, his will, his audacity, his unbounded confidence in himself and his mission appear on almost every page. And, as if to spare future historians the labor of analyzing them, someone in his entourage drew up in brief and cogent form a statement of his leading ideas. This is known as the Dictate of the Pope (*Dictatus Papæ*). The date of its compilation is about 1087, when

Gregory VII
(1073-85)

Hildebrandine
theories

Dictatus
Papæ

the collection of canonical law prepared by Cardinal Deusdedit was compiled, and, though not written until after Hildebrand's death, it accurately expresses his dominating ideas. The most salient articles of this important utterance are subjoined:

2. That the Roman pontiff alone is rightfully called universal.
3. That he alone has the power to appoint, depose, and reinstate bishops.
8. That he alone may use the imperial insignia.
9. That all princes shall kiss the foot of the pope only.
12. That with him is the power to depose emperors.
16. That no general synod may be called without his command.
17. That no action of a synod and no book shall be regarded as canonical without his authority.
18. That his decree may be annulled by no one, and that he may annul the decree of anyone.
19. That he may be judged by no one.
20. That no one shall dare to condemn a person who has appealed to the apostolic chair.
22. That the Roman Church has never erred and will never err, to all eternity.
24. That by his command or permission subjects may accuse their rulers.
27. That he has the power to absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity to wicked rulers.

*Formidable
nature of the
doctrines*

An analysis of these articles shows that No. 2 was intended to displace the emperor's claim to universal sovereignty, which was derived from the Roman Empire. No. 3 deprived secular rulers of the right to appoint to vacant bishoprics—a right that, however dubious in theory, had been exercised by all rulers since the time of the Merovingian kings. In practice the fact that bishops everywhere were vassals gave secular rulers not merely a power, but a right in feudal law to control the bishop's office. No. 8 is based on the Forged Donation of Constantine. No. 9 was a form of ceremonial requirement under the later Roman emperors after the orientalizing of the monarchy by Diocletian, but had long been obsolete. No medieval emperor exacted it; it remained for the papacy to revive the ceremony and the claim. It is of a piece with No. 2. No. 12 embodies the political theory developed in the ninth century of the supremacy of the Church over the State and of the pope over the Church. No. 16 deprived secular rulers of a long established practice, not to say right. No. 17 reinforces No. 16. No. 18 asserts papal supremacy over Church and State by depriving both church councils and legislative assemblies or rulers of independent and sovereign law-making power. No. 19 places the pope above every human tribunal. No. 20 is like No. 18, but asserts the appellate jurisdiction of the pope in temporal as well as spiritual affairs. No. 22 makes the conduct and findings of the Holy See infallible. The effect of

Nos. 24-25, if enforced, would be to justify the rebellion of vassals against their overlords, even kings and the emperor, and to dissolve the bond of lordship and fealty which was immanent through the feudal world, and which held society together. It was of revolutionary nature to the highest degree, and if applied, subversive of the feudal organization of Europe.

In pursuance of his claim of universal supremacy for the papacy Gregory VII asserted overlordship over the Christian kingdoms of Europe, although in point of fact the pope was overlord only of Norman Italy. He claimed, not merely overlordship, but proprietorship over all Italy on grounds based upon the spurious Donation of Constantine and the alleged Donation of Charlemagne to Hadrian I. To the Christian princes of Spain he wrote that "the kingdom of Spain belonged of old to St. Peter" — this was based upon St. Paul's reputed missionary journey into Spain. He claimed Hungary as a vassal kingdom on the ground that Stephen, first Christian King, had "offered and surrendered it to St. Peter." England was vassal because of St. Augustine's mission in 596. France was vassal by recognition of Clovis when he was converted, in 496. In Germany he contended that Saxony was papal patrimony by gift of Charlemagne, and that the German kingdom was vassal to the Holy See by virtue of Boniface and recognition of the principle by Charlemagne and his successors. He "conferred" upon Demetrius, Grand Duke of Kiev in Russia, "in the name of St. Peter, the government of your kingdom," a slap in the face to the Greek Church. In addition all countries that might be conquered from infidels or heathen — we are upon the verge of the crusades — pertained by divine right to the Holy See, because, since they were acquired for the benefit of the souls of the conquerors, the Church, through whom that benefit flowed, had prior right over them. As for clerical princes, every bishop and abbot held his lands in vassalage to the papacy.

*Grandiose
prerogatives
asserted by
Gregory VII*

Was Gregory VII a great idealist, a magnificent visionary dreaming of a world-state under a world-church? Or was he primarily inspired by ambition and determination to acquire power? Was his conduct ruled by principle, or actuated by policy? Was reform of the Church an end? Or was it a means to other ends? Behind the veil of religion and ecclesiastical reform did he mask an ambition for unparalleled temporal power, or not? We have his own disclaimer of this imputation written in the throes of the conflict with Henry IV. But does his conduct bear out the sincerity of the assertion? Did Gregory VII always "love justice and hate iniquity," as he said upon his death-bed? We shall not endeavor to answer these questions at this point, but some of them may find an answer in the narration of subsequent events. It is sufficient in this place merely to say that the character of Gregory VII is one of the most difficult to determine of all men in history. He has been extravagantly praised and severely blamed. Much of his conduct is capable of more than one

*Character of
Gregory VII*

construction as to motive, and he was practically minded enough not to shrink from the use of force and the shedding of blood. Of himself he once wrote: "We shall not load upon ourselves the malediction pronounced against the servant that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully, or that holdeth back his sword from bloodshed." But, whether Gregory VII was sincere or insincere, there can be no doubt that he cherished and sustained most revolutionary political ideas with reference to both the Church and the society of Europe in his time. Papal world-power, universal celibacy of the priesthood, the right to dissolve the bonds of feudalism which held European society together into organized governments and settled society, were certainly extreme doctrines.

The political condition of Europe singularly favored the promotion and achievement of Gregory VII's designs. France was a broken and divided kingdom, an agglomeration of half or wholly independent fiefs, and King Philip I was weak and under excommunication. Spain was divided into petty Christian kingdoms engaged in almost constant war with one another or with the Mohammedans. In Germany Henry IV had but lately emerged from a disastrous minority, during which the government had been plundered by ambitious and unprincipled bishops and the great feudal dukes. Only in Norman England, where William the Conqueror reigned, and in Norman Italy might strong monarchy be found, and the King of the latter realm was a vassal of the papacy. In Italy itself Gregory VII was powerfully buttressed on the south by the Normans; on the north he was protected by the power of the Great Countess Matilda of Tuscany, while in Lombardy, though the bishops and high nobles were opposed to him, the Pope had a large following among the bourgeoisie and the lower classes in the towns. Finally, it must not be forgotten that the Pope himself was a temporal lord in central Italy.

This last observation perhaps makes it desirable to sketch the history of the growth and development of the papal patrimony from the point where it was last mentioned, in the time of Charlemagne. Gregory VII asserted that "no territories once annexed to the Church could be withdrawn from her by any act of human authority, or any pressure of external circumstances." The observation was intended to apply to any and all lands of the Church, but was as applicable to the papal patrimony in Italy. As a matter of history, the papal territory had grievously suffered from spoliation and seizure during the tempestuous years of the ninth and tenth centuries. At the same time the territory tended to disintegrate within. We have already seen how Rome in the time of Alberigo and Crescentius temporarily threw off the papal authority and organized a revolutionary municipal government. Eventually the popes had to yield to this impulse and tolerate a degree of local secular government in the city. This government was oligarchic. The urban nobility, consisting of so-

Political condition of Europe at beginning of war of investiture

History of the papal patrimony

called "consular" families or *capitani*, monopolized the offices, which were absurdly called after high-sounding ancient Roman or Byzantine names. We find consuls, prætors, and tribunes mingled with *primecerii*, *secundecerii*, *nomenclatores*, *scriniarii*, and *judices dativi*. The Roman legislature was solemnly denominated a senate.

With the revival of the Empire under Otto the Great (962) the popes endeavored to increase their patrimony by forged documents, as their predecessors had done in the time of Charlemagne. So came into the light the *Pactum Ottonis*, which, for magnitude of the territorial claims made, threw into the shade the Donation of Constantine. This pact was based upon an earlier and obscure forged charter alleged to have been granted by Louis the Pious, and conveyed to the Holy See an area of territory which had never even been included within the Western Empire since its establishment, nor ever reduced to possession by Otto the Great. For in addition to confirming all previous claims, genuine and forged, it conveyed to the pope in full sovereignty all the Greek provinces in southern Italy and the entire island of Sicily. There is no evidence that Otto I ever approved it, even if he ever saw this astonishing document. And thirty-eight years later Otto III detected and repudiated the forged deeds in a remarkable manifesto showing that acute historical criticism was even then possible, and a specific enumeration of the lawful territories of the pope was made. All that Otto I actually did was to restore to the papal patrimony the city and territory of Ravenna. Thus in the time of Otto III we stand on clear ground as to the papal patrimony. He "defined and extended the limits of prior genuine endowments and acquisitions. He cleared the title of the papacy by a charter so framed as to dissipate the doubts created, on the one hand, by forgery and usurpation; and on the other, by the profligate alienations of the pontiffs themselves, and the encroachments of their own feudal subjects and neighbors."¹ The charter annulled the fictitious donations of Constantine, Louis the Pious, and Charles the Bald.

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¹ GREENWOOD, *op. cit.*, bk. viii, ch. iii, p. 500.

THE WAR OF INVESTITURE (1075-1122)

*Accession of
Gregory VII
(1075)*

ON April 22, 1073 Hildebrand, then archdeacon, was elected pope and took the pontifical name of Gregory VII, it is said as a tribute of friendship to his predecessor, Gregory VI. The initiative of his election seems to have emanated from the Roman populace, with whom Hildebrand was popular, and whose enthusiasm overcame the hesitation of the cardinals and even bore down Hildebrand's own cautious calculation. There is ground to believe that he was not convinced that the time was yet quite ripe for his own pontificate, for the Lombard bishops still resented the new papal policy. While Gregory VII was undeniably one of the most ambitious of men, there is little room to doubt the sincerity of his disclaimer that "the Roman Church called me to its government against my will," provided we take the element of timeliness into consideration. His elevation filled the advocates of reform with elation. Like the sons of Zebedee, who would fain have sat, one on the right, the other on the left of Jesus in His kingdom, the Pope's zealous supporters hoped for a revolution that would seat them beside him "upon the throne of God's inheritance," in fulfillment of the psalmist's word: "The world is Mine and the fullness thereof."

*Attitude
towards
European
rulers*

Gregory VII did not leave the princes of Europe in doubt as to his policy. Even before a Roman council (1074) had adopted *in toto* the program of the reformers, which was soon broadcasted through the legatine power, in 1073 Gregory VII threatened Philip I of France "with the sword of apostolic vengeance" and threw down the gage to William the Conqueror. But he soon discovered that it was wiser to narrow the field of conflict until victory became more certain than it seemed, and discreetly overlooked the omission of the French and English sovereigns to comply. In France nothing was done. In England King William, guided by Lanfranc, mitigated the decrees of Rome with reference to priestly celibacy for simple priests; the Conqueror still exercised the right of investiture without papal protest.

*The Pope
resolves to
force the
issue of
investiture
against the
Emperor
Henry IV*

Gregory VII approached the conflict in no rash spirit. To Hugh of Cluny he wrote on January 22, 1076: "If I did not hope for a better life and benefit to come for Holy Church, I would not stay in Rome except by force." The Pope resolved to concentrate his fire upon Henry IV of Germany. For the German King was Emperor and ruler of Italy. He was noble game. To bring down the mightiest would bring down the

less. Moreover, the situation in Germany was peculiarly favorable to the papal cause. This condition now requires somewhat extended examination.

In the previous chapter it was seen that despite the outward calm in Germany and the apparent power of the Salian house in the reign of Henry III, in actuality the political condition of Germany was an ominous one. The Lotharingian bishops were thoroughly imbued with Gregorianism and in Wazo of Liège and Anno of Cologne the reform party had keen and unscrupulous advisers; the great feudality was restless under the royal hand and incensed at the crown's policy of curbing them; Saxony was a hotbed of smoldering rebellion; the Slavonic and Hungarian frontiers were in a state of peril. In this critical condition the sudden death of Henry III in 1056 precipitated a crisis.

Precarious political conditions in Germany

The dying emperor entrusted the regency of the kingdom for his infant son Henry IV, then only six years of age, to his mother, Agnes of Poitou. Immediately Duke Bernhard Billung and his son Ordulf engineered a conspiracy to depose the young King. The Empress-mother crushed the movement, but was compelled to compromise dangerously with other foes of the Salian house to divert them from support of Bernhard. She restored to his duchy the exiled Godfrey of Lorraine—who had hastened to Germany at once upon learning of Henry III's death—and granted the duchy of Bavaria to Otto of Nordheim, next to the Saxon Duke the most powerful noble in Saxony. Neither Godfrey nor Otto lost time in inflaming the feudality of Germany against the government. Less than two years later, in May 1062, Godfrey of Lorraine, Otto of Nordheim, and Egbert of Brunswick enticed the Empress and her son on board a ship on the Rhine, kidnapped the boy—he threw himself into the river in a vain endeavor to escape—and put him into the custody of Anno of Cologne, who had a yoke-fellow in intrigue in Siegfried, the newly appointed Archbishop of Mainz, who was a brother of Anno.

Disasters of the minority of Henry IV

The triumphant cabal of archbishops and high nobles now proceeded in the name of the "regency" to distribute the ecclesiastical and secular patronage of the crown, including huge allotments of the crown lands (or *fisc*) among themselves and their associates. Anno of Cologne became regent of Germany, and Godfrey of Lorraine of Italy, displacing Guibert, the loyal Bishop of Parma, there. Even the rich German abbeys, control of whose revenues was avidly wished by the archbishops, did not escape spoliation. Anno seized the rich houses of Malmédy and Saint-Cornelius; his brother laid his hands on Seligenstadt. Otto of Nordheim in Bavaria and Duke Rudolph in Swabia "were permitted to carry off in the scramble whatever came their way. . . . The regents continued to indulge in the most scandalous embezzlement of public property. They enriched themselves by extortions, forced sales, and confiscations. Bishops, abbeys and every description of ecclesiastical preferment were put

Unscrupulous conduct of many German bishops

Anno of Cologne

up to public auction.”¹ In the name of “church reform” the German government and the German Church were debauched and plundered. Concerning all this scandal Pope Alexander II was discreetly silent; for papal politics were too intimately bound up with Godfrey of Lorraine and the Lombard question to protest. It is an ancient saying that politics makes strange bedfellows, and we have the truth of the observation in this situation.

*Conflicts
over the
regency*

*Adalbert of
Bremen*

But the gang around young Henry IV soon perceived that unless they divided their loot with other bishops they would encounter a storm of opposition to their practices, so it was decided that the regency should appertain to that bishop in whose diocese the King might be. But this action was a mere gesture. The real opposition proceeded from Adalbert, the ambitious and able Archbishop of Bremen, the most powerful man in north Germany, not even excepting Duke Bernhard of Saxony, between whom and Adalbert a bitter feud prevailed. Adalbert, however, although he utilized his term of “regency” to acquire possession of the heavily endowed abbeys of Lorsch and Corvey, like Cardinal Wolsey in the days of Henry VIII, loyally served the King. He was a man of better mold than his ecclesiastical rivals in authority. He was a devoted adherent of the monarchy, while the latter were champions of feudalism and ecclesiastical autonomy.

*Difficulties of
Henry IV*

In order to deprive Anno and Siegfried of power, Adalbert caused the majority of Henry IV to be declared by a diet at Worms in 1065, as a result of which Adalbert became chief minister of state. The resolution of this diet is interesting in that it discloses that numbers of the German bishops and high nobles were either loyal to the crown or jealous of the “regents” and so espoused the King’s emancipation from their tutelage. In retaliation the archbishops of Cologne and Mainz and the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Swabia hardened their coalition against Adalbert. At the diet of Tribur in the next year (1066) Henry IV was given the alternative of repudiating Adalbert of Bremen or abdicating. When he pluckily refused to do either, Germany was thrown into civil war. Ordulf Billung and his son Magnus terribly wasted the lands of the diocese of Bremen and deprived Adalbert of almost all his castles and abbeys and more than a thousand of his episcopal manors. In Thuringia Siegfried of Mainz seized a hundred and twenty domains of the crown, together with a prodigious amount of tithes, which pertained to the great abbeys of Fulda and Hersfeld. The mighty ecclesiastical principality of the north which Henry III had so sedulously built up as a counterpoise to the ducal power of the Billunger in Saxony was ruined. Culturally as well as politically this ruin of Bremen was a misfortune to Germany. For Adalbert, in spite of his overbearing ways, was a man to be admired. He made the

*Hostility
of the
Billunger
dukes of
Saxony*

¹ GREENWOOD, *op. cit.*, bk. x, ch. ii, p. 201.

cathedral school of Bremen renowned for its learning; his court, whither came poets, men of letters, musicians, and artists from Italy and Byzantium, was the brightest spot of higher culture in the north of Europe. He had dispensed his wealth generously and intelligently. At this same time Archbishop Anno attempted to impose his nephew upon the see of Treves, but the infuriated populace rose in rebellion and slew the aspirant. Anno of Cologne's loss of political power may be deduced as an explanation of his zealous advocacy of Gregorianism.

In the meantime, while Germany was thus torn within, the situation on the eastern frontier had grown alarming. A campaign in Hungary, favored by the death of King Bela, had re-established Sálomon, the German protégé, upon the Magyar throne. But in 1066 the Slavs of the right bank of the Elbe, the Abodrites, Wilzi, and other Wendish tribes, rose for the third time and more formidably than ever before, under the leadership of an astute Rugian chieftain named Kruto. Everything German across the river was destroyed, the settlers were driven out or massacred, the villages burned. Nordalbingia was put to fire and sword, the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Oldenburg were wiped out. Even the environs of Hamburg were invaded and sacked. The only patch of German soil left east of the Elbe was little Holstein, and it, too, was half devastated. The Germans were completely cut off from access to the Baltic, whose coast thenceforth was disputed between the Danes and the Wends. For the next seventy-five years German eastward expansion was retarded, for recovery of the lost territory was not made until the middle of the next century. The German hero of the long border warfare that ensued was Bishop Bucco or Burkhard of Halberstadt, another of Anno's nephews, the most typical fighting bishop of the century, perhaps, who once triumphantly returned from one of his raids into the Slavonic country riding a sacred black horse, which he had captured in the sack of a Slavonic temple. His name is still preserved in song and legend in lower Germany.

Hungary

*Great revolt
of the Slavs
(1066)*

*Dangerous
feudal
manifestations
in Germany*

By 1070 Henry IV, though only twenty years of age, had developed a maturity of character and displayed an ability so unusual that it can only be explained on the theory that adversity had hardened and sharpened his great natural endowments. He resolutely determined to resume his father's policy. No time was to be lost if the Salian monarchy was to be saved from ruin. In Germany both the prerogatives and the material resources of the crown had been shamefully pillaged during the years of his minority. His three most formidable feudal antagonists were Duke Ordulf of Saxony, Otto of Nordheim, Duke of Bavaria, and Berthold, Duke of Carinthia. Fortunately for him, Anno of Cologne and Siegfried of Mainz found few supporters among the rest of the German bishops, most of whom were and remained loyal to the crown. Rightly or wrongly, Otto of Nordheim was accused of conspiring against the King's life and

Otto of
Nordheim

deprived of Bavaria, which was given to Welf, a son of Azzo of Este, who, though an Italian prince, was a German and son-in-law to Otto of Nordheim. A private war followed of huge dimensions between Otto and the King, during which the former's alodial estates in Saxony and those of his rich wife, Richenza, were ravaged. The young son of the Saxon Duke, Magnus, sustained Otto, but the Saxon nobles took no part in the fray — a difficult matter to explain. Did they believe Otto to be guilty? He was condemned by Saxon law in a court composed of Saxon judges. Or were the nobles jealous of Otto's wealth and covetous of his lands? It would seem that he had many private enemies among the Saxon nobility, and Otto had not yet acquired that great popularity among the Saxon peasantry which he was later to possess. The ex-Duke was driven into the fastness of the Harzwald, where for many months he and his followers lived upon the plunder of the crown lands in Thuringia. When driven thence, they found refuge in the lands of Magnus Billung. At Whitsuntide in the next year (1071) Otto and Magnus came into the Saxon town of Halberstadt to surrender themselves. Otto's alods were restored, but the Saxon Duke was imprisoned for some months, perhaps more as a hostage for the future peaceful behavior of the Saxons than as a penalty.

The deposition of Berthold of Carinthia was an easier matter, for he was not popular in his duchy and was now wedged in between a loyal Bavaria and a menacing Hungary. Through this feat Henry IV kept his lines at the eastern end of the Alps open into Lombardy, whose political support and whose gold were alike important to him. Royal control of the Septimer Pass at the same time was assured by means of commercial concessions made to the Bishop of Basel. These measures were as adroit as they were necessary, for the veiled opposition of the Duke of Swabia blocked the passes of the central Alps. The Brenner Pass, between Verona and Innsbruck, was protected by the Bavarian Duke, a fact of importance considering the dubious but still hesitant attitude of Duke Rudolph of Swabia, who had not yet come out into the open against the King.

Saxony

The gravest condition was that in Saxony. There Henry IV resumed his father's policy of building castles upon the crown lands in which Franconian and Swabian *ministeriales* were garrisoned. In the face of a powerful and intractable baronage and a spirited people that never had been worked into the composition of the German nation so completely as Frank and Swabian and Bavarian, whose disposition was to be as free as possible from royal authority, whose adherence to their ancient customs made them insoluble elements in the Germanic body politic and body social, who hated strangers and even regarded all other Germans as "foreigners," no other course was possible for Henry IV except compulsion. Accordingly, as the annalist writes, "castles began to bristle on every hilltop in Saxony and Thuringia," the greatest of which were the

Harzburg and Goslar. It is true that the garrisons in these castles sometimes got out of hand and abused the countryside with rapacious and illegal exactions, of which much is made by chroniclers hostile to Henry IV and his policy. But it is certain that these grievances were magnified for political purposes and that nothing like a reign of anarchy obtained in Saxony. The military power that the King displayed in Saxony was for constraint of the Saxon feudality.

During Henry IV's long and disastrous minority, as has been observed before, the German bishops, abbots, and great nobles had seized possession of an enormous number of the crown lands, either by force or by means of forged charters, so that when Henry IV reached his majority, the crown was almost reduced to penury. For it must be clearly understood that in the feudal age no system of general taxation such as we are familiar with existed. The King "lived of his own"; that is to say, he was chiefly dependent for his support upon the income from the crown lands, which were scattered all over the kingdom and to be found in every duchy. The most important block of these crown lands was in Thuringia and Saxony, and it was precisely in these regions that the spoliation had been worst. Henry IV's castles and garrisons in Saxony were to prevent the rebellion of the Saxon feudality and to enforce revindication of the fisc.

*Henry IV's
remarkable
fiscal
policy*

The grievances of the Saxon peasantry were, however, intimately bound up with the King's fiscal policy. Theoretically, in German tradition, the forests and the heaths had pertained to the crown except where alienation of them to private proprietors had taken place. But in practice the forests and the heaths had been freely used by the Saxon peasantry as places whence timber and charcoal might be procured and where their swine and cattle might graze at will. Henry IV, partly, one imagines, because of the penury of the crown, partly because of the thriftless and wasteful nature of such usage, determined to engross these tracts within the fisc, to forbid private exploitation of them, and instead to render them productive of revenue for the government by sale of licenses for timbering, pasturing, fishing, mill-sites, etc. In a word, Henry IV's policy was that of intelligent conservation of national resources. But the unlettered Saxon peasantry could see in the King's policy only a course of arbitrary tyranny, and when they sullenly murmured threat of rebellion, Henry IV put the screws of taxation upon them heavier than before. He counted upon the subjugating effect of onerous taxation to break the spirit of the peasantry. But the event proved that he reckoned ill.

*Grievances of
the Saxon
peasantry*

Thus Saxony was the center of two groups of "storm"—the Saxon nobles and the Saxon peasantry. The King counted upon the number and strength of his garrisoned castles to overawe the first; he failed to perceive the daring mood of the peasantry, who found an unexpected partisan in Otto of Nordheim, who, though a noble, was popular with the

*Double re-
bellion in
Saxony crushed.
(1073)*

*Battle of
Langensalza
(1075)*

masses. While no positive union ever was made or was possible between the feudo-ecclesiastical party in Saxony and the peasants, in the late summer of 1073 the King discovered himself face to face with a double rebellion in Saxony. The Harzburg and Goslar were stormed and sacked by a mob of infuriated peasants, and Henry IV fled for his life through the forest. But the King kept his head in the midst of the hurricane. He quickly sensed the antagonism between the two Saxon parties and played them off against each other to such good effect that by the next spring the cards were in his hands again. But the Saxons soon discovered that they had been fooled by the King, and in the spring of 1075 the country flamed anew with rebellion. This time it came to battle at Langensalza on the Unstrutt river on June 9, where the charge of the royal horse scattered the masses of Saxon peasants fighting, like their fathers before them, on foot, and dispersed the mounted contingents of the Saxon nobles. Once more Henry IV was in control. His hand fell heavily upon the rebels. On October 25, 1075 the whole body of Saxons — bishops, nobles, peasants — was paraded before the King's victorious army, disarmed and barefooted on the broad plain near Speyer. The humiliation was keen, the submission great. Saxony seemed utterly crushed.

*Policy of
Gregory VII
in Germany*

(This was the phenomenal moment when Gregory VII, who had not been unobservant of events in Germany, chose to challenge the imperial supremacy and to put forward the papal claims with reference to Church and State.) The Pope's agents were in Germany in this year and had kept him informed of the condition of things. Gregory VII's own *Register* reveals him in correspondence with Rudolph of Swabia as early as August 1073, and with Berthold of Carinthia and Welf of Bavaria and the Swabian Duke in 1074. (Even when we admit the sincerity of Gregory VII's intentions, we must give him credit for also being a consummate politician. But not only must the Pope bear responsibility for permanently frustrating Henry IV's large design for giving the German kingdom, the fixed capital of which was to be Goslar, a more complete unity than it had hitherto had; he must also shoulder the grave responsibility for throwing, not merely Saxony, but all Germany into the throes of a disastrous and long-continued civil war, into which the nation was plunged as into a glowing crucible. Gregory VII exhibited the hardihood of a bold idealist, or the zealotry of a fanatic who counts not cost so long as his end be achieved.) Henry IV's victory had deranged the Pope's plan, but he was not disconcerted. For the Pope knew that the King required time to consummate the pacification of his kingdom and to let the wounds of war heal; and it was precisely this precious interval of time that the Pope maneuvered to deprive the King of by denying the right of lay investiture and thus precipitately putting an end to Henry IV's sagacious course of temporizing.

(In the closing months of the year 1075 the Pope had come to the conclusion that delay was dangerous, and the King himself afforded the opportune occasion for Gregory VII to act decisively, since he had lately filled the two Italian sees of Fermo and Spoleto with imperial appointees who were, as the Pope complained, "quite unknown to us.") And, as if to make the aggravation worse, Fermo and Spoleto were within the papal patrimony. "If you realize your guilt in this matter," wrote the Pope on December 8, 1075 to the King, "we counsel you to confess straightway to some pious bishop, who shall absolve you with our permission, enjoining upon you a suitable penance for this offense, and who shall faithfully report to us by letter the nature of the penance prescribed!" But evidently Gregory VII had little expectation of the royal compliance. "For it is manifest," he added, "in what you have since done and decreed how little you care for our warnings or for the observance of justice. . . . And in order that the fear of God . . . may affect your heart more than these our admonitions, remember what happened to Saul . . . and recall what grace King David acquired by his humility amid the distinctions of valor." The intent of this last allusion is unmistakable. As Saul disobeyed the prophet Samuel to his ruin, as David was made king by the prophet and obeyed the prophet, so it is the duty of a king to hearken to God's divinely appointed ruler over rulers. The theocratic conception of kingship is unmistakably enunciated.

*Approach
of the
investiture
struggle*

*Epistle of
Gregory VII
to Henry IV
(1075)*

When this epistle arrived in Germany, as it did with speed in spite of the inclemency of winter weather and snow in the Alpine passes, Henry IV at once summoned a synod at Worms (January 24, 1076). The letter of reply sent to the Pope, who was addressed as "Brother Hildebrand" by the synod, was an intemperate document. Twenty-six bishops (the number is significant) signed it. In it the validity of the Pope's election was denied, Gregory was accused of having become pope without imperial confirmation, the Pope's relation with the Countess Matilda was impugned, the doctrine of celibacy was condemned, and, finally, the papal authority was repudiated. The vituperative element in this epistle, however, was no greater than the scandalmongering of Henry IV's enemies with reference to his private life. Defamation of character is an ancient political practice. The King's own personal reply to the Pope was bolder, but less venomous, and was based on actual historical precedent. The King denied the right of the pope or any body of churchmen to depose him — in this he took issue with the Forged Decretals and denied the validity of Charles the Fat's deposition in 887 — "unless, which God forbid, I shall have strayed from the faith. . . . For the wisdom of the holy fathers in the time of the apostate Emperor Julian did not presume to pronounce sentence of deposition against him, but left him to God to be judged and to be deposed." (This utterance is a locus classicus for the

*Reply of
Henry IV
(1076)*

medieval idea that the German rulers were successors of the cæsars). Finally after a climax of studied invective the King furiously concluded: "I, Henry, king by the grace of God, with all my bishops, say unto you: 'Come down, come down from the papal throne, and be accursed through all the ages.'"

Count Eberhard of Nellenburg and two bishops carried these two letters, and a proclamation to the clergy and people of Rome, to Italy. A council at Piacenza approved the decision of that of Worms. A clerk of Parma named Roland attempted to read the King's letter in a synod at the Lateran and was violently mobbed. In the meantime Gregory VII had received encouraging letters from both German and Italian bishops and acted resolutely. But before observing the papal action it is important to notice the marked difference of demeanor of the two antagonists. Henry IV was impulsive and very personal in his attitude and reaction to the issue. On the other hand, the Pope diplomatically endeavored to dissemble his own personal part in the issue, constantly asserted the moral question involved, and declared that he was but the mouth-piece of "St. Peter, prince of the apostles." The weight of Gregory VII's personality was not diminished by this policy; on the contrary it was increased. The principles that the Pope espoused gained from the method of their advocacy.

*First banning
of Henry IV*

This comes out clearly in the event that followed. The Pope suspended and excommunicated the Archbishop of Mainz and deposed and excommunicated Henry IV. The latter act was adroitly effected in the form of a prayer of the Pope to St. Peter, making it almost appear as if Henry IV were deposed by St. Peter himself. It is a remarkable document, impressive even in English translation, in which the greatness of the medieval papacy comes back to us with a certain alienated majesty. It reads in part as follows:

"St. Peter, prince of the apostles, incline unto me thine ear, I beseech thee, and hear me, *thy* servant, whom *thou* hast nourished from mine infancy and hast delivered from mine enemies, who hate me for my fidelity to *thee*. Thou art my witness, as are also my mistress the mother of God and St. Paul, *thy* brother, and all the other saints, that *thy* Holy Roman Church called me to its government against my will and that I did not gain *thy* throne by violence; that I would rather have ended my days in exile than have obtained *thy* place by fraud or for worldly ambition. It is not by my efforts, but by *thy* grace that I am set to rule over the Christian world. . . . Confident of my integrity and authority, I now declare that Henry, son of the Emperor, is deprived of his kingdom of Germany and of Italy. In *thy* name I curse him, that all people may know and have proof that thou art Peter, and upon *thy* rock the Son of the living God hath built His church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

By this measure Gregory VII absolved all of Henry IV's German and Italian subjects from their feudal allegiance and forbade them to serve him as king. It was a momentous step in the history of the Middle Ages. For the mutual bond, secured by oath, of lordship and homage, of vassalage and fidelity, was *the* bond that held feudal society together. The Pope's action amounted to a dissolution of the political organization of the Empire. Nothing so revolutionary in either political theory or political practice had yet been seen in Europe. Was it an act of devotion so sincere that the Pope counted not the cost? Was Gregory VII a fanatic? Or was he actuated by a vaulting, almost reckless ambition? The spectacle of the Pope instigating vassals to rebellion was enough to dismay the feudal class in all Europe. Could the "higher law" of the papacy be justified in such a recourse? Did the moral law of the time justify the principle of ruination of the State that the Church might win its purpose, even when admitting that that purpose was an ideal, and that there was just grievance in much of the Church's contention? There is no clear answer to these questions. Given the conditions of the age, collision between the Church and the State was inevitable and unavoidable except upon the basis of an accommodation which neither side was yet willing to accede to and which only lapse of time and the exhaustion of the contestants at last made necessary.

*Importance
of the ban*

*Motives of
Gregory VII*

(The banning of Henry IV at once threw Germany into the throes of a long and terrible civil war. Commingled with men of conscience who sadly complied with the Pope's decree were many others who seized upon the banning of the King as a pretext for rebellion. The sudden death of Godfrey of Lorraine gave the great feudality no pause. His nephew Godfrey de Bouillon — the future leader of the First Crusade — Rudolph of Swabia, Berthold of Carinthia, Welf of Bavaria, with the bishops of Mainz, Salzburg, Würzburg, Metz, Trier, and Passau raised the banner of insurrection, while in Saxony the peasantry, who now found a leader in Otto of Nordheim, also rebelled. Every element of personal or party disaffection rose in revolt. A preliminary conference of the rebels at Ulm resolved to convoke a general diet at Tribur, which was held in October 1076 and at which two papal legates were present. The King and his adherents — and they were not a few — were established upon the opposite bank of the Rhine at Oppenheim. Rudolph of Swabia and Otto of Nordheim clamored for the election of a new king. Abbot Hugh of Cluny (who was godfather to Henry IV) and the legates protested against such an action. The Pope had more to gain by compelling the King to yield than by so far countenancing the rebellion as to sanction a counter-king. Thereby he could partially palliate criticism for having instigated the rebellion of vassals against their ruler. His purpose was, not to overthrow kings, but to make kings obedient to the new papal terms of kingship.)

*Civil war in
Germany*

*Feudal party
endeavors
to depose
Henry IV*

*The Pope
hesitates to
countenance
a counter-
king*

In the issue a compromise was arrived at. Henry IV was suspended

Henry IV is
suspended,
but not
deposed

Henry IV
crosses the
Alps to see
the Pope

Canossa

Henry IV's
"repentance,"

Discomfiture
of
Gregory VII

from his office until he had made his peace with the Pope. He publicly proclaimed that he "repented" of his conduct and announced his intention of seeking absolution of the Pope, who was to come to Augsburg on February 2, 1077 for the adjustment of affairs in Germany. But the prospect of appearing before the bar of the papacy in the face of his own revolted subjects was impossible for Henry IV to contemplate. All his mind was set on frustrating such a humiliation. Accordingly, quite secretly and accompanied only by his wife, his children, and a few faithful followers, one of whom was a Swabian count named Frederick of Hohenstaufen—a name to be marked—in the dead of winter Henry IV crossed the Septimer Pass under hardship and peril in order to encounter the Pope before he crossed the Alps and to make his peace with him. In the last week in January 1077 the King arrived at Canossa in Tuscany, one of the Countess Matilda's strongest castles, where Gregory VII was tarrying en route to Augsburg.

The event that followed has been much distorted and misrepresented by papal partisans and embellished with mythical elements. Henry IV and his following were not left to suffer by exposure for three days outside the castle, but on the contrary were given shelter and food within the castle, though not admitted to the heart of the château; it is true that the King was garbed like a penitent in a white garment, but he was warmly clad beneath it and was not exposed to the cold wintry blasts from the Apennines; and he stood but a few hours each day in self-humiliation. The moral sentiment of Europe would have resented the inhumane treatment of an innocent woman and innocent children. Moreover, the long delay was not enforced by the Pope as a penance in order to humiliate the King. It was due to the quandary into which Henry IV's action had thrown the Pope. For Henry IV had come professing penitence for his sin and seeking the Pope's forgiveness. Since the days of the psalmist the heart of a king has been declared to be an unsearchable thing. It was beyond Gregory VII's power to penetrate behind the veil of the King's demeanor and determine whether his repentance was sincere or not. Henry IV's action had to be taken at its face value. The Pope had to forgive him—and Henry IV knew so much when he started across the Alps.

For if the papal ban had destroyed Henry IV's right to rule, would not the abolition of the ban *ipso facto* restore him to the throne? This is what the King calculated upon, and what the Pope perceived. There was no other alternative. At the cost of great personal humiliation Henry IV forced the Pope's hand and completely discomfited him. It was a remarkable diplomatic triumph, although Gregory VII attempted to save his face in his letter upon the episode to the German princes by a clause declaring that "the matter is not to be regarded as settled until we have

had consultation with you." But the Pope could not come to Germany to try Henry IV, for there was nothing to try him for.

When the news of what had happened at Canossa arrived in Germany, the great dukes and the high feudality were frantic with fury. A rump diet declared Henry IV deposed and put up Rudolph of Swabia as king. Civil war again ensued. The Rhine lands and Rhenish towns and south Germany as a whole supported the King. Most of the nobles of Lorraine, Swabia, Bavaria, and Carinthia, the Duke of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, and most of the bishops were loyal. The sectionalism cannot be clearly indicated, for every province, county, and canton was divided into two camps. The only thoroughly and solidly anti-Henrician part of Germany was Saxony, where the issue was a local one and not associated with the question of investiture.

Meanwhile Gregory VII hesitated to take part in the fray. He repudiated the action of his legates in approving of the elevation of Rudolph of Swabia, refused to ratify their renewal of the excommunication, and even said nothing when the King filled the vacant sees of Augsburg and Aquileia without reference to the Pope. For three years, while the strife went on, Gregory VII maintained a course of watchful waiting. His letters to Rudolph gave no sign of recognizing him as king; on the contrary the Pope always guardedly addressed him in his letters as a pretender. The war went adversely to the partisans. Rudolph's furious attack on Würzburg (1077), which he required in order to effect connection between Swabia and Saxony, failed; he was beaten in battles on the Neckar and the Streu (1078). Godfrey of Bouillon and many former papal partisans went over to the King's allegiance. In desperate need of resources the counter-king began to lay his hand upon the lands of the Church and to distribute them among his followers in order to purchase their adherence. Only thirteen bishops supported him. Then, and then only, in alarm Gregory VII threw hesitation away, recognized Rudolph as king, and for the second time (March 7, 1080) hurled the papal ban against Henry IV. It was as ineffective as the first had been effective. A council of nineteen German bishops declared the Pope deposed. Thirty Italian bishops in June elected Guibert of Ravenna, who became antipope. Although the King was beaten on the Elster in the following October, Rudolph's death upon the field was ample compensation. Not even lavish grants of indulgence to those who would espouse the Pope's cause could get him an effective following.

The feudo-papal party in Germany put up Hermann of Luxemburg as new anti-king in hope that his great landed wealth would spare the property of the Church from rapine and entice new supporters, but the election estranged Otto of Nordheim. The real leader of the feudo-papal cause was the fierce Bishop Burkhard of Halberstadt. The war

Counter-kingship in Germany of Rudolph of Swabia

The Pope hesitates to intervene in Germany

Progress of the civil war

Second banning of Henry IV (1080)

Death of Rudolph of Swabia

Henry IV wins through

degenerated into a huge campaign for self-aggrandizement and spoliation. Almost every reminiscence of its original character disappeared. The royal cause steadily gained ground, the better element of the feudality and the bishops rallying around Henry IV, who manifestly was the only authority in the kingdom capable of crushing anarchy and establishing law and order once more. The Rhenish cities furnished money and militia to the King. The counter-king and Burkhard fled to Denmark; many of their partisans sought refuge across the Elbe River among the Slavs.

*Henry IV
in Italy*

Even by the spring of 1081 Henry IV was so far restored that he could venture to leave Germany and come to the support of his adherents in Italy. He came now, not as a penitent, but with an army with banners. His enemies compared him to Sennacherib. His antipope and viceroy in Lombardy had done effective work for him, and he encountered slight opposition there. But central Italy, which Matilda of Tuscany and the Pope ruled, was intensely hostile. Rome successfully resisted his arms in May of that year and again in March 1082. Henry IV was kept in funds during these years by the Byzantine Emperor Alexios, who sorely feared the ambitious designs of the redoubtable Norman King, Robert Guiscard, upon the Eastern Empire and hoped to prevail upon the German King to divert his project by securing a German invasion of the Norman kingdom. Henry IV took the money, but made no effort against Lower Italy. Not Henry IV, but Venice finally relieved the Emperor's anxiety by destroying the Norman fleet which Guiscard had assembled in the harbor of Durazzo; for Venice also had reason to fear the Norman, since if he acquired possession of both sides of the straits of the Adriatic, Venetian maritime commerce would be at his mercy.

*Henry IV
and the
Byzantine
Empire*

*Capture of
Rome
(1083)*

The Pope was in serious difficulty. Matilda of Tuscany kept him in money, but hesitated to take up arms against Henry IV for fear of seeing her lands overrun by the Germans and herself declared forfeit of them for treason. In December 1082 for the third time Henry assaulted Rome and a protracted siege of seven months ensued. Finally, on June 2, 1083, the walls of the Leonine City were breached and Godfrey of Bouillon triumphantly entered. Gregory VII fled to the shelter of the Castle of St. Angelo, while a furious battle was waged around St. Peter's. The Roman magistracy compromised with the victor. Then the Great Countess Matilda cast off her hesitation and futilely endeavored to rescue the Pope. By this time the Roman populace, famished, worn out by protracted sieges, veered in its allegiance, so that the Pope had reason to fear the mob even more than the German soldiery. But the proud Roman nobles, entrenched in their castles within the city, resisted for weeks and months and had to be subdued one by one. These castles were curious edifices and like no others in medieval Europe; for most of them were improvised ancient Roman structures, like the Coliseum, the Theater of

Marcellus, Pompey's Theater, the Septizonium. Even the arches of Titus and Septimius Severus had huge towers of masonry run up upon them and were flanked by circling walls with bastions and battlements.

At last, in May 1084, the Norman King with an army of six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, many of the latter rapacious Calabrians, and with even Sicilian Saracens in his ranks, came tardily to Gregory VII's relief. Although ever since 1053 Robert Guiscard had been technically a vassal of the papacy, required to do it military service, the obligation had rested lightly upon him. When he came now, it was less to relieve the Pope's distress than to compensate himself for the loss of his fleet by spoiling Rome. The Roman people had no illusions and desperately defended the city, while Henry IV prudently withdrew his forces into the hills around Rome. He had no mind to encounter the Norman. The sack of Rome which followed Robert Guiscard's capture of the city beggared that of the Goths in 410 or that of the Vandals in 455. Fire was added to the terror imparted by the looting soldiery. The destruction of ancient monuments and old churches by flame, the devastation of entire wards, was immense. The Cælian and Aventine hills, the latter the aristocratic quarter, were so ruined that even today the effects of the catastrophe are visible. When the accomplished poet-Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans visited Rome in 1106, he lamented the sight of the stricken city in a poem notable for its expression of grief and its perfect latinity.

Robert
Guiscard
comes to
Gregory VII's
relief

Sack of Rome
by the
Normans

Gregory VII was rescued from his long confinement in the castle of St. Angelo, from Henry IV and the hands of the furious Roman populace, by his vassal, by whom he was taken to the south, nominally as a "guest," practically as a prisoner of state. For a year the greatest Pope who ever lived ate his heart out in Monte Cassino. But his indomitable spirit never quailed. "*Dilexi justitiam, et odi iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio,*" he said upon his death-bed. "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile." Gregory VII, whether one approves or disapproves of much he did, undoubtedly is one of the great moral heroes of history. There is no denying that his lights were high, his accomplishments vast; and the measure of his sincerity is the measure of the man. All in all, Gregory VII is the greatest figure of the Middle Ages. Unlike many of his predecessors, Gregory VII built nothing of a material nature in Rome. But he laid the foundation of a new Church and a new papacy and left to others the plans for completion of the mighty ecclesiastical superstructure that the popes who came after him reared.

Death of
Gregory VII
in Exile

In Germany the desire for peace was universal when Henry IV returned. Twenty bishops and the three Rhenish archbishops excommunicated Hermann of Luxemburg and his chief supporters. Only fifteen bishops still adhered to the feudo-papal cause. One by one the Emperor's enemies were eliminated. Otto of Nordheim died of a fall from his horse

End of
civil war

in 1083; Egbert of Meissen was beaten in battle at Bleichfeld (1086). The wretched counter-king abdicated and his death in 1087 passed almost unnoticed; in 1089 Burkhard of Halberstadt was murdered in his own city of Halberstadt and Egbert of Meissen was assassinated in the following year. Saxony was completely subdued. Gradually the war was localized in Bavaria and Swabia, where Duke Welf of the former and Berthold of Zähringen in the latter remained the hope of the ecclesiastical party. Frederick of Hohenstaufen, whom Henry IV rewarded for his loyalty by giving him his daughter in marriage, and Godfrey of Bouillon were the Emperor's mainstays. By 1091 Henry IV was in complete domination of Germany.

*Marriage of
Countess
Matilda
with the
son of
Welf of
Savoy*

But the situation in Italy gave room for great anxiety. Pope Urban II (1087-99) proved to be an Elisha to Gregory VII's Elijah and was ably seconded by the Countess Matilda, who, though forty-three years of age, sacrificed her pride to the papal cause and married the eighteen-year-old son of Duke Welf of Bavaria, thus uniting two of the bitterest foes of the Emperor. In alarm Henry IV again came into Italy. For eleven months he besieged Mantua, and the capture of the city in 1091 made a profound impression. The Pope's intrigues outmatched Henry, however, and worked upon the discontent of the Emperor's elder son, Conrad, who resented his father's policy of keeping the crown lands in his own hands after the fashion of the French kings and refused to permit Conrad to have a portion of them for himself. Finally the headstrong and wayward young Prince went over to the camp of his father's enemies and found asylum with Matilda. This defection was followed by secession of some of the Lombard cities; Milan, Lodi, Piacenza, and Cremona leagued with Welf and the Countess of Tuscany, and the Archbishop of Milan in 1093 crowned Conrad king of Italy.

*Complex
Settlements*

The situation was so complex that the face of things was compelled to change. The die-hards in Germany made pacific overtures to Henry IV. In 1097 old Welf of Bavaria made his peace on terms that promised him hereditary succession in Bavaria and the lands of Azzo of Este and the Countess Matilda in Italy for his son. Berthold of Zähringen was placated by the creation of a feudal principality for himself in the German part of Switzerland and southwestern Swabia, where he founded Freiburg. But Zürich was his capital. The Archbishop of Mainz was the sole German cleric in opposition. A diet at Cologne transferred the succession to Prince Henry (a succession that was clarified by the timely death of Prince Conrad in 1101), who was crowned — again after the French fashion — as co-king with his father.

*New intrigues
in Germany
against
Henry IV*

Pope Pascal II (1099-1118) continued the Machiavellian diplomacy of his predecessor and successfully alienated Prince Henry from his father in 1104. At Nordhausen the Saxons again threatened to rebel. The ashes

of the late long conflict were blown again into flame. At last the Emperor found himself deserted of almost all adherents except the loyal populations of the Rhenish cities. The older generation of the war of investiture had passed away and the new generation "knew not Joseph." At Ingelheim the worn and harried Emperor was compelled to abdicate, but obstinately refused to declare that he had unjustly combated Gregory VII and oppressed the Church. His son was invested with the imperial insignia, and Henry IV became an outcast and a fugitive, sheltered, in spite of Henry V's menaces, by the cities he had so long befriended. Cologne and Liège expelled their bishops as a tribute of loyalty to the fallen Emperor. Henry V furiously and futilely stormed Liège and in his exasperation hurled the ban of the Empire against his own father, which made him, as it were, a criminal and a fugitive from justice. Unfortunately for Henry IV, his former staunch supporter Godfrey of Bouillon had gone on the First Crusade and had died as King of Jerusalem in 1100, and Henry IV had no captain so able as he to help him. Henry IV died in Liège in 1106, a fallen emperor, but a great ruler. The vituperation of him when living and the vilification of his memory by many historians ever since he died is stupid and unjust. Henry IV had many faults of character, some of which were due to the defects of his early education and the appalling corruption that surrounded him in his youth, but if ever a man was tried by the fire of experience and had the dross of his character drawn out of him by suffering and privation, that man was Henry IV. He fought for the freedom of the German Empire against theocratic aspiration, and with no less principle, though with less parade of moral justification than those against him. And so far as administrative ideas and practical ability are concerned, Henry IV probably was the most original and progressive ruler of whom Germany can boast between Charlemagne and Charles V — a little matter of seven hundred years of time.

*Henry V
rebels*

*Last days of
Henry IV*

His greatness

The atrocious and unfilial conduct of Henry V must not blind us from perceiving that he, too, was an able man; but he lacked the generous qualities of his father and remains one of the most perfidious, coldly calculating, intriguing, brutal, selfish, and arrogant of medieval rulers. He commanded service through fear, and loyalty through compulsion. Once upon the throne he cast off the mask he had worn and showed himself as indomitable and as resolute in imperial pretensions as his father had been. (It was not long before he became embroiled with Pope Pascal II. Determined to settle the question of investiture, Henry V demanded that the Pope come to preside over a council in Germany. But the pontiff feared lest he be entrapped, and called the council in Châlons, in France (1107). The Emperor — we may call him such in anticipation of his imperial coronation — who had meanwhile filled vacant bishoprics and abbeys without any regard for the papal claims, sent Welf of Bavaria

*Ability of
Henry V
(1106-25)*

and the Archbishop of Treves to Châlons, where the swaggering bluster of the former was fortunately neutralized by the winning manner of the latter, else an affray might have befallen, for the French bishops and nobles there were strongly pro-papal. When the Pope resolutely sustained the Gregorian claims as to investiture, the German envoys departed, Welf darkly saying: "It is not here, but in Rome and by the sword, that this question will be settled."

It was nearly four years, however, before Henry V could put this threat into execution. The condition along the eastern frontier was serious. He made two campaigns against the Poles and the Magyars. In Bohemia, where the Duke had been a strong partisan of Henry IV, the death of Svatopluk threw the country into anarchy (1109).

Henry V
in Italy
(1110)

At last in 1110 the German King crossed the Alps to Italy, determined to compel the Pope to a settlement of the issue of investiture. During the protracted strife, in which all Europe was interested, two forms of compromise solution of the controversy had gradually gained ground. According to the first, the Church should acquire freedom from political control by renouncing all its feudal lands and live upon the revenues of its alodial possessions, upon tithes and upon the contributions of the faithful. In this way the governments would have no more interest in enforcing lay investiture, for the Church would be rid of its service lands. The other proposal that had currency was that the double nature, ecclesiastical and feudal, of episcopal and abbatial offices should be given simultaneous and equal recognition by dividing the manner of investiture, the Church to invest the incumbent with the ring and crozier, the insignia of the spiritual nature of the office; the government to invest the incumbent with the feudal prerogatives attached to the office.

Pope
Pascal II

Pascal II proffered the first of these methods as solution of the issue in the *privilegium* of February 11, 1111, which is an illuminating document for the light that it casts upon the intense feudalization of the Church. "In your kingdom," it recites,

"bishops and abbots regularly attend the courts and perform military service, which duties necessarily bring them into contact with rapine, sacrilege, and violence. The ministers of the altar are made ministers of the royal court and are given cities, duchies, marks, mints, and other offices to hold and to rule. . . . Accordingly, all the royal offices and benefices which belonged to the Empire in the time of the emperors Charles, Ludwig, and your other predecessors and which are now held by the Church, we order to be restored to you.¹ We forbid any bishop or abbot, under pain of anathema, to hold any of these regalia; that is, cities, duchies, marks, counties, rights of minting, markets or tolls, offices of advocate or hundredeman, estates which belong to the Empire,

¹ This made the Church's renunciation of feudal possessions apply to all possessions acquired since the death of Charlemagne, in 814.

with any of their appurtenances, the right to hold castles or to do military service. . . . On the other hand, we decree that the churches shall have absolute control of their free-will offerings and their private possessions."

But this proposition was the counsel of perfection—or the suggestion of despair. It is impossible to believe that the majority of the clergy in the Empire or elsewhere—and the *privilegium* was intended to be of universal ecclesiastical application—would consent to such drastic renunciation. The clergy were too feudalized, too feudal, to make the sacrifice. It would have effected the separation of Church and State, a condition not obtaining yet everywhere in Christendom. Henry V was statesman enough to perceive that this solution might give rise to other and difficult problems. He knew that most of the German and Lombard bishops would resent it, and he had no inclination to create a strong episcopal party against himself. Furthermore, other considerations gave him pause. The wealth of the crown, it is true, would have been doubled, or even more, by the reannexation of the Church's feudal possessions, and a merely avaricious ruler would have grasped at the chance. But Henry V could see further. The lands reannexed would necessarily have to be bestowed as fiefs on others and would unavoidably thus contribute to the power of the nobles; the cities, which were only loosely allied with the bishoprics, would acquire complete independence. In addition to these important political changes a revolution in the relations of property would be entailed.

Intricate nature of the investiture issue.

Privilegium of Feb. 11, 1111

That the Emperor was right in his apprehensions was soon proved. A storm of protest arose among the Gregorians, who saw in the proposed measure the jettison of Gregory VII's dearest aspiration to subjugate the temporal power everywhere in Europe. These opponents caustically arraigned the insincerity of Pascal II and pointed out his inconsistency, in that he not only himself refused to renounce the temporal power of the papacy, but even insisted that Henry V should restore the States of the Church to their ancient limits. Church councils and local synods in France passed resolutions condemning the *privilegium* and asserted that Pascal II was a heretic and a sacrilegist.

Storm of protest

In the face of this opposition, when finally at the coronation of Henry V in Rome the formal promulgation of the *privilegium* was necessary, the Pope encountered such a hurricane of protest that he hesitated. But Henry V, having come so far, had no mind to retreat now. A riotous scene followed within the sacred precincts of St. Peter's, and under threats of violence from the furious imperial guardsmen the Pope, "with the resignation of despair," threw up his hands and yielded the right of lay investiture *in toto* to the Emperor in a second *privilegium* on April 12, which was to establish the status of things as it was before the whole question of church reform and lay investiture had arisen. It was

Second Privilegium, April 12, 1111

*It is
repudiated*

tantamount to repudiation of the entire Gregorian-Cluniac program of sixty years past. This solution was no solution. It was turning back the hands on the dial of time, repudiating principle and progress together. No sooner was the Emperor out of Italy than Pascal II and the Roman clergy repudiated the second *privilegium* on the ground that it had been extorted by force.

*Henry V and
Saxony*

Events in both Germany and Italy compelled the Emperor for six years to forego the question of investiture. In Saxony the last representative of the great ducal house, the Billunger, which had so long ruled the duchy, expired. Saxon opinion was unanimously in favor of having Lothaire of Supplinburg for their new duke. He was the idol of the country, for his mother was Hedwig Billung and he had married the only daughter of Otto of Nordheim. Henry V rashly resolved to assert his feudal prerogative and to dispose of the great fief of Saxony as he willed, but a bad defeat at Welfesholz (Wolf's Wood) compelled him to confirm the duchy in Lothaire's hands (1115). Moreover, the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne, the Lotharingian baronage, and the populace of the Rhenish cities were in a dangerously turbulent mood. The burghers of Mainz besieged the Emperor in his palace and forced him to release the Archbishop Adalbert, who was the soul of resistance to him in Germany and who was to be the arbiter of Germany's destiny when the Emperor died, in 1125. Fortunately for the Emperor, the fidelity of Welf of Bavaria and of the Hohenstaufen preserved peace in the southern part of the kingdom.

*Henry V's
second Italian
campaign
(1118)*

At last, in 1118, Henry V again came into Italy. Gelasius II fled to France with most of the cardinals and soon afterwards died at Cluny. It was a propitious hour for the Church. For in France during the tumultuous years that had passed, a school of canonists had arisen under the leadership of the famous Yves, Bishop of Chartres, which advocated the long suggested double form of investiture—that is, that the emperor should confer the feudal lands and offices upon a bishop or abbot; the pope or his representative should confer the ring and crozier upon him as symbols of his purely ecclesiastical attributes. This was to divide the authority and the honors according to the double nature of a bishop's or an abbot's office. To secure such an adjustment it was indispensable that a French pope be elected, one imbued with the ideas of the French reformers, and this end was attained by the election of Calixtus II (1119), the first French Pope since Sylvester II.

*Conciliatory
signs in the
Church*

*Pope
Calixtus II*

Compromise was in the air, both in France and in Germany. The preliminary overtures between the Pope and the Emperor were conducted from Reims through intermediaries, for Calixtus II was too cautious to meet the Emperor face to face and run the risk of being bullied or kidnapped, like Pascal II. Calixtus remained in Rome while his legate in Germany, Lambert of Ostia, kept him informed as to the progress of the

transactions. Finally, after the exchange of many diplomatic notes and the lapse of over two years, the question of investiture was settled in a compromise form by the Concordat of Worms in 1122. By this instrument episcopal and abbatial coronations henceforward were made double in nature. But the honors were not even in this division; for the Church had made the incalculable gain of victoriously establishing the principle of ecclesiastical investiture; the age-old monopolistic control of ecclesiastical offices by the emperor was terminated. To use a homely figure by way of illustration, the emperor had the difference between a whole loaf and a half-loaf; but the Church had the difference between a half-loaf and no bread. On the whole, the solution at Worms was a just and rational one, although it did not wholly conclude the struggle, partly because neither party always honestly adhered to it, partly because there was sometimes doubt as to how the principle was to be applied. A door to imperial evasion of the concordat was unfortunately left open by the provision that all ecclesiastical coronations had to take place in the emperor's presence, a clause that he abused by sometimes absenting himself from a coronation, if he disliked the churchman presented, and thereby estopped the investiture until the Church yielded the selection of the candidate to him. What was intended as a measure to insure regularity of election the emperor could and did convert into a veto.

*Concordat
of Worms
(1122)*

It is an interesting fact that the settlement made at Worms had a precedent in England as far back as 1106, when King Henry I and Anselm of Canterbury so resolved the issue of investiture as far as England and Normandy were concerned. Although direct evidence is lacking, there is no reason to doubt that this form of adjustment influenced Henry V to make a similar compromise, for the Emperor's wife was the English Princess Matilda or Maud, who after Henry V's death, in 1125, married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, and by him became mother of Henry II of England.

*English
precedent
(1106)*

It must be admitted that the Concordat of Worms was satisfactory to neither party to it and was but a flimsy compromise, an armistice improvised because of the exhaustion of the two contestants. A constructive veto, with the power of the emperor to withhold investiture, necessarily determined the election in favor of the imperial nominee. Moreover, the provision that disputes arising in the Church were to be settled "by the advice" of the bishops was a futile one, for as all bishops were also vassals, what bishop would incur feudal penalization for opposing his overlord? Again, by canon law, all "major ecclesiastical causes" were appellable to the Holy See, and the concordat did not formally exclude a contested episcopal succession from this category. The omissions in the concordat are as grave as they are unmistakable. Nothing was said of the political relation of the papacy to the Empire, of the papal patrimony, or of the

*Defects in the
concordat*

status of the Roman Republic; not a word was said of the burning question of the disposal of the lands of the Countess Matilda. If Henry V outwitted the Pope in introducing the "saving clause," on the other hand the Pope overreached the Emperor by establishing the essentially personal nature of the concordat; the implication is strong that the document was a temporary one and personal to Henry V, for it reads: "We, Calixtus, grant to you, Henry. . . ." There is no mention made of the Emperor's heirs or successors.

*Papal
repudiation
of the
Concordat
of Worms
(1139)*

Seventeen years afterwards, in 1139, the Lateran Council declared again that the temporal estates of the Church were fiefs of the Holy See, condemned lay investiture, and implied the political supremacy of the pope over all states and rulers. "Inasmuch as Rome," runs the record, "is the capital of the world, from which all earthly power emanates, so likewise the papal throne is the source of all ecclesiastical authority and dignity, so that every such office or dignity is to be received at the hands of the Roman pontiff as a fief of the Holy See, without which enfeoffment no office may be lawfully or enjoyed."

*Death of
Henry V
(1125)*

When Henry V died, in 1125, the second great reigning house of medieval Germany expired without an heir. With the Salian kings, as with the Saxon kings, the weight of political authority and of family tradition had been so strong that it had reduced the legally electoral nature of the German kingship to a fiction, and in point of fact the monarchy had become hereditary. But now the dynasty died out, for the only direct heir of Henry V's body was his daughter. The only heirs male of the Salian house were in the indirect line, the deceased Emperor's two nephews, Conrad and Frederick of Hohenstaufen, the sons of his sister Agnes and of Frederick of Hohenstaufen.

*Tense politics
in Germany*

It was a tense time in Germany, and the ensuing election was fraught with grave peril whichever way it befell — whether Frederick Hohenstaufen or another were elected. The party lines were tightly drawn. The political threads were in the hands of the sagacious Adalbert, Archbishop of Mainz, who, as the German primate, was *ad interim* the regent, and who was determined to establish the truly elective nature of the German kingship. He had been a strong proponent of Calixtus II, and allied with him were many of the great nobles, especially Henry the Proud, the Welf Duke of Bavaria, and Duke Lothaire of Saxony, who was the candidate of the feudo-clerical party. In Lothaire of Supplinburg were united and incarnated all the issues and all the opposition of the Salian epoch; for he was the son-in-law of the last Billunger Duke of Saxony, he had married a daughter of Otto of Nordheim, his inherited and personal interests were with the feudo-clerical opposition of the reign of Henry V, he was Duke of Saxony, always the center of opposition to the Salians; moreover, he was peculiarly popular with the Church because of

*Lothaire of
Supplinburg
and Guelph
policies*

his victorious campaigns against the Slavs beyond the Elbe. Lothaire was lord of the North in a far greater degree than ever the Billunger dukes of Saxony or Adalbert of Bremen had been in the previous century, for he controlled also the Mark Meissen, which in 1123, in defiance of Henry V, he had given to Conrad of Wettin, and the Saxon Ostmark, which he gave to Albert of Stade; and when the angry Emperor stirred up Otto of Moravia and Vladislav of Bohemia against him, he beat both of them in battle.

Never before at the election of a German king had the political situation been so tense or had so many representatives of the high clergy and nobles gathered together as at Mainz in 1125. The call that the Archbishop had sent out was a carefully and singularly worded document. Appended to the formal summons to the conference was the significant sentence: "It is our thought that the princes should meet and take necessary action in regard to the serious problems which confront us; viz: the general condition of the kingdom, the question of choosing a successor to the late King, and other matters." So high did feeling run that Frederick of Hohenstaufen and his partisans did not come to Mainz, but camped on the opposite side of the river. In the end, in order to avoid the effusion of blood, a commission of forty was chosen to select the new King, ten men from each of the great "stems" of the German nation. Saxons, Franconians, Swabians, Bavarians, and all present bound themselves by oath to abide by their decision, except Frederick of Hohenstaufen, who refused to do so—a bad political blunder on his part.

When this commission presented Lothaire's name, the nomination was accepted by acclaim, and a sigh of relief went up. The monk who pens the narrative of this event expresses his astonishment that unlettered laymen could have possessed so much wisdom. The election of Lothaire II marks a constitutional turning-point in German history. It was a complete assertion of the electoral nature of the German kingship and a triumph of that principle. A contemporary writer rightly compared it with the election of Rudolph of Swabia at Forchheim in 1077. The German crown legally and politically rested upon the suffrage of the great ruling classes in Germany, the dukes, the bishops, and the abbots, or, we may say, the high clergy and the high feudality. The controlling factor in consummating this election was Henry the Proud of Bavaria, who got his reward soon afterwards, when he married Lothaire II's daughter Gertrude, whereby their son, the future Henry the Lion, became heir to both Bavaria and Saxony, and the richest and most powerful noble in the kingdom.

But the truculent Frederick of Swabia, of whom a chronicler says that "he dragged a castle at his horse's tail," refused to abide by the verdict of election, and he and his partisans rebelled. He could not claim

*Election of
Lothaire II
(1125-39) •*

Significance

*Triumph
of Saxon
and Welf
policies*

*Revolt of the
Hohenstaufen
brothers*

the throne, but he and his brother Conrad put forth the astounding claim that as the heirs of Henry V they were entitled to possession of all the lands and estates that the Empire had acquired during the Salian period, as if these had been the personal acquisition of Conrad II, Henry III, Henry IV, and Henry V, and not acquisitions of the State. But the claim, if we take the condition of the time and the spirit of the age into account, was not so preposterous as it may seem to us. Feudalism was an intensely personal form of government; the conception of the State was not a clear one; indeed, in the universal decomposition of sovereignty since the ninth century, it would be difficult to say either what the State was or where it might be found. The difference between crown property and a ruler's personal property was not clear. In a word, the Hohenstaufen brothers asserted that *Reichsgut*, or crown property, was also *Hausgut*, or the property of the (Salian) house and its heirs. The ex-Empress Matilda had taken the crown and crown jewels to England with her as her own. It probably was more the magnitude of the Hohenstaufen claim than its nature that startled. For if allowed, all the confiscations, forfeitures, and escheats of property during the troubled Salian period, the city and territory of Nuremberg and all the vast feudal lands of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, who had died in 1115 and whose feudal lands had been declared escheated to the Empire, would have passed over to Frederick of Hohenstaufen as if his private property. The rebellious Frederick did not lack supporters, for the prospect of division among them of such spoil drew partisans to him, so that it was some years before the rebellion was crushed. Pope Honorius II (the former astute Cardinal Lambert of Ostia, the ablest legate of Calixtus II, who had negotiated the Concordat of Worms) — somewhat to the embarrassment of the new King, for the papal act gave ground for criticism — excommunicated the Hohenstaufen and, when Conrad carried the issue over the Alps and came to Milan as a pretender to the Lombard crown, renewed the excommunication. Despite the fact that some of the cities espoused his cause, "Conrad's kingdom had no stability and merely served for a brief time to perplex the affairs of northern Italy. The Romans whose favor he endeavored to gain, repudiated him, and on the contrary united with Honorius in inviting Lothaire to Rome to be crowned emperor."¹ Meanwhile his brother Frederick in Germany foiled the King before Speyer and Nuremberg and allied the Hohenstaufen with the powerful Zähringen house in Swabia. The conflict, however, soon took a turn for the better. Lothaire's candidate for the duchy of Lower Lorraine, Walram of Limburg, defeated Duke Godfrey of Louvain; Speyer was taken in December 1129, and Nuremberg in October 1130.

Lothaire II has been accused of servility towards the Church and of

¹ GREGOROVIVS, *op. cit.*, IV, 407.

"betraying" the Concordat of Worms. But the charge, when analyzed, disappears, and rests upon the single fact that at the time of his election and before his coronation Lothaire II waived the requirement of homage of the bishops. As a matter of evidence, he made it an absolute rule not to grant regalian rights to a new bishop before the bishop's consecration, but only after he had taken the oath of fidelity. He enforced the prerogative of the crown in all nominations of bishops and abbots. He bluntly told Otto, Bishop of Bamberg, who absented himself for prolonged intervals from his diocese, that if he did not return and stay there, he would confiscate his feudal lands. But the Emperor's firmness was not always proof against episcopal usurpation, and it is undoubtedly true that in the schism arising out of the double election of Innocent II and Anacletus II the papacy endeavored to recover control of episcopal elections to the fullest degree.

*Lothaire II's
ecclesiastical
and feudal
policy*

The political condition in Italy, which drew Lothaire II across the Alps in the spring of 1131, was complex and acute, and involved three separate issues, all of which were more or less related; namely, Roger II of Lower Italy and Sicily, the schism in the papacy, and the question of the Matildan lands.

Italy

We must first pick up the thread of Norman history. Robert Guiscard retained his own conquests in his own hands and ambitiously and futilely bent his efforts during the last years of his life towards the conquest of Constantinople, while his brother Roger I possessed Calabria. Guiscard's lands were menaced with disintegration after his death in 1085, but it was far otherwise in the dominions of Roger I, who carried on the Norman military and political genius. After he became master of Calabria, it was not long before Roger I began to cast covetous eyes across the straits of Messina upon Sicily, long since a wholly Arabic possession. It was a generation before the First Crusade, but already we are told by a Norman historian that the Count's dream was to "win back to the worship of the true God a land given over to infidelity, and to administer temporally for God's service the fruits and rents usurped by a race unmindful of God."

*Progress of
the Norman
kingdom of
lower Italy
and Sicily*

The Norman conquest of Sicily was like a crusade. It was begun with the capture of Messina in 1061 and endured for thirty years. Palermo was taken in 1072, and the last Saracen stronghold in the great island was surrendered in 1091. Roger I died in 1101 and divided his possessions, bequeathing the Calabrian mainland to his son Simon, and Sicily to his son Roger II. The death of the former in 1105 united the two territories in the hands of Roger II, who soon afterwards acquired Apulia. In Lower Italy only the principality of Capua yet remained independent. The growing power of the Norman dynasty in southern Italy alarmed the popes, who feared for their own possession of Benevento. For no member of the Hauteville family, as their panegyrist says, but coveted his neighbor's lands, even though that neighbor was the pope. Accordingly, when Count

William, the son of the first Roger, died in 1127, Honorius II claimed that his estates reverted to the pope as overlord, and refused to invest Roger II with Apulia. When Roger protested, the Pope excommunicated him. War followed. Roger II ravaged the province of Benevento, while Honorius II declared a "holy war" against him. Thus so early was the idea of the crusades inverted, and inflammatory religious propaganda and armed Christian force were used by the papacy against even Christian opposition to its policy. But Honorius II soon discovered that he had overreached himself. The history of Leo IX was repeated, and in 1128 the Pope invested Roger II with the lordship of Apulia.

But the ambition of Roger II was now to be a king, and in territory, power, and riches and especially in singular administrative ability he certainly deserved the title; for he was the greatest lord in Italy. But in this matter Honorius II was obdurate. Fortune came to his relief, however. When Honorius II died, in 1130, a contested succession arose in the papacy, between Anacletus II and Innocent II. The former was a grandson of that rich Jewish banker of Leo IX in the preceding century who had professed Christianity and in compliment to his patron had taken the name of Pierleone (Petrus Leonus). He married into the Roman aristocracy, acquired the ancient Theater of Marcellus, which he converted into a fortified palace, and amassed an enormous fortune as financial adviser to the Holy See. The violet robe of a cardinal was already possessed by the third Pierleone. Why not the papacy also? He had studied at Paris, he had been a papal legate in France. "Not only by his wealth and family connections, but also in virtue of his highly gifted personality, Cardinal Pierleone was the greatest man in Rome."¹ There is no doubt that Pierleone (Anacletus II) was regularly elected by the college of cardinals. But the opposition cardinals refused to abide by the election and, encouraged by the powerful Frangipani family, proclaimed Cardinal Gregory of St. Angelo pope, who took the name of Innocent II. This divided not only the city of Rome, but all Europe. In Rome Anacletus II occupied St. Peter's, while his rival had to be content with the Lateran. Each pope excommunicated his rival and his rival's partisans. The populace and most of the nobility was for Anacletus II, whose wealth even lured away the Frangipani from the side of his rival. Innocent II, like many of his predecessors, fled to France, where the English, French, and German sovereigns, the great monastic orders, Cluny, and Citeaux warmly espoused his cause. The greatest influence in his behalf was St. Bernard, whose passionate preaching journey to Italy was a verbal crusade. No man of the Middle Ages ever before had swayed so many tens of thousands by his eloquence. The sole European ruler of importance who recognized Anacletus II was Roger II, whom that Pope made a king.

*Schism in the
papacy
(1130)*

¹ GREGOROVIVS, *op. cit.*, IV. 419.

In the meantime, after over two years of exile in France, where his poverty was relieved by his faithful partisans, Innocent II had passed over from France into Germany, there to seek the military support of Lothaire II in order to restore him to his rebellious city. In the spring of 1133 Pope and King entered Italy and advanced towards Rome, where Anacletus II found himself in peril, for a rebellion of his vassals in Apulia prevented Roger from coming to his patron's assistance. And so, while Anacletus II kept his grip upon St. Peter's and the Leonine City, Innocent II crowned Lothaire II emperor in the Lateran. It was a tawdry coronation ceremony, though Innocent II commemorated it with a pompous inscription and a wall painting depicting the Emperor in humble posture before him — a picture that was to give great offense to Frederick Barbarossa in after days. No sooner was Lothaire II gone than Innocent II again was compelled to flee from Rome. He took refuge with the Pisans and Genoese, who resented the growing maritime and commercial power of Norman Sicily. Four years elapsed before he returned to Rome, and again he had to thank the German King for his restoration (1137) and the final discomfiture of the antipope. But this time Lothaire II weakly permitted himself to be made the cat paw of Innocent II, who adroitly persuaded him to make an expensive and futile expedition against the Norman King. It was gratuitous and unwise interference with a matter that was no business of a German king, even though that king was also emperor, for Lower Italy and Sicily were not a portion of the Holy Roman Empire. The expedition accomplished nothing save the ravishment of Apulia. With Lothaire II's departure, Roger II returned from Sicily with Saracenic soldiery and terribly avenged himself upon those vassals of his who had failed to support his cause.

*Lothaire II
in Rome
(1133)*

*Futile expedi-
tion against
the Normans*

The contrast between Lothaire II's constructive policy in Germany and his ill-advised course in Italy is remarkable. German politics he understood, but Italy was a book that he could not read. He handled the acute question of the reversion of the lands of Matilda almost as blunderingly as he handled other things in Italy. This issue, which became a burning one the minute the Great Countess died in 1115, was destined to smolder and smoke for many years. The Matildan lands were an apple of discord between pope and emperor for two centuries, and the legal and political intricacies of the issue are almost baffling.

*Question
of the
Matildan
lands*

"These estates were widely scattered over the surface of Lombardy and Central Italy. In many cities the countess had held special or incidental rights and jurisdictions; in others these rights were so numerous and preponderant as almost to amount to dominion, and in this relation the cities of Lucca, Parma, Modena, Mantua, Ferrara, Reggio, Montferrat, Spoleto and some others, were included at the time of her decease. By her will, however, she had bequeathed not only the rights and revenues of these dependencies as countess or

marchioness of Tuscany, but also her fiefs and possessions, feudal and allodial, for the sole use and benefit of the Holy See, 'so that thereafter they might form an integral portion of the estate of the Roman Church.' . . . Under this donation the popes had set up a continuous claim to all that might be construed to pass under the bequest, without limit or restriction. The cities, on the other hand, contended variously that the rights and jurisdictions enjoyed by the countess were personal or permissive only; or that she had arbitrarily usurped them: a state of things which naturally came to an end at her death. And in fact, the cities had since then in various ways succeeded in acquiring a perfect autonomy as to municipal government, and were mightily disinclined not only to permit the revival of any such claims, but even to tolerate an inquiry as to obsolete rights and jurisdictions, whether set on foot by pope or emperor.

"The case of the latter, as far as it can be collected at this distance of time, stood thus: the fiefs of the countess, and probably also her allodial and available rights, would have passed naturally to her heirs as feudal dependencies of the empire or kingdom of Italy. But as it did not appear who those heirs were, or that any claim was set up on their behalf, the Emperor Henry V had taken possession of the territories and their appurtenants as an escheat of the empire. The Emperor Lothaire (1133) had given some countenance to the papal pretension by the cession of a portion of the disputed lands to Pope Honorius II in consideration of an annual payment of 100 marks of silver."¹

The significance of this payment in later years became a matter of fierce dispute between emperor and pope. The former claimed that the payment constituted papal recognition of the suzerainty of the Empire over the Matildan lands; the latter asserted that the sum was merely a fee to preserve the title of the papacy to the lands.

It is frequently and erroneously said that Lothaire II retained the lands subject to this rent of a hundred silver marks as a fief of the papacy; but the evidence does not warrant so extreme a statement. The settlement, like the Concordat of Worms, was a compromise which merely delayed the ultimate issue; for it again arose in the time of Frederick Barbarossa, as we shall see later on.

Lothaire II died in a little mountain hamlet in Bavaria in 1139, as he was returning from his second Italian campaign. His twelve years of rule constitute a turning-point in the history of medieval Germany. Born on Saxon soil, sprung from Saxon lineage, by tradition and training he sympathized politically with the great feudality and the clergy. His election had confirmed the electoral nature of the German crown as never before and admitted the feudal principle of partition of sovereignty between the king and the great dukes. For the Salian dream of an absolute German monarchy, a German kingdom in which the great historic duchies were to be reduced to mere administrative provinces, was substituted the concept of allowing measured and qualified local autonomy to the duchies

*Death of
Lothaire II
(1139)*

¹ GREENWOOD, *op. cit.*, bk. xii, p. 181.

— a design which, if it had ever been achieved, would have created a federal feudal monarchy in Germany, different from either the French or the English monarchy. This inchoate purpose Lothaire II bequeathed to his son-in-law Henry the Proud, as Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, to complete.

*Formation of
the Guelf
party*

The lineage and the lands of this great house of the Guelfs must be clearly understood.

"A daughter of Magnus, the last male heir of the Billung House, married the Welf, Henry the Black, a Swabian by origin, brother of the Bavarian duke. She brought into the Welfic family Lüneburg, the chief Billunger fortress, and the land around it. Their son Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, married Gertrude, the daughter of Lothair, the richest heiress in Saxony, and on the death of his father-in-law Henry became the most powerful man in Germany. The heir of the Brunos, of the Supplinbergs, the inheritor through Lothair of Otto of Nordheim and Eckbert (of Meissen), the heir of the most important part of the Billung inheritance, Henry the Proud seems marked out to confirm and to stereotype the unity of the Saxon race, to maintain its independence, to crush its internal feuds. . . . His position and his work were ultimately rendered possible by the failure of Henry IV, and of his son, to vanquish the opposition of the Saxon race. The Welfic House gathered in the scattered heirlooms of the men who made themselves famous in that crisis of Saxon history."¹

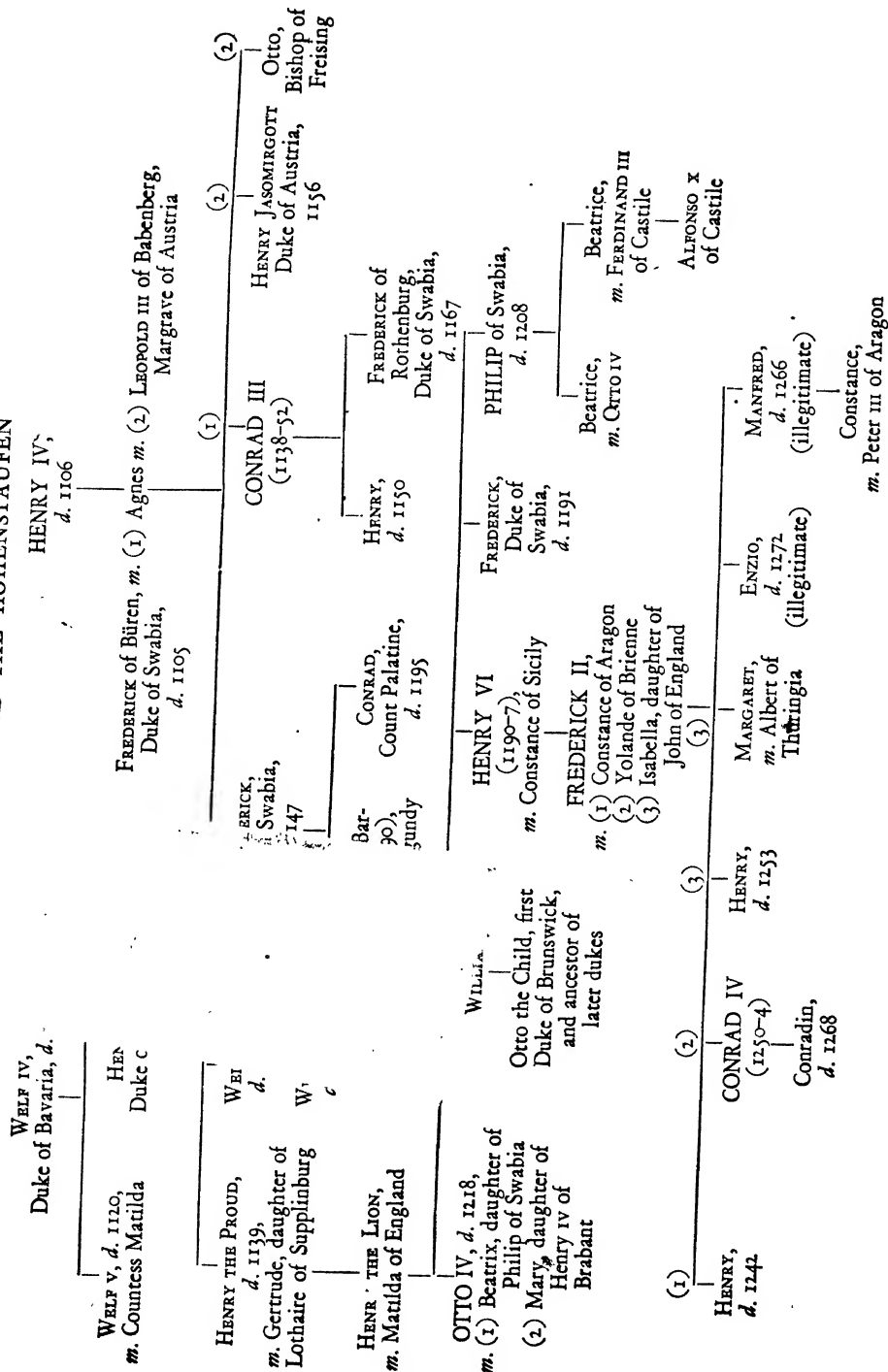
But the event was soon to prove that the Welfs were not strong enough to prevail. The election of Conrad III, which brought the Welf—or Guelf—party into an alliance with the crown, which reverted to the former Saxons, failed in which it, too, failed, so that ultimately the struggle was between two stools, unable to work to a completion and given over at the last to the prince-bishops, who ruled with a high hand to a thing of shreds and patches.

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KINGS AND THE HOHENSTAUFEN



GERMANY AND ITALY UNDER THE HOHENSTAUFEN

(1139-1197)

IN 1139 Germany had reached a crucial stage in its historical development. The whole future history of Germany turned upon the election of a new ruler. There were two aspirants for the crown, Henry the Proud, the Welf Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, and Conrad of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia. The two competitors represented different and influential feudal families and feudal interests, different political theories and policies, even different geographical areas. The north, the east, and the southeast of Germany were pitted against the west and southwest. The sectional cleavage of Germany was as pronounced as its political divergences.

*Political
cleavage and
territorial
sectionalism*

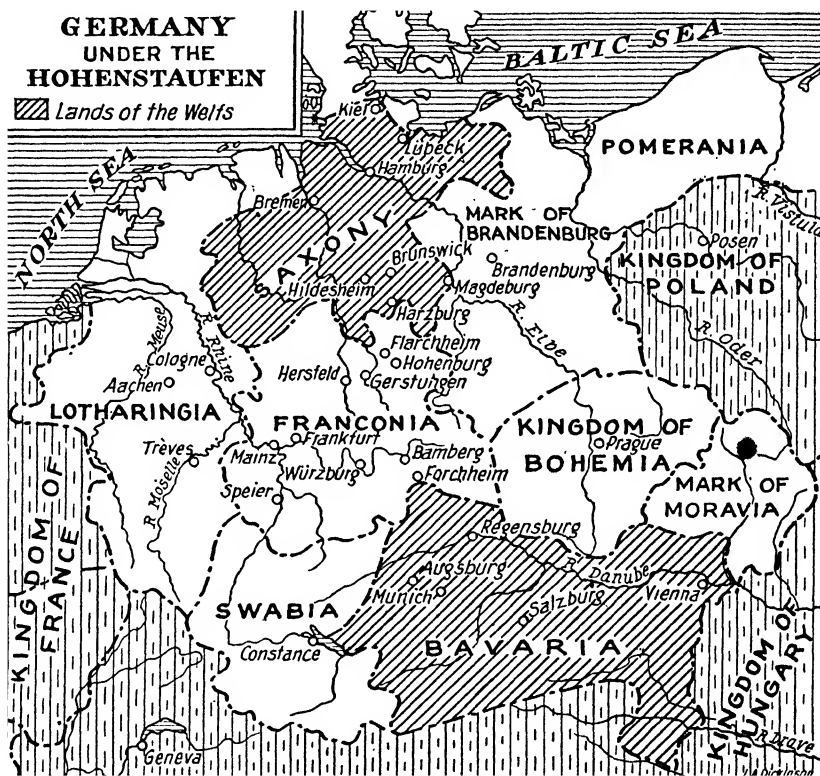
While fundamentally the ineradicable sectional nature of medieval German history must be found in the persistence of the ancient tribal spirit among the German peoples, which made them always inclined to think for themselves first as Saxons, Bavarians, Franks, or Swabians, the tendency towards sectionalism had been aggravated by the political course of the kings. Otto I had divided Lorraine into Upper and Lower Lorraine and cleft Saxony by giving Eastphalia, the territory between the Weser and the Elbe, to Hermann Billung, retaining Westphalia as crown land and permitting the ducal title to be attached to the Billunger portion. Otto II in 983, when Henry the Wrangler of Bavaria rebelled, cut off the Bavarian Nordgau, or North County, north of the Danube, and gave it to a cadet of the Austrian Babenberger house. The long struggle between the emperors and the popes and between the emperors and the rebellious German feudality in the time of Henry IV and Henry V had accelerated this process of territorial cleavage. Every duchy tended to decompose into lesser territorial principalities. In 1097 the Swiss portion of Swabia broke away under a local count of Zürich who styled himself duke of Zähringen; and shortly afterwards the Black Forest region followed suit under a self-styled "margrave" of Baden. In the reign of Lothaire II the landgrave of Thuringia and the landgrave of Lower Alsace appear.

The cleavage extended downwards into the ranks of the lower feudality. In Swabia we find the counts of Württemberg, Tübingen, Fürstenberg, and Hohenlohe becoming half-independent in the twelfth century. In Bavaria the count palatine, the burgrave of Regensburg and the burgrave of Nuremberg, a remote ancestor of the future house of Hohenzollern, arise; in Franconia emerges another count palatine. In the Low

Countries the county of Brabant broke away from the duchy of Lower Lorraine.

Feudal aspirations of the German bishops

But the German bishops must not be omitted from this upgrowth of the *Landeshoheit* or high feudality. Since Saxon times the bishops had always enjoyed political power and by the twelfth century were graduating into the status of prince-bishops. As early as 1137 we find a German bishop referring to his diocese as "our" territory (*terra nostra*). In the ensuing years every archbishop and bishop in Germany raised his head and



declared and decreed his temporal sovereignty in and over his diocese. In a less degree the abbots did likewise, but few abbeys except the greatest, like Fulda, Hersfeld, Reichenau, Heiligenkreuz, were able to acquire any large feudal independence.

Candidacy of Henry the Proud

Thus the election of 1139 engaged the keen interest of a greater proportion of the German feudality than ever before in German history. Every noble in the kingdom, lay or clerical, was a Welf or a Hohenstaufen partisan. In order to assure the election of his son-in-law and the continuation of the Saxon-Guelph policy Lothaire II had so strengthened the power of Henry the Proud that it excited the envy and alarm of this great baron-

age, which saw, if Henry were to become king and add his enormous house-power to the power and prerogatives of the crown, that the kingship would become so strong that their masterful independence would not be able to stand against it. His rival cleverly capitalized this fear and the feudal envy of Henry's riches. The word went around that if the feudality would elect Conrad, it might share in the spoliation of the Guelf possessions. *Jealousy of the great nobles*

No sooner was Conrad III elected than a packed diet at Würzburg passed a law making it illegal for a German duke to have more than one duchy. Although not mentioned in the act, it was obviously aimed at Henry the Proud, who was called upon to choose whether he would relinquish his father's duchy of Bavaria or his wife's duchy of Saxony. When he haughtily refused to do either, he was declared a rebel and deprived of both duchies. Civil war ensued, in which most of the feudality supported the King in expectation of getting portions of the confiscated dukedoms. Bavaria was given to Leopold of Austria,¹ and when he died, in 1142, passed to his brother Henry Jasomirgott (so called because of his favorite expletive: "*Ja, so mir Gott hilfe*—Yes, so may God help me"), while Saxony was promised to Albrecht the Bear of Ballenstädt. But the loyalty of the Saxon people, nobles and freemen, to the memory and the house of Lothaire II prevented Albrecht from ever being able to acquire Saxony, and he was finally compensated with the margraviate of Brandenburg instead. Thus war broke out simultaneously in Saxony and Bavaria, the two Welf duchies, and from the latter was soon extended into Swabia, the ancestral home of the Hohenstaufen. At the famous siege of the castle of Weinsburg the cries of the combatants for "Welf" or "Waiblingen," the name of the little Swabian village where Frederick was born, became veritable party names. In the midst of the strife Henry the Proud died. The war was carried on for his infant son Henry, afterwards known as "the Lion," by the boy's uncle Welf, until 1142, when it was terminated by compromise. Saxony was restored to Henry the Lion upon condition that the Guelfs renounced their claim to Bavaria and recognized the independence of both Brandenburg and Austria. Bavaria remained in the hands of Henry Jasomirgott, already possessed of Austria, who now married Gertrude, Henry the Proud's widow, thus fragily cementing the rival factions. This compromise was intended to placate the Guelfs. But the future was to show how precarious such settlement was. Thus feudal sectionalism triumphed. *Conrad III (1139-52)*
Spoliation of the Guelfs
Outbreak of civil war
Compromises

The war gave birth for the first time to real political parties in Germany. The Guelf party contended for preservation of the ancient rights of

¹ Leopold IV of Austria was brother-in-law to Conrad III, his father (Leopold III) having married Agnes, sister of the late Emperor Henry V and widow of Frederick of Hohenstaufen.

*Origin of
Guelf and
Ghibelline
parties*

the duchies and the maintenance of their territorial integrity against the policy of the Hohenstaufen or Ghibelline¹ party, whose policy was to destroy the unity of the great duchies and build up its power upon many nobles of less degree rather than upon a few great nobles of high degree.

For the time being, the sole disgruntled partisan was Welf, who in default of the succession of Henry the Lion to Bavaria claimed it for himself, and for that prize maintained for ten years his position in rebellion against the emperor with the aid of subsidies from Roger of Sicily, who in this way avenged himself upon the Empire for the loss of Apulia. In retaliation Conrad III allied himself with Manuel, the Byzantine Emperor, perhaps with the intention of making a campaign into Italy. But the Second Crusade diverted him from this project.

*Conrad III
goes on
Second
Crusade
(1147)*

It was a precarious and unstable compromise that Conrad III instituted in order that he might be free to go upon the Second Crusade in 1147, upon which he was accompanied by his brilliant nephew, the future Frederick Barbarossa, Welf VI, and Henry Jasomirgott, but lately bitter rivals for Bavaria, and Otto, Bishop of Friesing, the most illustrious German historian of the Middle Ages. While Conrad III dallied in the East, however, Frederick returned before his uncle, being apprehensive of the conduct of Welf VI, who had early quitted the expedition. His fear was justified, for he found the Guelf partisans on the verge of another rebellion, which his adroitness managed to stem until the arrival of his uncle.

*Election of
Frederick I,
Barbarossa
(1152-90)*

Conrad III returned from the East ill unto death. The Guelfs stayed their rebellious hand, awaiting the King's death in order to elect their candidate. Their procrastination was fatal to their intention. Aware of the precarious political situation, Conrad III passed over his minor son, Frederick of Rothenburg, and recommended — almost designated — his nephew to succeed him. On March 5, 1152 the assembly of electors at Frankfurt elected Frederick I king.

*Frederick's
character*

Frederick Barbarossa (1152-90) was destined to be the most brilliant sovereign of the feudal age. His nearest rival in this eminence was his contemporary Henry II (Plantagenet) of England. Frederick I made more, and more important, history than any monarch of his time. Physically he was every inch a king. He was thirty years old, of middle height and well-knit frame, with piercing blue eyes and ruddy color, red-haired and red-bearded, an expert horseman and a trained warrior, at home in court or camp or in the saddle, keenly intelligent, with a taste for literature, fond of reading Latin chronicles, an eloquent speaker, generous and jovial in moments of leisure, but with a high sense of dignity, stern to the point

¹ "Ghibelline" is the Italian, then the French, and then the English form of the German word Waiblingen when the conflict was transferred to Italy during the reign of Frederick I (Barbarossa).

of cruelty in matters of justice, proud without being arrogant, quick to terrible wrath, prompt of resolution and swift of action, soldier, ruler, and statesman — such was Frederick Barbarossa. His faults were the excesses of his virtues. Vice and weakness were not in him. It adds to the dramatic nature of his reign that he was cousin to his greatest vassal and noblest antagonist, Henry the Lion. For Frederick was a son of that Frederick, Duke of Swabia, Conrad III's brother, and of Judith the Welf, daughter of Henry the Black and sister of Henry the Proud. He belonged, therefore, to the two most powerful families of Germany, the Hohenstaufen and the Guelfs.

Frederick's first interest was to extinguish the ashes of the recent feud, to pacify Germany, placate foes and rivals, and at the same time build up a Hohenstaufen political machine in Germany composed of partisans whose loyalty he purchased. His internal policy was one of counterpoise and establishing a balance of power; or, to change the figure, while he dealt out many high cards, he retained a preponderance of trump cards in his own hand. He played his game boldly and with wonderful dexterity. The pacification of Henry the Lion and the Guelfs was the most urgent need, for the jointure of Bavaria and Austria in the hands of Henry Jasomirgott was resented by them.

*Temporary
pacification
of the
Guelfs*

Accordingly, in 1156 Frederick, whose eyes were fixed on Italy, restored Bavaria also to Henry the Lion and conceded almost sovereign powers to him in both the duchies — "royal powers of ecclesiastical investitures in Saxon lands, and in lands conquered from the Wends, free powers to dispose of new acquisitions from the heathen Slavs. . . . So long as the Saxon duke attends imperial assemblies, contributes to imperial armies, he may govern Saxony as he pleases. By a kind of informal understanding the north of Germany is given over to Henry the Lion, while Frederick confines his attention to the south."¹ As for the margraviate of Austria, it was liberated from feudal vassalage to Bavaria and erected into an hereditary duchy for the Babenbergers. Henceforth the duke of Austria was an almost independent ruler, for he was released from the duty of attendance upon the diets and was not obliged to do military service for the crown unless war touched his own frontiers. The trend of German sectionalism was moving fast and far.

*Restoration of
Bavaria*

Austria

At the same time Welf VI was placated in Italy by gift of the margraviate of Tuscany, which had been largely formed out of the former lands of the Countess Matilda and the duchy of Spoleto — to the chagrin of the Pope. As to Albrecht the Bear, the powerful Margrave of Brandenburg and bitter foe of Henry the Lion, he was further placated by grant of the right to control all the bishoprics in the Wendish lands, a renunciation tantamount to royal disposal of the last vestige of crown authority

Italy

¹ FISHER, *op. cit.*, I, 140.

east of the Elbe. For already Henry the Lion exercised similar ecclesiastical authority in Mecklenburg, the Wendish lands of Saxony. At the same time, to counterweigh against these sacrifices, Frederick I transferred the duchy of Swabia to his young nephew, the son of Conrad III, adding thereto the former Salian possessions in Franconia, which he had inherited from his father, and made his own brother Conrad count palatine of the Rhine.

*Power of the
Zähringer
house*

Thus having reconciled the Guelfs and consolidated the Hohenstaufen family territories, Frederick I set himself to make peace with the powerful house of Zähringen, the dangerous rivals of the Hohenstaufen in Swabia, with whom Conrad III had waged a bitter struggle. He restored to Berthold IV the fiefs of which he had been deprived, and engaged to give him also Upper Burgundy and Provence—French fiefs of the ancient kingdom of the Two Burgundies which Conrad II had acquired in 1032—which were to be taken from William, Count of Mâcon and Vienne, and from Berenger, the Marquis of Barcelona. In return Berthold pledged himself to furnish Frederick with a thousand lances in Germany and five hundred in Italy.

*Shrewd but
cynical
politics*

The cynical nature of this political "deal" shocked the political thought of the twelfth century; for, in spite of the violence of the age, most feudal wars had at least a semblance of legal coloring. The evidence that Frederick found that he had gone too far in a policy of brutal territorial spoliation is seen in the speedy and flimsy modification of this arrangement. Under intimidation Count William "liberated" his niece Beatrice, the heiress of Upper Burgundy, from his wardship, while Frederick I repudiated his wife, Adelaide of Vohburg, and married the beautiful Burgundian, thus acquiring effective territorial power in the valley of the Rhone. He also strengthened his kingship in the kingdom of the Two Burgundies, the authority of which had been seriously sapped during the struggle over investiture. As for Berthold of Zähringen, he was indemnified for his disappointment in not securing these territories by the advowson of the bishoprics of Lausanne, Geneva, and Sion and the gift of the fiefs of the Burgundian crown in the Alps. Thus the Zähringen power formed a veritable state in what is today Switzerland. Again, as in Saxony, Bavaria, Austria, and Brandenburg, sectionalism, feudal and dynastic particularism, had triumphed over German unity and centralized royal authority. It was a perilous game that Frederick played in thus sacrificing the reality of power in order to retain possession of an illusory superiority by a delicate manipulation of political weights and balances. For in time other princes were not slow to demand similar grants of territory and privileges. We shall find that by the end of the Hohenstaufen epoch the German crown was stripped of almost all its powers and prerogatives.

Frederick Barbarossa's intense anxiety to pacify Germany, even at the expense of these enormous and compromising sacrifices, was due to his imperial ambition—in a word, to his political designs in Italy. To sate this ambition he was willing to go to any length. To perpetuate the union of Bavaria with Saxony was a blunder; he made bad worse by making Austria an exceptionally privileged duchy, "and gave a precedent for promiscuous claims of the *Landeshoheit* on the part of the princes."

*Frederick's
ambition
and errors*

The twelfth century was an age of developmental revolution in many things, and not least in political theory. The Holy Roman Empire had always represented a great historical tradition and a great political theory, but both its historical circumstance and its political theory submitted to changes which were reflections of the historical changes of Europe during the centuries from Charlemagne to Frederick Barbarossa. In the time of the former, while the germs of feudalism existed, the polity of Europe was not yet feudalized, and the papacy was not yet a papal monarchy. In the ninth and tenth centuries under the centrifugal influence of feudalism the medieval Empire was nearly dissolved. When Otto I revived it in 962, the Empire as a political force had become reduced to nothing; even the theory of it was as tenuous as the dream of the shadow of smoke. The second restoration restored the Holy Roman Empire as a polity in Germany and Italy; but unlike the Carolingian Empire it possessed only theoretical sway over the rest of western Europe. It had ceased to be, as formerly, conterminous with the boundaries of the Latin Church. And yet, as Bryce says, "if the revived Romano-Germanic Empire was less splendid than the Empire of the West had been under Charles, it was, within narrower limits, firmer and more lasting." This new quality was largely due to the wise and efficient organization of feudal government by the Saxon emperors. Hence the medieval Empire in the tenth and eleventh centuries partook of the new nature of government and institutions in Europe. Moreover, in addition to this large feudal ingredient in the Ottonian Empire, as we have seen, the Saxon rulers made very large use of the episcopate in their government, so that the imperial administrative system was a compound of ecclesiastical and secular authority and powers.

*Theory of the
medieval
Empire*

As long as the Church remained a docile instrument of the emperor, this combination made for efficiency. But when the monarchical papacy, imbued with Hildebrandine ideals, arose, the Church not only endeavored to free itself from the dominion of the State—it labored to subordinate the State to the Church. Hence ensued the clash between Henry IV and Gregory VII. The Concordat of Worms in 1122 temporarily composed the differences, but merely postponed or glossed the issue. It was a specious and fragile compromise. The reign of Frederick I saw the renewal of the

ancient struggle (but renewal along somewhat different lines) and the entrance of new theories and factors into the controversy.

*Feudal ideas
of both pope
and emperor*

In the twelfth century feudalism reached its full stature as a form of government in medieval Europe, and both pope and emperor deduced a vaster prerogative than ever before from its working. Gregory VII, it is true, had asserted the paramount lordship of the pope over the kings of Europe and endeavored to make them his vassals. At the same time he had tried to convert the bishop's office into that of a homager to the papacy. But in the eleventh century feudal ideas had not developed so far as to make the design practicable; the Pope failed of his purpose, for kings and bishops alike repudiated the doctrine. But as feudalism more and more became the political philosophy and the established form of government, it became possible for the popes again to assert and ultimately victoriously to establish the paramount lordship of the papacy over the rulers and states of Europe. In a word, before the end of the twelfth century the papal monarchy became a super-monarchy. It was Hadrian IV, as we shall see, who revived the theory that his successors Alexander III and Innocent III translated into power, although the pinnacle of papal supremacy was not attained during the reign of Frederick I. But the antagonism between Frederick I and Hadrian IV precipitated the new conflict, which culminated in the triumph of Innocent III (1198-1216).

*Revived
study of
Roman law*

In similar manner also the revived study of Roman law in the twelfth century became an armory from which the papacy derived new sanctions. The papacy was historically a Roman institution; Rome was the seat of its power. The Church in administrative institutions and structural form was not only strikingly similar to the old Roman Empire — in many ways it was the old Roman Empire clothed in a different attire. It was this double circumstance that had induced the popes to claim that they and not the emperors were the true successors of the Cæsars, and that the Church was descendant of the ancient Christian Roman Empire. To such a doctrine and such a polity the revived study of the Roman law gave new strength. The papacy became imperialized in its political thinking and its political practice as never before.

*Grandiose
imperial
theories of
Frederick I*

But the vigor of the feudal ideas of the time and the new vitality imparted by revived study of the Roman law also profoundly influenced the mind of Frederick I. He, too, found new potencies in feudalism and drew new sanctions for imperial prerogative from the wells of Roman law. The Emperor's conception of the nature and duties of his office became at once more intensely feudal and more intensely Roman. In one breath we find Frederick Barbarossa claiming direct rule over Germany and Italy and asserting the vassalage of the "backward" border nations — Bohemians, Hungarians, Poles — and even boasting of his suzerainty over the kings of France and England, and in another breath haughtily calling himself

Divus Augustus, reminding the bishops of "the example of Constantine, Valentinian, and Justinian, my predecessors," and even dating his imperial prerogative, not from Cæsar and Augustus, but from Romulus. "The mightiest expression that the feudal idea found for itself . . . came out in the struggle between Empire and Papacy, both of which dreamed of a consummation in which the entire world was to become an immense feudal system, and so intimately enwove themselves into the dream that, with the decay of feudalism, both together fell from their height."¹

The Hohenstaufen concept of the nature of the medieval Empire, therefore, was a new one in European history, with implications of sovereignty unknown before. The utterances have a singularly modern ring. The German chroniclers of the twelfth century, imbued with Hohenstaufen ideas, regarded the Poles, the Bohemians, the Magyars, even the Italians, much as Americans regard the Caribbean nations or the British the brown and yellow and black peoples of their Eastern dominions. The new imperial attitude rasped the pride of the French and incensed the Slavonic and Magyar peoples, but to the Italians it was especially odious. Italy, with Rome, had been the source and seat of empire when the Germans were but barbarians and Germany a wilderness of forest and moor.

Never tractable under German domination, Italy in the twelfth century became fiercely hostile to the German rule in the peninsula, and the secular feeling struck hands with the papal resistance to the Hohenstaufen. The area of acutest anti-German sentiment was Lombardy, in which by the twelfth century a profound political, economic, and social revolution had taken place, owing to the remarkable development of town life in Lombardy.

Spirit of independence in Lombardy

The rise of the Lombard cities in the twelfth century to such power and affluence that they not only dared to defy, but succeeded in defeating the Emperor is one of the most important historical events of the Middle Ages, and an inquiry into the nature and causes of this movement will prove of interest. Although free municipal life had perished in Italy as elsewhere in western Europe during the Dark Ages and not a vestige of former Roman municipal institutions survived the barbarian invasions, nevertheless the urban spirit in northern Italy had always been vigorous even under feudalism, though all townsmen were of servile condition and the towns but denser agglomerations of population in the fiefs of the great feudatories, of whom many were bishops. This spirit was hardened in the tenth century when, owing to the prodigious raids of the Magyars, the towns were walled. Greater security bred greater courage. Moreover, merchants and craftsmen increasingly flocked into the towns, whose prosperity increased with numbers of people and volume of trade.

Rise of Lombard cities

This trade was not so much of local origin and local dimension as

¹ SPENGLER, *op. cit.*, II, 373.

*Influence of
commerce on
development
of town life*

foreign. It was a trade in Levantine imports — silk and other fine textiles, spices and condiments, drugs, rare dyes, and precious stones out of the immemorial East through the ports of Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople. This commerce was as old as antiquity, but had dwindled to a thin stream in the centuries following upon the decline of the Roman Empire. In the ninth and tenth centuries it had again begun to increase and flowed chiefly along two lines: from Constantinople across the Black Sea and the rivers of central Russia (the Varangian route) to the Baltic, whence the wares were spread over the whole North;¹ and from Alexandria, with which vast emporium Venice early had established trade relations. But in the eleventh century the Varangian route was jeopardized and often cut by the formidable Tartarized hordes of the Petchenegs and Pazniaks. This was of advantage to Venice, which now began also actively to trade with Constantinople. But the new eastern Germany was far from being so rich a market as old western Germany, and Venice was not so advantageously placed with reference to the Alpine passes as the cities in the Lombard plain. Hence, while Venetian merchants were the chief Italian importers of Oriental wares, the Lombard merchants became the most important middlemen in the distribution of them. Verona almost monopolized control of the Brenner Pass, Pavia the Great and the Little St. Bernard. But Milan, owing to its central situation in the Lombard plain, was most advantageously situated of all. For a half-dozen important passes — notably the Simplon, the Splügen, and later the St. Gotthard (which was not opened until the thirteenth century) converged upon her. Milan was the geometrical center of the great arc of a circle formed by the western and northern Alps, whose mighty peaks were cleft by the passes, the routes through which terminated within her walls. To these passes Milan held the key.

*Importance
of Alpine
passes*

*Appearance of
burgher class
in Lombard
cities*

When the twelfth century opened, these Lombard towns, almost without exception, had emancipated themselves from their ecclesiastical or other feudal overlord and become self-governing urban communities of burghers — merchants and artisans, managing their own local affairs in a *de facto* capacity. For the feudality regarded them merely as rebellious groups of servile traders and craftsmen. "It has come to pass," recorded Otto of Freising, the German historian of the period, "that almost the whole country is ruled by these cities, each of which compels the inhabitants in the villages of the plain round about to submit to her sway." The Hildebrandine movement had loosened imperial control of the bishops; the communal revolution destroyed their political power. The bishops in the episcopal cities were shorn of their political powers by the burghers;

¹ This huge detour was made necessary by the fact that the Danube route was closed by the Avars in the seventh and eighth centuries, and after their destruction by the Hungarians.

the nobles who had formerly dwelt in the country and lorded it over their lands from their frowning castles, saw their *châteaux* stormed by the militia of the towns and themselves compelled to come and live within the walls, where they ate their hearts out in impotent rage. The bishop of Asti and the marquis of Montferrat in the Piedmont were the only feudal nobles who managed to keep themselves independent of the cities. The Saxon emperors had destroyed the separate Italian kingship. The Salian emperors, in the war over investiture, had acquired control of the Italian episcopate and so had held Italy captive. The Hohenstaufen endeavored to crush the communal and burgher life in Lombardy and Tuscany. Each policy represents a stage in the history of German rule in Italy, but there is a close connection between the three phases and the three policies.

It was this new and to him wholly abnormal political and social condition in Lombard Italy that in 1154 attracted Frederick I's interest. Nobles and serfs he knew, but this breed of burghers risen up out of serfdom, asserting and exercising "rights" of urban self-government, claiming to be politically and socially free, was utterly repugnant to him. He was too feudal to understand, too conservative to discern that feudalism was beginning to be modified by new and powerful genetic developments. He did not understand the civilization of that country, in which he was the most brilliant but the most unstatesmanlike ruler. "He came to his imperial duties without any exact knowledge of the difficulties which awaited him, and without any guiding principles beyond those which were afforded by the code of knightly honor and the romantic legends of the empire. To do justice, to keep troth, to humble the rebellious, to protect the weak, to honor the church, were honorable ambitions, but insufficient rules for the guidance of a statesman."¹)

*Frederick I's
hostility to
Lombard
cities*

While the urban revolution in Lombardy was everywhere the same in its nature and object, it had had no unity. The cities had never acted in unison towards a common end. Each city fought for and wrought out its own freedom in its own way. The competition between them for the lucrative transalpine commerce was so keen that no town would help another. Indeed, they warred against each other in order to destroy their competitors. Milan in particular followed out this aggressive policy. By the first quarter of the twelfth century the strife was so general and so fierce between Milan and Pavia that we find most of the towns aligned with one or the other of these two cities, and a Milanese and a Pavian city-league in actual existence. Brescia, Crema, Modena, Parma, and Tortona supported Milan; Asti, Cremona (a fierce enemy of Crema), Lodi, Novara, Piacenza, and Reggio adhered to Pavia. In 1111 Milan utterly destroyed Lodi. "Lombardy was a battle-ground of communes, a network of city leagues."

*Intense rivalry
between the
cities*

¹ H. C. W. DAVIS, *English Historical Review*, XXIV, 770 (a review).

*Great social
and political
experiment of
the Lombard
cities*

Neither Lothaire II when in Italy nor Conrad III ever ventured to interfere to repress this strife. Italian hatred of the Germans was widespread and intense and they had no mind to aggravate this condition and further to embarrass the always difficult German rule in Italy. One must, however, be lenient in judging this "Italian anarchy." While superficially it may seem that the Lombards were incapable of governing themselves, it must be remembered that these burghers, newly risen out of a servile condition, had everything to learn of law and government. They were making the huge experiment of devising a working urban polity, for which they had no precedent and no experience.

*Tyranny
of Milan*

The immediate occasion of Frederick's intervention was Milan's violence towards Lodi, which she had once before destroyed, and Como. When he crossed the Alps and established his camp at Roncaglia near Piacenza, the "consuls" of these two oppressed towns and of Pavia and Cremona implored his protection. But the Milanese boldly defied him.

*Spread of the
Communal
Spirit in Italy*

There was, however, another factor that influenced Frederick's intervention in Italy. Nine years before this time, in 1144, the communal revolution had spread to Rome, and the Pope had been expelled from the Eternal City by his rebellious subjects, who set up a communal government of their own in defiance of the temporal power of the papacy. This revolution in Rome was a far more significant movement than the "republican" revolution instigated by Alberigo in the tenth century or the short-lived municipality established by Crescentius in the time of Pope Sylvester II. The former movements had soon perished, for they had been born out of due time, two centuries in advance of the general awakening of town life in Italy. But the revolution in Rome in 1144 was the result of an extension of the communal movement in Lombardy to the States of the Church. It was not an isolated flash in the pan, but a part of the general phenomenon.

*Arnold of
Brescia*

Moreover, the Roman revolution had a leader of different mettle from Alberigo and Crescentius. Arnold of Brescia was one of the many magical men of the throbbing, active, imaginative twelfth century, an understanding of whose career is of both interest and importance, for the yeast of various previous popular manifestations was in the revolution that he propagated. The lower classes in Lombardy, as we have seen before, had intuitively felt rather than perceived that the quarrel over investiture was an attack upon the secular and ecclesiastical feudal system, and they impetuously embraced the papal cause, to which also the radical religious and socio-economic Patarins had contributed. The result was that the Lombard burgher movement was infected by the lower classes with crude and disordered popular ideas of social and property rights, infused with religious passion and covered with a thin veil of philosophic sophistry.

Arnold of Brescia was a greater man than his followers, however, and

his clear, if radical, teaching is not open to the impeachment of having been a compound of crude and half-baked ideas. Born in Brescia in Lombardy and become a priest, Arnold breathed the revolutionary air of his native place and he began to preach the doctrines of political liberty and equality of the lower classes as a social gospel. His special object of attack was the temporal power of the clergy, whom he wished to have stripped of all feudal powers and privileges and reduced to live upon tithes alone. Even the pope was not to be exempted from this deprivation; for Arnold declared that secularization of the States of the Church was a necessity of the time. In short, Arnold of Brescia advocated what Pascal II had timidly admitted in 1111: the separation of Church and State and a return of the Church to its ancient spiritual condition in apostolic times, when the clergy were priests, but not rulers.

Arnold was condemned in 1139 by the Lateran Council and banished from Italy. Driven out of Brescia, he journeyed to Paris, where he found the condemnation had given him celebrity, and there became the friend of Abélard, the most radical mind of the age and the most dangerous foe of the Church. "Abélard the philosophic and Arnold the political heretic stood on the common platform of the independence of the burgher class," and the separation of Church and State. In France, like Abélard, Arnold encountered the bitter and victorious opposition of Bernard of Clairvaux, the most influential churchman in Europe and an utter "fundamentalist" in his thinking, whether in religion or in politics. A fugitive once more, Arnold found refuge in Zürich. The irony of fate for a short season gave him a supporter in Pope Celestine II (1143-4), the enlightened Cardinal Guido, whom he had met as a student in Paris. But his pontificate lasted for only five months. The new Pope, Lucius II (1144-5) had been a protégé of Innocent II, who himself had been a creature of St. Bernard.

The republican revolution flashed out in Rome in 1144, where the commonalty and lesser nobles rebelled against the Pope and the high nobles, who were not slow to perceive that with the overthrow of the political authority of the papacy their fiefs would revert to the commune. The great nobles thus formed a sort of Guelf party, in alliance with the Pope and against the populace, and fortified themselves in new castles within the very city. Thus the Frangipani engrossed the half-ruined Circus Maximus within the boundaries of their fortress on the Palatine, no less a structure than the ancient Septizonium, erected by Septimius Severus, besides which they castellated the Coliseum and the arches of Titus and Constantine. These towering feudal keeps must have lent a picturesque but formidable effect to the sky-line of Rome, rivaling the altitude of the numberless bell-towers and church domes.

*Communal
revolution
in Rome
(1144)*

Nevertheless, the victorious revolutionary commune established its government, instituted a "senate" and local civic officials under a

*Flight of
Eugene III*
(1147)*

"*patricius*" or mayor, proclaimed the pope deprived of his temporal power, and declared that henceforth he must live on tithes or on a subsidy of the State. In vain Lucius II appealed to Conrad III for help. Rome was filled with tumult, and in February 1145 the Pope was killed by a stone hurled at him when leading an assault of papal troops upon the Capitoline Hill, which was the seat of the new commune. In the midst of this uproar Eugene III was elected pope. The movement soon spread to lesser towns in the Papal States — Narni, Orvieto, Nepi, and Tivoli — which imitated Rome and expelled the Pope's governors in them. Frightened by the movement, Eugene III temporized by recognizing the new commune, but the concession failed to abate the turbulence. In 1147 the Pope fled to France, the asylum of so many previous papal exiles during the war of investiture. In the meantime civil war prevailed in Rome and its environs, where the faction of the nobles warred against the populace and began to seize the patrimonies of the Church.

*Arnold of
Brescia in
Rome*

At this critical juncture the fiery Arnold of Brescia again appeared in Rome, clad in monastic habit, emaciated by fasting, his frail ascetic body consumed with the flaming, fanatical zeal in his heart, and harangued the populace like an ancient tribune of the people, inveighing against the hierarchy, scorching the high clergy for their avarice, vice, and corruption, dwelling with eloquent fervor on the ancient republican glories of Rome before there was an emperor or a pope. Just as the lower ranks of the nobility in Rome had espoused the revolution, so now, when the Pope was away, the inferior order of the clergy laid hold of the democratic idea of the equality of the priesthood and the injustice of a hierarchical clergy. Gregory VII would have viewed with dismay this result of his struggle in the eleventh century for the emancipation of the clergy.

*Conrad III
refuses to
interfere*

In 1149 Eugene III timidly returned to his rebellious principality, but to Tusculum, not to Rome, in hope that Conrad III might come into Italy and restore him. But that cautious ruler cannily refused to be compromised with Italian affairs, and the Pope soon found himself once more a wanderer; while the Romans, disappointed in their expectation of German support, entered into negotiation with the Byzantine Emperor, after overtures for assistance to King Roger of Sicily had failed. But no help came to them from either of these quarters. And so time dragged on until the procrastinating or cautious Conrad III died, in 1152, and his impetuous nephew succeeded him. But even then some years had to elapse, as we have seen; for Frederick Barbarossa was not so rash as to enter Italy before he had composed the rancors existing in Germany, and this era of good feeling was not reached until two more years had passed.

In the meantime King and Pope concerted a plan of operation — the so-called treaty of Constance — in 1153, with reference to policies in Italy.

The Pope was an exile and wanted to be returned to his revolted city; Roger of Sicily threatened the papal territory with invasion; the Greek Emperor was ambitious to recover the former Greek provinces in Lower Italy. On the other hand, Frederick wanted to be crowned emperor and was ambitious to conquer Norman Italy. But neither party to the instrument trusted the other. Frederick feared that the Pope, in order to block his designs of conquest in the south, would make terms with the Byzantine ruler and facilitate his efforts to get a foothold again in Apulia. The Pope undoubtedly outwitted Frederick in this document, for nothing was said in it as to who owned or might own Sicily and Lower Italy, nor was it stipulated that the Pope might not make terms with the Normans without Frederick's consent. There were seeds of future friction in the treaty.

*Political
treaty between
Frederick I
and the
Pope*

Thus it befell that in 1154 Frederick I crossed the Alps into Italy with a purpose — to crush the Lombard communes, to re-establish the papacy, and to conquer Lower Italy and Sicily. He could no more tolerate a Roman commune than a Lombard commune, and, moreover, the restoration of the pope was necessary to Frederick's ambition to be crowned emperor. No time was to be lost, for the Romans threatened to repudiate the German emperor and to set up an Italian emperor in his room, although it is difficult to surmise who that ruler might have been. Roger of Sicily was anathema to the Church because of his recent support of the schismatic Pope Anacletus II; and he was feared and hated by all central and northern Italy, and still too powerful to brook the election of any other Italian prince than himself.

*Frederick I's
first Italian
campaign
(1154)*

Yet the tension in Rome was destined shortly to be broken. Eugene III died in 1153 and was succeeded by the aged Anastasius IV, whose inactive pontificate lasted but eighteen months. Then things changed when the able and energetic Cardinal Nicholas Breakspere, an Englishman and Cardinal of Albano, returned from Norway, whither he had been sent to order the affairs of the Scandinavian Church and was unanimously elected pope (December 5, 1154).

The only Englishman who has ever sat in the chair of the Fisherman was of bold mind, a doughty fighter for papal rights; he joined battle at once with the Roman revolutionary communal senate by laying Rome under interdict and anathematizing Arnold of Brescia. Although locally employed before by a few bishops, especially in France, to sustain the Truce of God, that species of religious starvation known as the interdict had not before been used by any pope. It was far more formidable than excommunication, for it stopped the performance of all religious services and suspended administration of the sacraments except baptism and extreme unction. The ingenuity of this spiritual weapon was as great as its penetration as a missile, since the effect was to condemn the people *en masse*, the innocent with the guilty, to perdition. After four weeks of sullen obstinacy,

*Hadrian IV
(1154-9)
and his strife
with the
Roman
commune*

*Arnold
driven
out*

frightened by the lamentation, the leaders of the commune with one accord prostrated themselves before Hadrian IV and prayed for mercy. The haughty pontiff, who knew when to take away and when to give, consented to cancel the interdict on condition that Arnold of Brescia was banished. For the third time the heroic revolutionary was a wanderer and a fugitive.

*First contact
of Frederick
with
Lombard
cities*

It now behooves us to return to Frederick Barbarossa, whom we left in his military encampment at Roncaglia with the suppliant consuls of Como and other towns and the no less defiant consuls of Milan before him. The indignant German King opened hostilities against the cities of the Milanese League at once, reducing Rosata, Chiesi, and Asti (the two latter had lately rebelled against the Count of Montferrat) and destroying Tortona. But he dared not yet attack Milan, for he knew that a protracted siege would be required and the situation in Rome for the moment gave him greater anxiety. So, having assumed the Lombard crown at Pavia (spring, 1155) Frederick hastened towards Rome. At Sutri he met Hadrian IV, into whose hands the luckless Arnold had fallen, and envoys of the Roman commune. Both parties sued for his support. He was polite, if cautious, to the former, but poured out the vials of his wrath upon the latter, who impertinently declared that they had come "to confer upon him" the imperial crown.

*Frederick
and the
Roman
commune*

The speech of the Roman envoys was a farrago of pomposity in which the new Roman Republic was represented as a rebirth of that of ancient Rome, with allusions to archaic institutions like consuls, senators, and prætors, and even to Jupiter, and concluded with a demand for the payment of five thousand pounds of silver to the Roman communal government for republican Rome's recognition of Frederick as emperor. This invitation to the proud, aristocratic Frederick to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor—for a fee—by a cluster of rebellious burghers sprung from serfdom was too much for him. He burst into a furious speech, the effect of which was hardly impaired owing to the fact that he spoke in German and through an interpreter; for no one of the auditors could mistake the flashing eye, the haughty tone, the violent gestures. History, "sacred" and "profane," tradition, the Roman law, German military prowess, were rolled together in torrential invective.

*Stirrup
episode*

The Pope had too much need of Frederick, and Frederick too much need of the Pope, for either to disagree seriously. For the young King could be crowned emperor only by the Pope, and the Pope could not be restored to his rebellious city except by German arms. Yet for a while the relations between them were strained, since the Pope insisted upon Frederick's holding his stirrup, as Lothaire II had done before, and Frederick refused to do so lest it seem an acknowledgment of homage to the pope. This famous "stirrup episode" protracted negotiations for days. In the

end Frederick performed the act with comic haste, without yielding the principle. Indeed, the fiery speech he made to the Roman envoys was not lost on the Pope either.

At last the two sovereigns so singularly allied moved towards Rome, in which the Pope had managed to maintain himself in the so-called Leonine City, the inner city around St. Peter's and the Vatican, into which Frederick marched with his troops in battle array and was crowned emperor on June 18, 1155 in the great basilica. Hardly had the new Emperor returned to his camp in the Neronian Field when the furious Roman populace attacked the camp, and a fierce engagement ensued. Frederick rose from the coronation banquet to don his armor. The battle lasted until nightfall. The German victory was chiefly due to the prowess of Henry the Lion—an incident that rankled in the Emperor's heart.

*Frederick
crowned
emperor
(1155)*

Riot in Rome

On the following day the Germans broke camp and retired from the hostile city, and somewhere at some time in the turmoil Arnold of Brescia was put to death. We know neither the place of execution nor the time. Tradition relates that he was hanged, drawn, quartered, and burned, and that his ashes were cast into the Tiber. Thus perished "the boldest and the most disinterested of medieval reformers," one of the earliest and clearest of the voices that were raised from time to time throughout the Middle Ages against the fatal secularization of the Church by wealth and temporal authority, an idealist, a visionary with a flaming passion for purity and liberty, a preacher, a social prophet, at once a political and a spiritual martyr, and before St. Francis certainly the purest and noblest soul of the medieval age. It has been well said of Arnold of Brescia that "the first political heretic of the Middle Ages was the logical consequence of the quarrel for investitures. The struggle of the two powers and the transformation of the cities were the great practical phenomena which served him as a historical basis." The triumphant revolt of the Lombard cities against Frederick Barbarossa was to prove the justification of Arnold's mission and avenge his execution.

*Arnold of
Brescia
hanged*

In vain the Pope urged Frederick to undertake a campaign against King William of Sicily and Apulia, who had just succeeded his father, Roger. The German army was too exhausted by fever and reduced in numbers, and the German vassals, emboldened by Henry the Lion's counsel, refused to participate in such an enterprise. Instead Frederick senselessly reduced Spoleto to ashes as a defiance of William and made his return into Germany by way of Ancona and the Mark of Verona. Everywhere he met with sullen and sometimes not merely passive hostility from the inhabitants.

*Sullen con-
dition of
Italy*

In the meantime, his hopes of German aid against the Norman power in Lower Italy frustrated by the Emperor's departure, Hadrian IV opened negotiations with Manuel I, Comnenus of Constantinople, preferring to

Aggrandizement of kingdom of Norman Italy and Sicily

see the Greeks recover Apulia and Calabria, so long lost to them, rather than have the Normans in them. It was desperate and futile diplomacy, and in June 1156 the Pope — we may believe with a wry face — was compelled to grant the Norman investiture of Sicily, Apulia, Capua, Salerno, Naples, Amalfi, and the Abruzzi. But the discomfiture of the Pope was far less than the chagrin of the Hohenstaufen, who thus saw the bitter enemy of German domination in the peninsula in greater power than ever in the south. Thus the long struggle between the popes and the Norman kings ended. But the Emperor was deeply offended, for the treaty was made without his consent and ignored the imperial "claims" to the southern kingdom. Where there is smoke, there will soon be fire, and the fire was soon to blaze. Peace with the Roman commune followed upon this settlement. For by threats and the use of gold King William compelled the revolutionary government in Rome to come to terms with the Pope.

New conflict between pope and emperor impending

Frederick I's failure to understand events of the time

It was evident by 1156 that a new conflict between empire and papacy was impending — a conflict in which new factors, unknown to the former conflict, were to enter in. The chiefest of these factors was the Lombard cities, but the rising tide of hostility to the Germans everywhere in Italy was an ominous phenomenon. The basic antagonistic elements, however, were the rapidly growing monarchical mind of the papacy and the acutely absolutistic conception of imperial prerogative indulged by Frederick Barbarossa. In addition to these considerations it is to be observed that the terrain of the struggle was not now Germany, as it had been in the time of Henry IV and Gregory VII, but Italy, especially Lombardy. It is pitiable to see a ruler of Frederick I's brilliant ability so utterly unable to discern the real spirit of the age and to understand the real conditions of the time. He attacked the Pope and the Lombard cities with equal ferocity and equal futility; his ambition was devoted to the restoration of obsolete ideas and the realization of things that had entirely passed away.

"In his infatuation Frederick fondly imagined that he could divert the democratic current of the century back into the channel of the absolutism of Justinian. In the bitter conflict between the burgher class and the imperial power it was inevitable that the papacy would speedily ally itself with the burghers. The quarrel for investitures, the conception of feudal law which governs an entire age, was the connecting link between them. . . . The struggle of Frederick I with the Lombard cities was the second war of investitures, but a war with the burghers out of which the republics as well as the Church issued triumphant."¹

But it was even more than these things; it was a test of the integrity of the medieval Empire, of the validity of German rule in Italy, though we

¹ GREGOROVIVS, *op. cit.*, IV, ii, 556.

must not make the error of inferring that the Italians were actuated by any common cause greater than that of securing the independence of the communes. There was no sentiment of Italian nationality in the movement. Everywhere it was the spontaneous insurrection of local interest against the German domination. For the first time in history the right and power of the German kingship in Italy was formidably challenged, and the magnitude of the issue both enlarged and hardened Frederick's Italian policy.

Hitherto, ever since the imposition of the German yoke upon the peninsula in 962, the administration of the Italian provinces had been astonishingly casual except for the solicitude that the emperors had displayed to have German or pro-German bishops in Italian sees. During the whole period of the eleventh century there is not a single important administrative document of imperial emanation except Conrad II's constitution in 1037. Apparently no imperial commissioner ever received an instruction. The time that any German king spent south of the Alps was brief. In seventeen years of reign Henry III, the strongest of Frederick's predecessors, spent only sixty-four weeks in Italy. By the time when Frederick Barbarossa came to the throne, the German domination in Italy was nearly shot to pieces. "It was left for Frederick Barbarossa to make the German once more an active principle in Italian politics. In his reign there was almost a new German invasion of the country."¹ This whole swarm of officials, civil and military, was under the authority of the imperial legate in Italy — Frederick's other self when he was absent. No Roman proconsul ever enjoyed greater power and authority. The nearest modern analogue to him is the British viceroy of India. Two of these legates were among the ablest, the most brilliant administrators of the twelfth century, an age in which royal administration elsewhere also — in Sicily, France, England — developed high technique and many highly efficient officials. These were Rainald of Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne, and his successor, Christian, Archbishop of Mainz.

*Nature of the
German
Domination
in Italy*

"For eleven years, from his appointment in 1171 to his death in 1183, he was the emperor's legate in Italy, building imperial palaces, destroying disobedient towns, fighting hard in Lombardy, Tuscany, and the March, making treaties, obtaining revenues. Soldier, judge, ambassador, a great linguist, speaking, so it was said, with equal facility Latin and Greek, the Italian dialects, French and Walloon, Christian was singularly well fitted to deal with the complex situation in Italy. In all the great transactions of the Italian politics he plays a part only second to the emperor himself."²

Frederick I went further than any of his predecessors in Germanizing Italy.

¹ FISHER, *op. cit.*, II, 237.

² *Ibid.*, II, 239.

"The old policy of leaving the country to the care of the bishops was outworn and discarded, and except in the case of the sub-Alpine sees, where towns were still weak and bishops still strong, Frederick does not go out of his way to strengthen the hands of ecclesiastics. But in revenge he comes down into Italy with a large army of vassals, part of which is retained to manage the imperial property, to negotiate, to garrison castles, to administer, and to fight. Germans are sent all over Lombardy, Piedmont, Tuscany, and Romagna."¹

*Political
conditions
in Germany*

The fire was not long in breaking out. The spark was first flashed between Hohenstaufen flint and papal steel, and not between Frederick and the Lombard cities. But the Emperor was oblivious of the danger. For in Germany after his return from Italy he carried things with a high hand and an outstretched arm, imposing justice and suppressing private war with ferocious effectiveness. He seemed to be at the pinnacle of power. In the middle Rhine lands he found Arnold, Archbishop of Mainz, endeavoring to suppress the brigandage of robber barons of the region. Frederick punished them after the good old form of the customary law and made them walk for a mile along the public highway with a dead dog hung from their necks. Hermann, Count Palatine of the Rhine, was so overcome with this humiliation that he turned monk, and his office passed to the Emperor's brother, who founded Heidelberg. The last touch was given to the settlement of the long quarrel between Henry the Lion and Henry Jasomirgott. Austria was erected into an independent duchy with enormous privileges, and the Welf Duke recovered Bavaria. Of the ancient German duchies only Saxony and Bavaria by this time still retained their integrity, Swabia was largely partitioned between the Count Palatine of the Rhine and the powerful Zähringen. On the east the two new and powerful margraviates of Brandenburg and Austria outbalanced west Germany in power. The drift of German energy was towards the east, where tremendous expansion was made at the expense of the Slavonic border nations. Boleslav IV of Poland and Boleslav II of Bohemia humbly did homage when Frederick appeared in the territory between the Oder and the Vistula. The Danish King and even Henry II of England recognized the Emperor as their suzerain.

Then suddenly things began to happen. In October 1157 Frederick I was at Besançon, in Burgundy, where his court was thronged with envoys from England, France, Sicily, Spain, and Venice, when Roland Bandinelli, the papal chancellor, accompanied by a brilliant retinue, appeared bearing a letter from the Pope, protesting that the Emperor had suffered a Burgundian knight who had despoiled the Swedish Bishop of Lund to go unpunished. But this complaint was a mere pretext. The question of investiture of bishops, of the Matildan lands, of the recent peace made between the Pope and the King of Sicily, of the political

¹ FISHER, *op. cit.*, II. 237.

status of the city of Rome — indeed, of the supremacy of pope or emperor — all these burning questions were unexpressed but implied issues in the letter.

The scene at Besançon was dramatic and the event momentous. Frederick sat in the throne chair in the ample hall of the palace, flanked on either hand by high church dignitaries and great nobles, among them Otto of Wittelsbach. Into the imperial presence walked Roland, a figure of grace and dignity, clad in the reddish-purple robes of his imposing office. At ten paces from the throne he paused and made majestic salutation, but there was neither homage nor obeisance in the greeting. Between the Emperor and the papal envoy, at one side, stood Rainald of Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne, one of the Emperor's strongest and loyalest vassals, a fighting bishop if ever there was one, yet a man of learning and culture, speaking Latin and Italian with fluency. From his vestments Roland produced a papal parchment and slowly read its words with rhetorical modulation, giving full effectiveness to the sway and swing and cadence of the sentences — the prose rhythm of great papal documents — pausing at the end of each sentence while Rainald translated it into German. He read on, the auditors eager and tense. For there was thunder in the air, and lightning in the Emperor's eyes, and the impetuous Otto nervously fingered the hilt of his big two-handed sword. "Thou shouldst not forget, most glorious son," were the Pope's words, "how graciously the Holy Roman Church lately *conferred* upon thee the imperial crown. . . . Nay, we should rejoice to confer even greater benefits (*beneficia*), upon thee; if that were possible." Roland got no further. With a cry, "Haro!" Otto of Wittelsbach whipped out his sword and made a lunge at the papal envoy. But Frederick's leap was quicker to the side of the papal chancellor, over whom he threw his imperial mantle, and his eyes accused Otto of unutterable things. The sword clattered to the pavement, Otto cringed abashed and frightened. In spite of his indignation at Hadrian IV's guarded implication that he was the pope's vassal and had received the Empire as a benefice or fief from the papacy, Frederick knew full well that the murder of the papal envoy in the imperial presence would bring down upon him the execration of Christendom, might ruin all his ambitious purposes, might even cost him the throne. But for his active thinking and physical alacrity, Roland might have suffered the fate of Thomas à Becket ten years later and Frederick been in the plight of Henry II. Roland Bandinelli was spared assassination, soon to become the greatest pontiff of the twelfth century and Frederick's most adroit foeman — Alexander III (1159-81).

*Besançon
episode
(1157)*

*Roland
becomes Pope
Alexander II.
(1159-81)*

The Besançon episode flung the fat into the fire. The papal envoy was hustled over the Alps to Italy under guard, and Frederick issued a manifesto to the German princes, in language hot with rage and livid with

*Imperial
manifesto*

irony. The implication of Hadrian IV that the Empire had been conferred upon Frederick as a fief from God through the pope, of whom the emperor held it as a vassal, stirred him to bitter sarcasm. "This was the message of fraternal love," he proclaimed, "which was to further the union of Church and Empire. . . . We hold the Empire through the election of the princes from God alone . . . and whoever shall say that we hold the imperial crown as a fief from the pope . . . contradicts the teaching of St. Peter and is a liar."

Public
opinion and
political
propaganda

This proclamation, aside from its intrinsic matter, is interesting also as an evidence of what already had been made manifest in the conflict between Henry IV and Gregory VII — namely, the weight attached by each party to the public opinion of Europe. For the Besançon manifesto was widely circulated in multiple copies, and upon Roland's person, when he was searched, were discovered numerous copies of the papal letter and blank forms sealed in the papal chancellery to be filled out at the legate's discretion, "with which," declared Frederick, "he was intending to spread this venom throughout the churches of Germany, as is the papal custom from of old." (The spread of propagandistic literature, with which the World War has made us so familiar, is no new thing.)

In Germany the bishops and the princes pronounced unanimously for the Emperor. Even the organization of a national German Church was broached. Rainald proposed it. Hadrian IV retaliated by threatening to transfer the imperial crown to the Byzantine emperor, but Frederick called his bluff by descending into Lombardy with his army, and the Pope, whose political designs were not yet completed, hastily explained in an elaborately argued document that he meant the offending word "*beneficium*" merely in the sense of a favor, and that no political significance should be attached to it. The Emperor outwardly accepted the explanation, but nevertheless the conflict between Papacy and Empire was on again. But the battle-ground was neither in Germany nor in Rome, but in Lombardy.

Revolt of
Milan

Frederick had scarcely turned his back upon the country at the end of his former campaign "when the citizens of Milan set to work with extraordinary vigor to recover the hegemony among the Lombard cities of which the emperor had deprived them. They rebuilt Tortona and repulsed the attempts of the Pavian League to obstruct the operation; they restored the bridges over the Adda and the Ticino, which had given them access to the territory of Novara and the estates of the margrave of Montferrat. The Pavian League were reduced by successive defeats to accept a humiliating treaty which, under the name of an alliance, denoted subjection to the dominant plebs of Milan. The inhabitants of Lodi were once more driven out of their city."¹

¹ C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, *History of the House of Savoy*.

*Second
Italian
campaign
(1158)*

In July 1158 the most formidable German host ever seen in the peninsula crossed the Alps in four columns, which Rainald of Dassel and Otto of Wittelsbach preceded in order to make preliminary arrangements for their encampment. Burgundians and Lorrainers passed over by the Great St. Bernard under Berthold of Zähringen; the Swabians and Franconians came by the Splügen, under Frederick himself, who was also duke of Swabia; Henry the Lion, accompanied by lay princes and militarized bishops, together with his own Saxons and a contingent of Slavs from east of the Elbe, came by the way of the Tyrol; through Friuli came the Duke of Austria with Austrians, Carinthians, Bohemians, and Hungarians in his array. The union of the forces was made near Brescia, where the Italian vassals and militia from Pavia, Parma, Novara, Asti, Vercelli, Como, Vicenza, Treviso, Padua, Verona, Ravenna, Bologna, Reggio, Modena, Brescia, and Cremona awaited the German armies. But the Tuscan contingents must have been few in numbers. It is said that 115,000 footmen and cavalry were in the host — an impossible number.

From Brescia the Emperor issued his first bulletin, a declaration that showed his solid common sense when he was not inflamed by passion and ambition. In it Frederick disclaimed any purpose to conquer the south of Italy or even to go to Rome. Milan was his sole objective. But, autocratic though Frederick was, he prided himself on his allegiance to law and thrice formally summoned the magistrates of Milan to appear before his bar, to which the undaunted commune responded by sending "learned and eloquent deputies" to defend its cause. This formality over, the Emperor declared the ban of the Empire against the great city, and the army moved to attack. It was a brave but futile act; for after some weeks of siege Milan capitulated. Frederick used his victory generously. Milan's pride was humbled, but the commune was preserved on condition of paying an indemnity, delivering three hundred hostages, and recognizing the imperial right to confirm its magistrates.

*Siege of
Milan*

Then followed a solemn diet at Roncaglia, in which Frederick set himself to establish his plan of government in Lombardy. Floods of rhetoric were poured out. The Emperor speechified in a pompous oration composed in Latin for him by four legists from Bologna and plentifully larded with quotations from Sallust, the ancient Roman historian, Lucan the poet, and the Code of Justinian. The Archbishop of Milan replied in a similarly wordy oration besprinkled with citations from both classical and biblical literature, and laid flattering unction to Frederick's soul by attributing to him the titles of the Roman cæsars — *imperator Cæsar inclytus, victor ac triumphator* — and the lordship of the world (*dominium mundi*). In his peroration he made a comparison between the political system of Frederick and Noah's alliance with Jehovah after the Deluge.

*Pompous
oration of
Frederick*

We may smile at these fantastic allusions, which were curious exhalations of the revival of empire and the renaissance of the Roman law in the twelfth century. But we should be in error if we were to think there was not serious and solid bottom to the findings of the diet of Roncaglia. Frederick, for all his ponderous platitudes, was a feudal ruler and knew it. His design was to regulate the feudal government in Lombardy and Tuscany, to preserve the feudal system, to check the growth of bourgeois society and burgher institutions south of the Alps. The drift of the time was against him, but we cannot condemn him therefor. His lights were different, but they were not low. (If he had lived in the eleventh century, Frederick Barbarossa might have been the most constructive statesman of the age. With the twelfth century he was out of tune, an anachronism.)

The future of Italy — at least of Lombardy and Tuscany — lay with the burghers and the cities, not with the feudality, although Frederick did not perceive this important evolution and at Roncaglia insisted on preservation of the plenitude of imperial authority in Lombardy — the right to appoint dukes, margraves, counts, and consuls in the cities, to coin money, to levy tolls, to collect the *fodrum* (the exaction of provisions for support of his armies when in Italy, men, and horses), to collect customs and harbor dues, to issue safe-conducts, to control mills, fish-ponds, bridges, and all waterways, including the canals so important for commerce, and to demand an annual tax, not only from the land, but from every freeman, peasant or burgher. In brief, Frederick abolished all the political development in Lombardy of a hundred years and more. All war between the cities was interdicted, the leagues were dissolved, and an imperial official called a podestà was established in each city, under whom the local urban administration was to operate. Milan's pride was further hurt when Frederick separated Monza from her territory and made it the new capital of the kingdom of Italy. In the same diet Frederick affronted, even defied, the Pope by adjudicating the claim of Duke Welf VI of Bavaria to the Matildan lands.

For the time being, the Lombard cities formerly leagued with Milan sullenly submitted. But Hadrian IV boldly denied the Emperor's right to extend his immediate jurisdiction over Tuscany, the former possession of the Countess Matilda, on the ground that by her bequest it pertained to the States of the Church, and reaffirmed the Church's right of investiture of bishops, at the same time protesting against imperial exaction of feudal dues and feudal services from the bishops of Italy. Thus the temporal side of the war of investitures was revived. Furthermore, the Pope entered into secret negotiations with Milan and hardened her spirit to resist the imperial policy, while he cultivated friendly relations with the Sicilian King. To his assertions Frederick responded that if the Italian bishops refused to be imperial vassals they would have to surrender their tem-

*What the
Lombard
cities
fought for*

*Hadrian IV
claims the
Matildan
lands
and the
independence
of bishops
of feudal
authority*

poralities. The Pope conceded that bishops were subjects, but not vassals, and in the same utterance englobed many of them as his own and not the Emperor's subjects by claiming Tuscany, Spoleto, Ferrara, Corsica, and Sardinia as rightfully pertaining to the States of the Church and denying Frederick all sovereignty in Rome.

The significance of this important papal declaration must not escape understanding. Hadrian IV was the first pope who set up a formal and public claim of independent and exclusive papal sovereignty. The purpose was not realized until the pontificate of Innocent III, a half-century later, but that circumstance does not vitiate the enormous importance of Hadrian's pronouncement.

Emboldened by secret papal agents, Milan in December 1158 expelled the podestà. Crema, Brescia, Piacenza followed suit. War was on. For seven months Frederick besieged Crema, which succumbed in January 1160 and was razed to the ground. Twenty thousand from the city and the plain round about sought refuge in Milan. Hadrian IV died during the siege, and Frederick's redoubtable antagonist at Besançon, Roland Bandinelli, succeeded to the papacy as Alexander III. The Emperor took the measure of things and parried by putting up a counter-pope. France, Spain, Sicily, and England, however, recognized Alexander III, who found refuge in France; for the imperialist faction in Rome was too great a menace. In the meantime Milan heroically resisted a siege of over a year in length, but finally succumbed to famine and pestilence. In the spring of 1162 it surrendered; the surviving inhabitants were distributed among the towns that had adhered to Frederick; the walls of the city were demolished and the houses destroyed by fire. That done, Frederick returned into Germany, contenting himself with the erection of some new forts and strengthening the walls of the towns that still adhered to him.

*New revolt
of Milan*

*Long siege
(1162)*

*Destruction
of Milan*

Apparently the Emperor was completely victorious; in reality Milan had only just begun to fight. Europe voiced its disapprobation of the schism Frederick had created. Arnold, Bishop of Lisieux in Normandy, a staunch advocate of papal supremacy, urgently wrote to the Pope: "Never permit your name to be out of the mouth of the people. Let an uninterrupted stream of letters and admonitions keep them incessantly in mind of you, and thus accustom them to have you always before their eyes as their supreme pastor." The sky was darkening even over Germany. The German Cistercians, always peculiarly attached to the papacy, inveighed against Frederick and were driven out of the kingdom.

*European
sympathy
with the
Pope*

Worse still, civil war threatened in Germany as in the days of Henry IV. The Emperor had thought to abate such danger by his conciliation of the Welfs and alliance with Henry the Lion. An added peril was that some of the Rhenish cities, which had manifested their civic spirit as far back as the reign of Henry IV, had now grown much richer and more

*Gravity of
political
conditions
in Germany*

populous, and the example of the Lombard cities was not lost upon them. Mainz rebelled against its Archbishop, an ardent adherent of Frederick, and Frederick senselessly treated it with little less ferocity than he had Milan. This calamity gave a permanent set-back to Mainz, heretofore the premier commercial city of Germany, and Cologne surpassed her. Frederick's hostility to burghers extended even to the destruction of commerce. Fortunately for Germany, other German cities were not so far advanced as those of Lombardy, else the Emperor in blind rage might have destroyed them as he destroyed Milan. Frederick's whole policy demanded an uncompromising attitude towards the towns. His policy was based on castles and agricultural conditions, such as existed in the upper Rhine region. Cities were hotbeds of insurrection and independence and did not fit into his scheme of government. As long as they were under control of his bishops, he left them unmolested, but his power would not brook the rise of an uncontrolled independent power. In south Germany, where the old hostility of Guef and Ghibelline flashed out again, Frederick defended himself vigorously. There young Welf VII had attacked the Count Palatine of Swabia, a devoted Hohenstaufen partisan, and was supported by the Zähringen, the Habsburgs, and the Margrave of Baden, who now broke with Frederick. The Emperor put down the rebellion, yet he had to compromise and restored Welf to his county palatine in Swabia; for the condition in Lombardy was too urgent; he had to make peace in Germany at any price.

*Hostility of
the Welf
party*

For in Lombardy the political condition looked ominous. The imperial podestàs in every town were regarded as tyrants, and their financial exactions resented. Rainald of Cologne, whom Frederick had left in Italy as his vicar, traveled everywhere through the land, appointing German bishops to the Lombard sees. For Frederick continued and hardened the policy of the Saxon and Salian emperors of thrusting German bishops into the highest offices of the Church. Meantime one antipope succeeded another, while from Sens in France Alexander III corresponded with all the enemies of the Emperor in Europe. It was increasingly clear that rebellion was brewing in the Po plain. Milan was rebuilding. Bologna, Verona, Vicenza, Treviso expelled their podestàs, secretly encouraged by Venice and the Greek Emperor Manuel, who seized Ancona with his fleet. By 1165 things had approached a crisis. The Roman senate, choosing between an Emperor hostile to Rome's republican aspirations and the Pope's opposition, concluded that the latter might be favorable to them in the straits in which the papacy found itself, and Alexander III triumphantly returned to the Eternal City. Two courses lay open to the Pope — to ally himself with Manuel or with the Lombard cities. The former proffered the union of the Greek and Latin Churches under the papacy if Alexander III would recognize him as Holy Roman Emperor. But this was the road

*Unpopularity
of German
domination
in Italy*

to greater schism and moreover was certain to incur the hostility of the Normans. The Pope threw in his lot with the Lombard communes.

His resolution was hastened by Frederick's conduct. In October 1166 Frederick assembled his forces at Lodi, which, owing to its hatred of Milan, was always favorable to the imperial cause and through a country in half-insurrection marched upon Ancona, which he failed to capture, and Rome to join another column of his troops, which had been sent directly thither under Christian, Archbishop of Mainz. At the end of eight days of incessant combat the two German armies united before Rome, which was taken by storm. Alexander III fled to Benevento, but the Frangipani, the Pierleoni, and other great feudal families of Rome held out victoriously in their castles. Then befell a calamity that contemporary historians compared with the destruction of Sennacherib. An appalling epidemic decimated the German host; twenty-five thousand perished, among them the redoubtable Rainald of Dassel, who had been the hero of the siege of Rome, five bishops, the Duke of Swabia, and Welf VII, two thousand knights, and many of Frederick's chief counselors and legists. The Emperor returned to Pavia with a phantom army.

Third Italian campaign

The Germans storm Rome (1166)

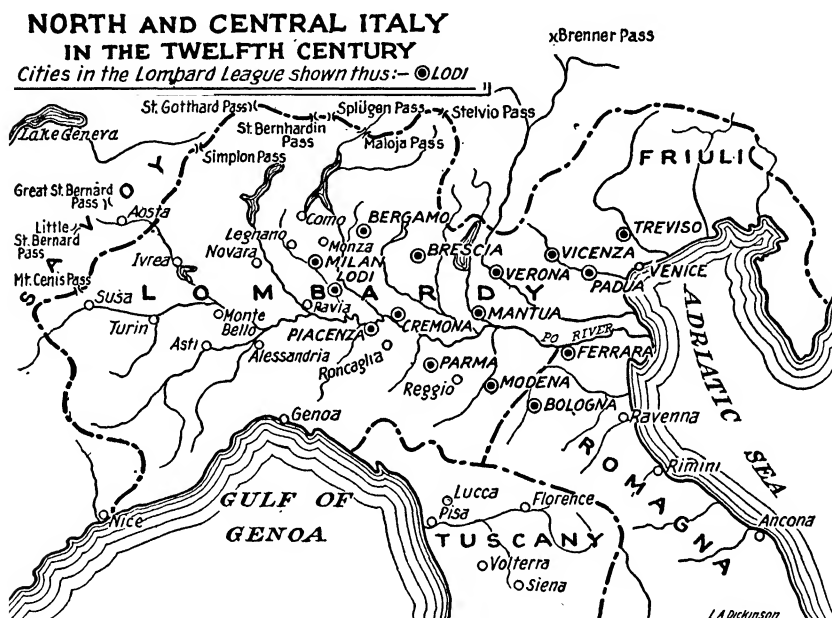
The moment was a propitious one for the enemies of the Hohenstaufen, and in the spring of 1167 the great Lombard League, product of the brain of Alexander III and the hands of the Lombard towns, emerged, composed of Milan, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Ferrara, Treviso, Brescia, Bergamo, Piacenza, Mantua; even Cremona and Lodi, ancient enemies of Milan, were compelled to join it. Only Bologna (the seat of the university whence the Emperor drew his legists), Parma, and Modena adhered to the Ghibelline cause. In pronouncing excommunication against all who did not obey the chiefs of the League the Pope forbade every person and every city of Lombardy to form alliance without permission of the chiefs of the League; and if the Tuscans refused to enter the League, he prohibited all commercial intercourse with them. The preamble of the document expresses sympathy with the purpose of the League and harps upon "the liberty of the Church of God and your own." For a year Frederick desperately struggled to mend his political fences in Lombardy. Without an army he was impotent, and in March 1167 he regained Germany, almost as a fugitive. He was detained for six years in Germany, while the Lombard League extended its sway, fortified the cities, made arms and armor against "the Day," and trained militia by the thousands. The Lombards even built a new city between Pavia, and Montferrat, the strongest imperial rampart in Italy, which, in honor of the Pope, was named Alessandria.

*Imp.
Formation of
Lombard
League
(1167)
and alliance
with the
Pope*

Royal power and house power (*Hausmacht*) were the obverse and the reverse sides of the same institution in the feudal age. Hence Frederick labored to strengthen the power of the Hohenstaufen. To this end the

Desperate efforts of Frederick to settle affairs in Germany

Emperor caused his eldest son, Henry, to be crowned king of the Romans, which meant emperor-designate, gave Swabia to his second son, Frederick, the Hohenstaufen house lands in Franconia to the third, Conrad, the county palatine of Burgundy, together with the vicariate of the realm of Arles to his fourth son, Otto; and deftly succeeded in becoming reconciled with the jealous and ambitious Zähringen by giving Berthold the Swiss bishoprics of Lausanne, Geneva, and Sion to dispose of as he pleased. Frederick's diplomatic skill was taxed to the limit in his relations with



Henry the Lion, and only the fact that each had need of the other prevented a rupture between them. For old Welf VI, Frederick's and Henry the Lion's uncle, being childless, went into a monastery and sold to his imperial nephew — instead of to the Duke of Saxony — his enormous fiefs in Italy, Tuscany, Spoleto, and Este. It strained the relation between the powerful cousins to the breaking-point, and perhaps nothing save the fact that Henry the Lion's own enemies in the north were also Frederick's prevented a rupture. The Saxon Duke was too strong to be antagonized by Frederick — at least yet. In 1157 Henry the Lion had acquired Lübeck and thereby for the first time established effective Saxon political and commercial sway in the far north (for hitherto the rule in the far north of Germany had been in the hands of the archbishops of Bremen-Hamburg). He crushed Denmark when its King resented this extension of Saxony into territory that the Danes coveted, drove Albert the Bear from all his possessions west of the Elbe, and subdued the

Wendish tribes in Mecklenburg, whose half-Slav Duke had become a vassal of the Saxon Duke. Frederick yielded to Henry complete control of the Wendish bishoprics of Oldenburg, Ratzeburg, and Mecklenburg. Finally Henry the Lion was married to Matilda, a daughter of Henry II Plantagenet, the English King, and although the murder of Becket had drawn the English and the German rulers into some accord against the Pope, Frederick well knew that hostility towards Henry the Lion would incur the enmity of Henry II.

The balance of power, interest, and feeling between Hohenstaufen and Guelf was a delicate one, the more so because aside from these conditions there was another vague sort of friction between them. The imponderables in history are often as potent as concrete realities—even more potent. The breach between Henry the Lion and Frederick Barbarossa was not yet manifest, but there was a rift between them owing to difference of opinion regarding political policy in both Germany and Italy. The Duke demurred against Frederick's wasteful expenditure of German blood and German resources beyond the Alps. He believed that the maintenance of German domination in Italy was a wrong to Germany and to Italy alike; he advocated letting Italy work out its own destiny independently of German rule. As for Germany, Henry the Lion's theory of government was wholly different from Frederick's. He opposed Frederick's autocratic conception of his prerogative and his constant cleavage of the great duchies into lesser principalities under lesser rulers; he wanted to preserve the territorial integrity of the ancient feudal duchies with their immemorial local rights; to make Germany a feudal monarchy of federated duchies instead of an absolute monarchy. In a word, Henry the Lion advocated German "states' rights" and limited (we should say constitutional) kingship. In his own territories Henry abolished the royal taxes and appointed his own bishops in defiance of Frederick. In spite of his anger the Emperor had to bridle his wrath. Henry the Lion was too powerful, and the Emperor had too many other irons in the fire. To Frederick Barbarossa, of course, such conceptions were anathema. How could he be emperor without Italy and Rome? His whole nature was so inclined towards absolutism and autocratic rule, so imbued with conceits borrowed from the Roman law and ancient Roman imperialism, that he could not see that the trend of the times was away from him and not with him.

Henry the Lion's political ideas

After seven years' absence Frederick returned to Italy in 1175 at the head of another great army. During these years Christian of Mainz had ruled as his imperial vicar. After taking Asti and Susa, for four months the Emperor besieged Alessandria in vain. Wiser than the Emperor, Henry the Lion, who had reluctantly joined the German host with his vassals, endeavored to persuade Frederick to abandon his rule-or-ruin

Fourth Italian campaign (1174)

*Battle of
Legnano
(1176)*

policy in Lombardy. Frederick would none of it. In the meantime the Lombard League drew upon all its great resources. On May 29, 1176 in the plain around Legnano the Emperor was overwhelmingly defeated. Frederick's imperialistic dream of rule over Italy was rudely shattered. He sent ambassadors to the Pope, who was at Anagni, to sue for peace. Alexander III showed the true qualities of a statesman — he made peace with honor. By the terms of the Treaty of Anagni (October 1176) the Pope recognized the ecclesiastical nominations made by Frederick and his antipopes, but obtained recognition of his sovereignty and restoration of the lands of the Countess Matilda "as they were held by the Church in the time of the Emperor Lothaire." Frederick's loss of Lombardy enormously redounded to the advantage of the Pope's territorial position; for if it had remained in Hohenstaufen hands, the territorial independence of the Curia would have been impossible. The Pope also promised to use his influence for the conclusion of peace with the Lombard cities.

*Armistice
of Venice*

For the latter purpose the conference was transferred to Venice, the nearest to being a neutral point in all Italy, where Alexander III assisted the representatives, burghers and legists, from the Lombard cities. Frederick was now as humble as he had been haughty before. He bridled the insolence of his tongue in the presence of these detested descendants of serfs and did not indulge in rhetorical platitudes concerning his office and prerogatives as emperor. Fortunately for him, the principle of imperial authority was not at stake. What was at issue was the nature and the extent^{1, 2} of the imperial prerogative, and these were both radically changed by the settlement. It was inevitable that the Emperor would have to recognize the contentions of the Lombard cities, and his repugnance against so doing was responsible for six years of tergiversation and delay. The final settlement was concluded at Constance in 1183. The cities won everything for which they had so long struggled — self-government under the crown, the right to administer their own justice without appeal to the emperor, to lay their own taxes, to control territory, rivers, canals, roads, mills, and fortresses around them, to preserve their own local customary law and be free from either German or Roman law except in so far as they themselves chose to recognize it.

*Peace of
Constance
(1183)*

The Peace of Constance marked not only a great day in Italian history, but an epoch in that of Europe. For the first time in medieval history political authority passed from the feudal class to the common people. The bourgeoisie had scored. What had happened in Lombardy was destined soon to happen in Flanders, in the German cities, in English and French towns. New political institutions, unknown to feudalism, came into being, a new social class emerged, new economic conditions developed. For the life of the towns was based on commerce and trade and industry, whereas the old feudal economy was based on agriculture.

The spread of the town movement in Europe was destined to cut feudal proprietorship and sovereignty to the root.)

The Holy Roman Empire, so far as power and prerogatives south of the Alps were concerned, in 1183 was reduced to shreds and tatters. Both the Papacy and the Empire in a sense were each a prolongation of and successor to the ancient Roman Empire, and although in the beginning the former was purely a spiritual power and the latter a political, the growth of temporal power in the Church had ultimately made the Church a competitor of the State, and the pope an antagonist of the emperor. In the struggle that ensued between them (the Empire lost because it became more and more an anachronism as Europe slowly progressed out of the age of feudalism into an age of busy bourgeoisie and dawning national sentiment. On the other hand, the papacy was a truly new creation and kept continually up to date in its development, adapting itself to new conditions and adopting new things — the Lombard towns, for instance.) It was not so much through spiritual prerogative that the papacy won as through superior statesmanship, through keener perception of the conditions of the time and the spirit of the age. The papacy was really vital because it was capable, as the Empire was not, of wonderful adaptation to the character and needs of the time.) If the papacy had been content to remain as Alexander III left it, Europe would have been spared the monstrous abuses of the papal monarchy of the thirteenth century, and the papacy would have escaped the universal opprobrium that culminated in the fall of Boniface VIII. Unfortunately power grows on what it feeds upon, and the medieval papacy grew too tyrannical to be endured.

*Revolution in
the history of
the Holy
Roman
Empire*

It is well to pause at this juncture in the fortunes of the medieval Empire's greatest advocate of universal supremacy to judge Frederick Barbarossa's imperialistic policy in the broad. Modern German historians are sharply divided between those who have approved and those who have condemned his course. It was pointedly asked in the middle of the twelfth century, when Frederick was at the height of his power: "Who made the Germans the rulers of Europe?"

*Was
Frederick I
a great ruler?*

The advocates of medieval German imperialism argue that the undeniable political and military superiority of the Saxon and Salian kings and the German nation in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries made them the natural political heirs of Charlemagne, as he was the natural political heir of the cæsars, and that their hegemony was justified both by historical tradition and by facts, for it is of the nature of power to expand; that the anarchic state of Italy in the tenth century compelled German interference, "since power, like nature, abhors a vacuum"; that the German kings had to control the papacy in order to control the German episcopate, which the kings were forced to use against the dukes, and that otherwise a united and powerful Italy under the pope would

have threatened the German monarchy; that the pretensions of the papacy under Gregory VII, Hadrian IV, and Alexander are the proof of this. It has even been said that "the union of Germany and Italy was necessary for the preservation of Christo-Latin culture," which is preposterous.

On the other hand, the opponents of German imperialism in the Middle Ages argue that the extension of German rule to Italy diverted both German and Italian history out of their natural, normal orbit and bound the two countries together in a vicious union; that Germany was made to sacrifice for an illusory purpose blood and treasure that ought to have been expended in the development of the German people in their own country; that by restoring the medieval Empire the German kings also restored the papacy, which otherwise never would have grown into the vast papal monarchy with universal pretensions and revenues drawn from all Latin Christendom.

So far it would seem that the argument is more with the negative group than with its opponents in this controversy. But if we regard the imponderables in the history of the medieval Empire, the weight of tradition in men's minds, the ideal of unity, vague and yet particular, which the medieval Empire presented to men's eyes in a time when Europe was broken into political segments by the forces of feudalism and when national consciousness was not yet existent, then we begin to perceive things in a new light; then we see the medieval Empire as a great ideal, one that millions of mankind regarded also as a political necessity. He is a hardy realist who would deny the ennobling influence of this conception of a world-empire. In the fourteenth century, when the medieval Empire had so faded as to have become a wraith of time, this vision upheld Dante's spirit. A political belief may be out of relation to actual historical facts and yet be a force and an inspiration to men's minds.)

Thus, in the words of Bryce, "when we remember that the notion of progress and development, and of change as the necessary condition thereof, was unwelcome or unknown in medieval times, we may better understand—though we do not cease to wonder—how men, never doubting that the political system of antiquity had descended to them, modified indeed, yet in essence the same, should have believed that the Frank, the Saxon and the Swabian ruled all Europe by a right which seems to us fantastic."

Frederick Barbarossa had lost the substance of rule in Italy, but retained the shadow. But his sway over Germany was still substantial. Unfortunately for the *Mutterland* the Emperor now strove as never before to fix his autocratic rule upon Germany as he had endeavored to do upon Italy, and though he failed of complete accomplishment, he nearly ruined Germany in the process. The antagonism between the Hohenstaufen and the Guelfs permeated everywhere and tintured everything. Between the

*Frederick's
effort to in-
crease power
in Germany*

Emperor and Henry the Lion this antagonism was based on different principles of rule and different theories of government, which one may sympathize with or disapprove, but which at least were worthy of respect. But many partisans of each were actuated by no principle; they were merely fishing in the troubled waters for what they might get out of them.

More than German blood and German treasure had been involved in Frederick's Lombard wars, for the Emperor's German policy and his Lombard policy in no small degree stood or fell together. In the absence of any system of royal taxation the crown lands and house possessions of a king were of immense importance to him. The power of a feudal king was measured by his "house power." Accordingly Frederick labored, like the kings of the preceding dynasties, to build up a *Hausmacht*. When the Hohenstaufen succeeded to the kingship in the person of Conrad III, the house lands of the family, of course, were telescoped with the lands of the crown — that is, the fisc. But they had been badly dissipated during the war of investiture and were not of great extent, and moreover were widely scattered. Naturally the most substantial body of such lands was in the region of the upper Rhine; a lesser block was located in the Rhenish midlands, which had been inherited from his Salian ancestors. The practical course before Frederick was to extend and to consolidate his lands in Swabia. This purpose explains his marriage with Beatrice of Burgundy, which brought the entire adjoining province into his possession, for she was very rich in lands of her own. It also explains Frederick's strenuous efforts to keep on the good side of the Zähringen, whose immense holdings in Switzerland adjoined Swabia on the south.

But Frederick's vision of house power extended beyond the Alps into Piedmont and Lombardy. The German sovereigns as kings of Italy still possessed numerous crown lands in these regions, although many of them had been englobed by the local feudality and by the towns. The Emperor's bitter and protracted conflict with the Lombard cities was fought, in part, to compel them to give up these portions of the ancient fisc, which from the point of view of the law had certainly been illegally acquired by the cities. Thus if Frederick had succeeded in subduing the Lombard cities, he would have become possessed of huge blocks of crown land on both sides of the Alps, which would have been no barrier of separation, owing to his control of the Alpine passes. In Tuscany and central Italy the crown lands were few. Most of the territory had pertained to the Countess Matilda and was an apple of discord, as we have seen, between the pope, the Guelfs, and the Hohenstaufen. Frederick's inability to acquire the Matildan lands for himself in the face of the Guelfic and papal claims was one of the many grievances of the Hohenstaufen against Henry the Lion and a ground of feud with the pope. In the end neither of the rivals acquired them, and they fell to the papacy.

*What
Frederick's
Italian policy
projected*

If now we carefully examine the map, we discover that there was a larger purpose in Frederick's mind than has been made evident in what has just been said. His aim was to consolidate his house power in that territory where the German kingdom and the Italian kingdom were joined together by the hinges of the Alpine passes. Swabia, Burgundy, and Lombardy were to be the core and pith, not only of Hohenstaufen house power, but of the Empire. It was a bold and masterful project.¹

The two most compact blocks of the fisc in Lombardy lay, the one east of Milan between the Adda and the Serio rivers, and the other west of Milan in the valley of the Ticino river. Frederick in his first campaign undertook to safeguard these tracts by instituting a special administration for each of them, all the crown possessions in the second group being put under the watchful eye and ready hand of Rainald of Dassel.

Rainald of
Dassel

Frederick I and his arch-chancellor worked hand in glove together, and so able was the latter that in spite of Frederick's glowing ideas and brilliant ability we must attribute more of Frederick's policy to Rainald than is usually thought. One of his fixed determinations was to make the German crown independent of both feudal and papal control. Rainald saw in the growth of the papal monarchy a menace to a free German crown and a free German Church. He could not carry all the feudality with him into the imperialistic camp, notably the Guelfs, but he performed a remarkable service in enlisting the German bishops wholeheartedly in behalf of the crown. The boldness of Rainald's mind is manifested in his course at Besançon. For it was he who intentionally translated the word "beneficium" as "fief" (in German, "*lehen*" instead of "*wohltaten*"), deliberately warping the language of Hadrian IV out of its natural significance. The Pope's protestation that he was misunderstood at Besançon may have been honest and not feigned.

Thanks to Rainald's adroitness, "when the struggle, which had only been suspended by the Concordat of 1122, broke out again at the accession of Frederick I., the German prelates, who had lost none of their secularity, and who were now consulted more continuously than ever upon imperial affairs, resolutely embraced the side of Barbarossa. . . . Frederick carried his clergy with him. . . . His Italian wars were waged mainly with troops furnished by the ecclesiastical principalities."² The only distinguished German bishops who resisted him were the archbishops of Mainz and Salzburg, and each of them was broken. But the German Church be-

¹ Medieval and modern history alike demonstrate that the political power in control of this central territory may overawe Europe. This is why Switzerland has been neutralized by common agreement of the European states. And this also explains the Habsburgs' strenuous endeavor to retain possession of Switzerland and Lombardy for so many centuries, and France's ambition to acquire a foothold whenever possible in both Switzerland and Piedmont-Lombardy.

² FISHER, *op. cit.*, II, 103, 104.

gan soon to discover that the cost of waging Frederick's wars in Lombardy was a high price to pay for the privileges and endowments which the Emperor showered upon it. As his Italian revenues shrunk, the Emperor increased the exactions imposed upon the German clergy, taking over many ecclesiastical fiefs to indemnify him for his losses in Lombardy. Thus the German bishops, like the Guelfs, grew opposed to the Italian war and slowly and secretly began to gravitate towards the Pope, whom they began to look upon as their protector against Frederick's extortions. The German Church began to waver in its allegiance; for it realized that its security would compel it to re-enter the universal Church, repudiate Frederick's schismatic popes, and recognize Alexander III and his successors.

Growing opposition of the German bishops to the Italian wars

The Peace of Constance not only emancipated the Lombard communes, but relieved the German Church from the almost intolerable burden of military service. The German bishops, however, now demanded to be indemnified for the losses which they had sustained, and with them sided a swarm of lesser feudatories and high ministerials whose allegiance Frederick had purchased by distributing among them the lands that he had taken from the bishops. The readiest means of so doing was to despoil Henry the Lion, between whom and Frederick no love was lost and for whom Frederick no longer had need. As long as the wars in Lombardy continued, the Emperor had temporized with the great Guelf leader and veiled his hostility towards him. But times had changed. Frederick well knew that the bishops and the nobles like a pack of wolves were ready to fall upon the Lion and rend him if he but gave the word. Even the bishops in Saxony and the Saxon Wendish territory were hostile to Henry the Lion, who had rigorously checked their aspirations to independent temporal power. As he had opposed the work of colonization of the Church and its expanding power, the Church had only such powers as he granted to it; it ruled its lands by his sufferance.

Fall of Henry the Lion (1181)

It was easy to find grievance. His enormous wealth was the envy of every great noble in Germany. His strong policy in his own lands, united with that haughtiness which he inherited from his father, Henry the Proud, made him the object of resentment by many of his own vassals. As far back as 1154, when Henry was in Italy, there was inconclusive fighting in Saxony. In 1166-7 the flame burst out anew when the archbishops of Cologne and Magdeburg are found in alliance with Albrecht the Bear and some of the Saxon nobles, and Goslar and Halberstadt were momentarily taken by the rebels. The Emperor's intervention stopped the insurgents, for at this season Frederick had need of the great Guelf's support. For the next ten years Henry the Lion was at the zenith of his power. He married an English princess, his own daughter married Cnut, Prince of Denmark and later King. The land was so quiet that

Henry the Lion could make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land without anxiety.

The legal process by which the ruin of Henry the Lion was effected is one of obscurity. The Hohenstaufen were lawyer kings, Frederick Barbarossa most of all. A tradition says that he was condemned for having deserted Frederick on the field of Legnano, but there is no evidence of this. The probability is that technically Henry was condemned for violation of the Landfrieden, or peace of the land, in Saxony. If true, the charge was monstrous. For the Duke was not responsible for the turmoil there, but the Saxon princes who had rebelled against him time and again.

"The story of the catastrophe of Henry the Lion will never be completely unravelled. . . . Was the emperor the guiding spirit in the affair, or was he merely the willing fly on the wheel of Saxon indignation? One thing only is certain. The execution of the sentence upon the duke was only possible because the Saxon nobles willed it, executed it, entered into the spoils of it. The emperor himself did but one thing; he besieged Lübeck and took it. The break up of the duchy was the work of the nobles. It was their greed which gave to the ban of Ulm [1180] its irresistible power. . . . The true heir to the Saxon duchy of Henry the Lion is not the emperor. . . . The true heirs are the nobles of Saxony, who had grown past imperial control during the wars of investiture . . . and who, freed from all those old tribal and ecclesiastical influences which once fortified Saxon unity, are now playing a frankly cynical and brutal game of individual self-advancement."¹ . . .

The prelates were not behind the secular nobles in this greed for territorial aggrandizement. Wichmann of Magdeburg, Hermann of Hildesheim, Rainald of Cologne, and Hartwig of Bremen were as avaricious as they.

Henry the Lion was not the man to bow before the storm, even when the King of England, the King of Denmark, Philip II of France, and the Count of Flanders refused to help him. He marched upon Goslar and sacked the Harz; he defeated Bernard of Anhalt, son of Albert the Bear, and the Landgrave of Thuringia, at Weissensee, and made them prisoners. But he committed the imprudence of demanding that the captives taken by his loyal vassals should be surrendered to him, with the result that the most powerful of them, the young Count of Holstein, went over to the imperial side. Henry threw himself upon Holstein, but Frederick camped before Goslar, where many more of the Duke's vassals came to him. The campaign in 1181 consummated the ruin of the Lion. His fortresses of Haldensleben and Ratzeburg and Lübeck were taken. At last Henry the Lion sued for grace.

The fall of the Guelf house was come. Frederick apportioned the

¹ FISHER, *op. cit.*, I, 143-4.

Guelf lands among his partisans; the great duchy of the north was rent to shreds. Westphalia (the territory between the Rhine and the Weser) was given to the Archbishop of Cologne; Eastphalia, with the ducal title, fell to Bernard of Anhalt; the archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen and the bishops of Paderborn and Hildesheim, the Landgrave of Thuringia, and the counts of Holstein and Lauenburg got other slices of Henry's feudal possessions. Today the name of Saxony survives only in the old Saxon Ostmark. In like manner also Bavaria, the other great Guelfic duchy, was dismembered. Styria and Meran were detached and made into new duchies—so low had the ducal title fallen in Germany. The Bavarian bishops were fattened with other spoil of the Guelf house; what was left of the duchy, with the ducal title, was given to Otto of Wittelsbach, count palatine in Bavaria. Two of the half-Slavonic feudatories east of the Elbe—the dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania—were made immediate vassals of the Empire and separated from their former allegiance to Saxony.

*Partition of
the
Guelflands*

Henry the Lion was suffered to retain possession only of his alodial estates, of which Brunswick, his capital city, which he had so adorned with public edifices and enriched with art treasures gathered from Italy and the Orient, and Lüneburg were the largest. But the Duke himself was driven into exile and found refuge with the English King in Normandy. In 1189 he returned, but it was to live as a simple and harmless noble, farming his acres, looking after his tenantry, or poring over old German chronicles. For Henry the Lion was a patron of the literature-born of the twelfth-century renaissance. It is a pleasant yet pathetic picture that we get of him in these years when old age was stealing upon him. The shadows were not golden, and his reflections must often have been bitter ones. The noble old Lion took his fate like a man. He died in 1195.

*Last days of
Henry the
Lion*

But the tragedy of these events was greater for Germany and the German nation than for any person, however great. The partition of Saxony and Bavaria marked the passing of the old historic German duchies and the triumph of feudal particularism; the unity of the kingdom was lost; the realm and the people were the victims of a vicious feudal sectionalism. The greatness of Germany was passed away. The process of dissolution operated in like manner in Swabia, for "there was no quarter of Germany which was so full of ancient noble families anxious to assert their independence,"¹ and the splintering of Swabia even exceeded that of Saxony. Not a single one of the old historic duchies of Germany survived except in a titular and phantom-like capacity. "If we compare a map of Germany in the middle of the tenth century with a map of the country in the middle of the thirteenth century, we are confronted with a striking contrast. The tenth-century map is extremely simple, the

*Triumph of
feudal par-
ticularism in
Germany*

¹ FISHER, *op. cit.*, I, 299.

thirteenth-century map amazingly complex. While the tenth-century map shows a land divided into four large divisions, representing the four German races, the thirteenth-century map shows us a land covered with principalities, lay and ecclesiastical, some of them inextricably intertwined with others, and none but the smaller presenting a continuous surface to the eye."¹ German particularism fastened its grip upon Germany for all time to come and still characterizes German political organization.

Political disintegration of Germany

Again, as in Italy earlier, Frederick Barbarossa had lost the substance of power and kept the shadow. Instead of being king over a few great vassals, Frederick was lord over a horde of vassals, few of whom were great — petty dukes, landgraves, burgraves, counts palatine, small-beer barons, and a crowd of ministerials, bold and rapacious fellows of base extraction who had insinuated themselves into small administrative offices or military service and pretentiously blossomed into "nobles" of low degree. The most famous of these upstarts was Werner of Bolland, who possessed seventeen castles and had twenty-five hundred knights in his train.

Specious "glory" of the diet of Mainz (1184)

The tinsel magnificence of this new nobility was displayed at the diet of Mainz in 1184, in which Frederick stood forth in pretentious glory as the universal sovereign of Europe, where fifty thousand knights and nobles and seventy powerful princes appeared. Frederick Barbarossa, like Louis XIV, was consumed with his own "glory" and devoured the flatteries of princes and envoys, the laudations of minstrels and minnesingers, with a canine appetite for vanity. The grand banquet was an orgy held in a huge wooden structure erected outside of the new walls. The wine flowed like the Rhine beside it, while two big houses stocked from floor to ceiling with chickens, ducks, and geese excited the ribaldry of the guests. On Easter Sunday the Emperor went to mass in the cathedral, where a brawl broke out between the Archbishop of Cologne and the Abbot of Fulda and their retainers, in which effusion of blood was barely prevented. Frederick pretended to enjoy it all, but glory had departed from Germany. The day of German disillusionment was bound to come, and that soon.

Hohenstaufen conquest of Sicily (1190-1)

In his heart of hearts Frederick knew that the Hohenstaufen had lost both Lombardy and Germany. Compensation had to be found; new glory and new power must be assured. Two doors of opportunity seemed to open simultaneously, the Orient and Sicily. The Crusades had been a factor in alienating the emperor and the pope, for the former as "universal sovereign" claimed overlordship of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, whereas the popes who had been the original instigators of the Crusades and as well claimed universal rule, claimed to be overlords thereof. But Jerusalem

¹ FISHER, *op. cit.*, I, 299.

was lost to Latin Christendom in 1187 when Saladin captured the Holy City. Here was a chance for Frederick to gain new laurels and put a damper upon the pope's pretensions. The other door was Sicily, or the Norman Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. It was rich and prosperous and well governed and had grown fabulously wealthy during the Crusades. Its redoubtable kings had long been the most dangerous enemy of the German power in Italy. But now things had changed. In 1186 William II the Good, in anticipation of his death without issue and fearing papal seizure of his kingdom in that event, had thought to safeguard his realm against that calamity by marrying his aunt, Constance, his sole heir, to Frederick Barbarossa's son, afterwards Henry VI. It was a windfall that elated the Hohenstaufen, although the princess was thirty-one years of age and the bridegroom but twenty-one. Henry VI was not a sentimentalist.

And so it came to pass that Frederick marched off to the East with a great army in order to take Jerusalem from the Infidel. He never returned from the expedition, for he was drowned in the Kalykadnus River in Cilicia, while his son — "a man who had inherited all his father's severity with none of his father's generosity" ¹ — invaded Lower Italy and won a kingdom and a throne in defiance of the Pope's protests. The heroic resistance of the Norman Italians, who regarded themselves as betrayed by their sovereign and in vain put up Tancred as king — a natural son of Roger II and half brother of Constance, whom Henry VI captured and cruelly put to death — and the brave resistance of Messina and Palërmo to protracted siege in the end availed nothing. Henry VI conquered a new dominion for the Hohenstaufen in the middle of the Mediterranean and so intimidated Celestine III that he had no choice but to crown Henry VI emperor. The German grip upon Italy, which had been relaxed under Frederick Barbarossa, was renewed. Henry VI made his brother Philip duke of Tuscany and invested him with the estates of the Countess Matilda, which were wrested from the Pope; Conrad of Ürslingen received Spoleto as a fief; Markwald the Romagna and the marches. "Henry's power encompassed the state of the Church like a ring of iron. He occupied the Patrimonium Petri as far as the gates of Rome." ²

Henry VI
(1190-7)

The cruelties of Henry VI must not blind us to his statesmanship. The Hohenstaufen had made an incalculably great stroke of power. They were again masters of Italy, save Lombardy, and lords of the Mediterranean. France, Spain, the Byzantine Empire, the Mohammedan princes of Africa, Egypt, and Damascus, were aware that a political revolution had come to pass. His military resources, his fleets, his commerce and trade made Henry VI the most formidable monarch in Christendom. The envy and hostile feeling of Europe rose to a pitch of resentment. The

Ambitious
designs

¹ BRYCE, *Holy Roman Empire*, 205 (new edition).

² GREGOROVIVUS, *op. cit.*, IV, ii, 636.

Growing internationalism of Europe

Hohenstaufen and French alliance against England and the Welfs

Guelf-Ghibelline feud extended to all Europe. Richard Cœur de Lion, King of England, stopped on his way to the East to lend assistance to Messina; and later paid dearly for his interference when, on his return, he was shipwrecked on the Dalmatian coast and delivered to Leopold of Austria (who had succeeded to the command of the German army after Frederick I's death, and with whom Richard had quarreled in the East). Leopold gave him over as a captive to Henry VI, who imprisoned him for nearly two years, until the luckless King was ransomed for a huge sum. But the grouping of Europe was not all one way. For Philip II of France was the enemy of the English King, who as duke of Normandy, count of Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, duke of Guienne, and duke of Gascony overshadowed his suzerain in the realm of France. Accordingly at this same time "the Hohenstaufen and the Capetian concluded an alliance to oppose their formidable vassals, the Welfs and the Angevins, with whom stood the princes of the lower Rhine district organized under the leadership of the archbishop of Cologne whose city was attached to England by strong commercial ties."¹

But to this formation Henry VI was indifferent. He had become practically an Italian and had little interest in Germany save in preserving his crown lands there. Ruler of the realm which Robert Guiscard and the Great Count Roger had formed, with fleets and armies at his command, Henry VI had inherited the Eastern policy of the Norman kings and their traditional projects against the Byzantine Empire. The rancor of the West against Byzantine, owing to the failure of the Crusades and the growing religious intolerance of the age, facilitated this design. The conquest of Constantinople might be represented as a "crusade." Moreover, beyond the Balkan peninsula lay the lost Holy Land, and Saladin was now dead (1193), his seventeen sons had divided his lands between them, and civil war prevailed among the Mohammedan princes.

Henry VI's dream of conquering the Byzantine Empire

It was easy to pick a quarrel. The Emperor sent an ultimatum to Isaac Angelos, demanding the surrender of certain islands in the Ionian Sea long coveted by the Normans, an "indemnity" for the losses sustained by Frederick Barbarossa during his crusade, and a fleet of war to operate for the recovery of the Holy Land. The overthrow of Isaac Angelos by his brother Alexios (April 10, 1195) further promoted these designs, and Henry VI became more menacing. With far-sighted craft he married Irene, daughter of the dethroned Isaac Angelos, to his brother Philip of Swabia, thus putting forward a Hohenstaufen pretender to the throne of Constantinople. The double "crusade" was preached in Germany and Italy. The Emperor went to Germany to stir up enthusiasm, Henry VI himself acting as a recruiting agent in the Cathedral of Worms for a whole week, and Frederick Barbarossa's name was used as a talisman. The

¹ *English Hist. Review*, XI, 595.

archbishops of Mainz, Bremen, Prague, seventeen other bishops, dukes Frederick of Austria and Henry of Brunswick (son of Henry the Lion), and thousands of adventurous and needy knights took the cross. But the whole grandiose expedition collapsed when Henry VI was stricken with fever and died at Palermo on September 28, 1197. Less than four months later the impotent Celestine III also passed away (January 8, 1198).

*Death of
Henry VI
(1197)*

It was another revolution in Hohenstaufen fortune and, indeed, in all Europe. Henry VI's heir was a little child. The new Pope was Innocent III, the most powerful pontiff in history.

We may conclude this long chapter with a resumé of the history of German eastward expansion.

*German
eastward ex-
pansion*

The Elbean Slavs were in no condition to withstand the relentless pressure of the Saxons. The German Church, eager for tithes, preached the conquest of them for mercenary reasons; the German nobles were no less eager to reduce them in order to impose tribute upon them, a circumstance that created feud between the bishops and the nobles; while thousands of Saxon freemen coveted possession of their lands much as the American pioneer looked with envy on the Indian lands of our own West. The result of this triple combination of interests was the great "*Drang nach Osten*" or eastward drive of the Germans, which began with Henry the Fowler's campaign against the Hevelli in 929, when Brandenburg was founded, and continued until 1163, when the conquest and occupation of the territory of the Slavs culminated in the German subjugation of Silesia. It was one of the greatest expansion movements of all the Middle Ages, a movement of conquest and colonization unlike those of the Norse or of the Normans into England and southern Italy and unlike the Crusades, in that it was first a colonization of contiguous territory, and secondly was eminently one made by the common class of men, poor free farmers, even serfs, entering into the land as pioneers. The German Church and the German government followed in the wake of these settlers and established bishoprics¹ and monasteries, or erected *Burgwärde* and castles, many of which in course of time grew into German towns.

But as along our own western border Indian uprisings often occurred, so along the east German border the harried and oppressed Slavonic tribes revolted time and again against the German domination. Three times the work of years was obliterated; villages and farms, churches and monasteries were destroyed by the furious Wends.² This happened in 983, in 1018, and in 1066, when each time the Germans were thrown back across the Elbe by victorious rebellion of the Slavs against their masters. But

¹ Six new bishoprics were created — Oldenburg, Havelburg, Brandenburg, Merseburg, Meissen, and Zeitz.

² The word "Wend" was a general term used by the Germans to describe the Baltic Slavs without distinction of tribe, just as with us the word Indian is used.

after every such event the obdurate Saxons returned with sword and spear to reduce the Slavs and with axe and plow to subdue the wilderness.

Yet from 965 to 1134 hardly an inch was gained. It was not until the twelfth century that any large and permanent eastward progress was made. Nor was this the work of the emperors. Their ambitions were directed towards Italy. Only Lothaire II, who was a Saxon, be it remembered, ever took any interest in the Slavonic borderland. It was the work of the Saxon people and the Saxon bishops and nobles. By the twelfth century the Slavonic tribes had become so worn down by the German attrition, so exhausted by the constant warfare, that even their warlike priesthood had lost courage. Only the great temple of Arkona on the island of Rügen remained. Every temple on the mainland — Rethra, sacred to the god Riedegost, that of Triglav in Brandenburg, and many another fane — had been destroyed. If we may trust contemporary historians of Germany, it may be believed that the Slavs were ready to burn their sacred groves, abolish their idols, and quietly embrace the Christian faith.

But the middle of the twelfth century was no moment for practicing religious toleration. When St. Bernard appeared in Germany preaching the Second Crusade, the Saxons bluntly told him that they had a home crusade against the Slavs. The saint saw the point and blessed the enterprise. Thus befell the Wendish Crusade in 1147, which extinguished Slavonic paganism in Germany and consummated the German conquest of the East. Into the blood-stained and smoking territory again swarmed a host of settlers, farmers seeking cheap land, nobles seeking new fiefs, bishops and monks hungry for more land. Brandenburg blossomed into a powerful principality in the northeast under Albert the Bear, Mecklenburg arose in the ancient Abodrite land as a half-German, half-Slav duchy, Pomerania, also under a converted Slav duke, was coveted by both the Duke of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg. *Burgwärde* sprang into towns, the sites of former Slavonic villages were occupied by the incoming Germans. The place-names of these regions to this very day preserve the evidence of the nature of this occupation. Wherever the suffix *-burg* is found, there once was a *Burgward*; the suffixes *-lin*, *-rin*, *-tin*, and *-zig* are all Slavonic local nomenclature, as in Wollin, Küstrin, Stettin, Danzig, Leipzig. Sometimes the German conquerors instead translated the original Slavonic name of a place into German. Thus Staragrad, which meant Old Town, was translated into German as Oldenburg.

The greatest agents in this movement and the chief beneficiaries of its results were Henry the Lion, the Duke of Saxony, and Adolph of Schauenberg, Count of Holstein. But no sooner was the conquest achieved than feud broke out between them. Henry the Lion had a keen eye for commercial opportunity and was ambitious to acquire an open port on

*Wendish
Crusade
(1147)*

Brandenburg

*Growth of
towns in East
Germany*

*Henry the
Lion's Sla-
vonic policy*

the North Sea. But Bremen, at the mouth of the Weser, and Hamburg, at the estuary of the Elbe, barred an exit on that coast, so that Henry coveted possession of Lübeck on the Baltic. Lübeck was situated on an island in the Wokenitz river and once had been the stronghold of the famous Slavonic chieftain Kruto, the leader of the great Slav revolt in 1066. As long as he lived, no German dared set foot across the Elbe. His death in 1093 may be taken as a turning-point in the decline of the Elbean Slavs. Lübeck, however, had remained a Slavonic stronghold until 1147, when Adolph of Holstein captured it. Under his enterprising rule Lübeck speedily became an important port, so much so that Henry the Lion in 1158 high-handedly seized it, and under his greater rule it speedily came to rival Bremen and Hamburg and indeed surpassed them. Effective commercial life in northern Germany may be said to date from the Wendish Crusade, by which the Germans became possessed of the mouths of the German rivers flowing into the Baltic and dispossessed the rival Danes in this territory. From now on Stettin, Wollin, and Danzig were important emporiums of Germano-Slavonic commerce.

Yet all the new lands east of the Elbe, in spite of an active commerce, were more important for agriculture than for trade. The thousands of free settlers who flocked into the new east farmed their own holdings with their own labor. But the great nobles and churchmen who had acquired huge tracts felt seriously the need of raw labor in abundance to exploit their acres, the more so because the country was a rough and shaggy wilderness, covered with forest and fen. For the redemption of such tracts the marsh peoples of Flanders and Holland were peculiarly suitable. In consequence many of these nobles sent agents into the Low Countries to induce Dutch and Flemish immigrants to colonize their lands. Nobles, bishops, and abbots imported these immigrants by the thousands.

*Flemish and
Dutch
colonists in
East
Germany*

At this time Flanders was the most densely populated area in northern Europe, rivalling Lombardy in this particular, and the German immigration came as a sort of deliverance from the intense economic stress that obtained there. Fortune has preserved for us a Flemish emigrant song of this epoch. The first stanza runs:

*Naer Oostland willen wy riden,
Naer Oostland willen wy mee,
Al over die groene heiden
Daer isser een betere stee.*

The response was a rush of settlers like nothing so much as the rush of settlers into the Ohio valley after 1812. These lowlanders, used to deep plowing in heavy soils, drained marshes and diked streams, leaving the clearing of the forests to the Saxon incomers. Again place-names tell the

story; in the lower Weser valley around Bremen, and along the rivers, villages still exist in this region of Germany that preserve Flemish or Dutch names.

Importance of
eastward
colonization
movement

The conquest and colonization of three-fifths of modern Germany, the making of this great "new east," was not the work of the emperors. "The men who did these things were not diverted by Italian wars and far-reaching diplomatic combinations."¹ The emperors were indifferent to all this development. It was the great deed of the German people. The short-sightedness of the emperors in so neglecting this movement is astonishing. They made no endeavor to acquire lands for the crown beyond the Elbe, "and yet it was just here that with a resolute effort a new territorial foundation of the imperial power was still possible, as the results of a later time show."² While old Germany at the end of the Hohenstaufen period dissolved into a chaos of petty brawling states, the states built up in this new east, like Brandenburg — and the same may be said of Austria — displayed a strength and a vitality that in the thirteenth century shifted the political center of gravity in Germany from old feudal Germany to new east colonial Germany. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the greatest ruling houses of Germany were the Hohenzollern in Brandenburg and the Habsburgs in Austria.

Bohemia,
Poland,
Hungary

The Bohemians and the Poles — and the Hungarians, though they were not Slavs, may be included in this category — were spared from complete subjugation by the Germans owing partly to their greater distance away from Germany than the Elbean Slavs, and partly to their stronger political fiber. All three of these peoples preserved their autonomy, but were compelled to recognize German overlordship, which, however, was often ineffective. The upper classes among these peoples were considerably Germanized. The Polish word for nobility, "*szlachta*," is a German word. The administrative institutions reflected German feudal institutions, and the merchant class in every one of these countries was almost wholly German or German Jewish. In every important town, Prague, Warsaw, Posen, Budapest, there was a German quarter. As for the higher culture in Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, like learning, literature, and art, it was wholly of German origin, and most of the bishops were Germans or at least had been educated in Germany.

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¹ FISHER, *op. cit.*, II, 22.

² FISHER, *op. cit.*, II, 22.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY UNDER PHILIP AUGUSTUS (1180-1223) AND ST. LOUIS (1226-70)

(PHILIP AUGUSTUS (1180-1223) was "a developer, rather than an innovator; his reign brought into bloom the germ which had come into being under Louis VI, and even earlier sovereigns, and which the chill and feeble rule of Louis VII could not destroy."¹ From his very youth men felt that Philip Augustus was destined to be a great king. It is told how when he was thirteen or fourteen years old, he was seen one day idly chewing a stem of grass. One of the barons said he would give a good horse to know what the prince was thinking about. Another dared to ask the prince, whereupon Philip replied that he was wondering if God would ever restore France to the greatness she had enjoyed in the reign of Charlemagne. The greatest of the French, as the greatest of the German kings also, were fascinated by the tradition of Charlemagne.

*His reign
important for
both territorial
expansion
and adminis-
trative
development*

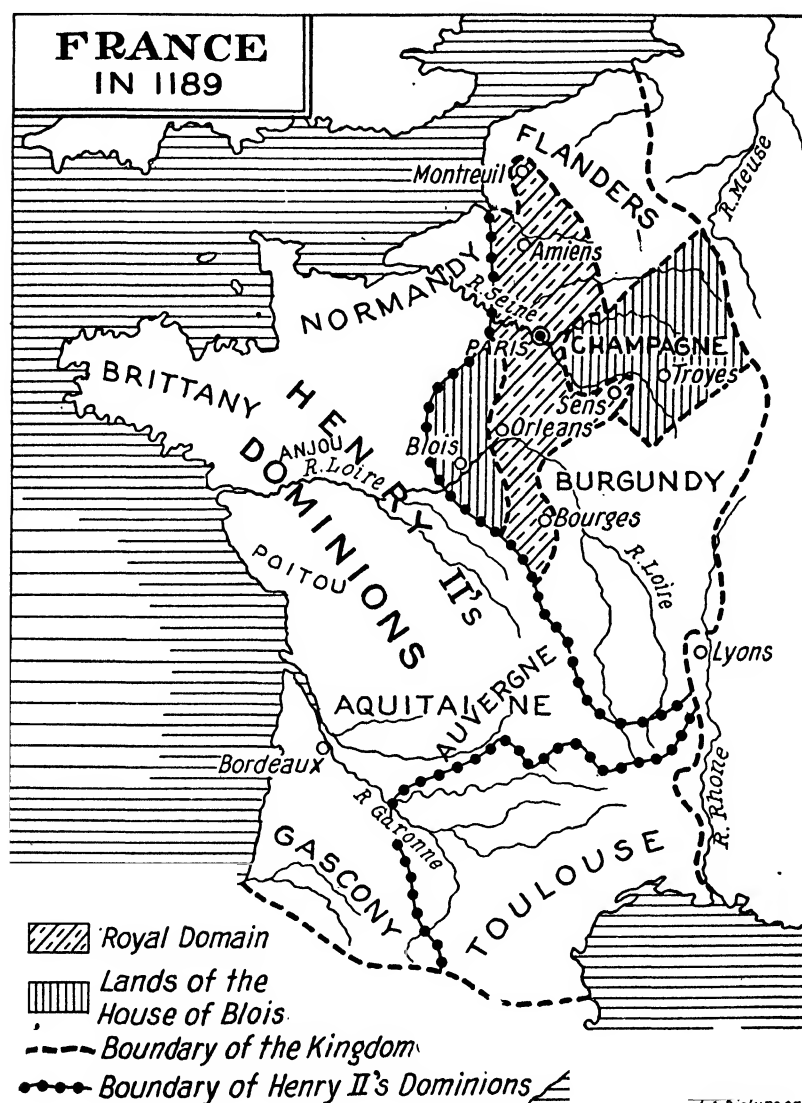
His reign was a period of striking change in the history of the French monarchy; externally, it was one of enormous territorial expansion; within, it was an epoch in the consolidation of the royal power. In each of these results Philip II achieved the destiny promised him through the slow and continuous development of institutions and the wise application of a policy established by his predecessors, happily combined with events abroad that rendered his opponents in England and Normandy, in Flanders, Germany, and southern France, peculiarly vulnerable to French attack. The length of his reign, nearly forty-four years, was also an advantage, for in the course of that time nearly every great fief in France would change possessor at least once, numbers of them several times, with obvious advantage to a king alert in asserting feudal prerogatives. Moreover, Philip's character was in his favor; strong, sagacious, calculating, patient, without principle, and unswayed by emotion, he never made a false move and never experienced a pang of either mercy or regret.)

*Philip II and
Flanders*

At the outset of his reign, though but a boy of fifteen, he had displayed these qualities of strength. His mother's house — that of Blois and Champagne — sought to govern him, especially through his uncle, the Archbishop of Rheims; but in the very year of his coronation Philip married Elizabeth, daughter of the Count of Hainault and niece of Philip of

¹ WILLISTON WALKER, *Development of the French Monarchy under Philip Augustus*, [Leipzig dissertation, 1886].

Flanders. The natural disinclination of the house of Blois to see power pass over into the hands of the Count of Flanders led to feudal strife of four years' duration, which was ended by the death of the Queen at the



moment when the Champagne party were pressing for a decree of divorce at Rome. The death of the Queen reversed the parties. The Count of Flanders claimed the estates of his niece, and war followed (1184-6). The Champagne party now rallied to the count's support, and the conflict ended in the addition of Artois to the royal domain.

But France could weigh no territorial annexation against the continental dominion of England. As long as the king of France was overshadowed by English power in the north and west, the power of the king to influence the course of events in the other great fiefs of France was very slight.

To the destruction of the English empire in France Philip Augustus bent his greatest effort. But he used diplomacy as well as war to this end. It is very important to observe that towards the end of the twelfth century one can discern the beginnings of a systematic grouping of the great states of western Europe and the formation of international alliances. In 1187 Philip Augustus and Frederick Barbarossa as we have already seen, concluded an alliance to oppose their formidable vassals, the Angevins and the Welfs. This alignment of feudal Europe into two alliances, a Capetian-Hohenstaufen one and an English-Welf one lasted until the battle of Bouvines in 1214 made it no longer necessary.

*Anti-English
alliance with,
the Hohen-
staufen
(1187)*

The unfilial conduct of the sons of Henry II favored the French King. Philip II helped Henry, Richard, Geoffrey, and John in rebellion against their father, and brother against brother when Richard I became king of England and John intrigued to get his throne. The capture of Richard by the Emperor Henry VI on his return from the Holy Land, in December 1192, and the fourteen months' imprisonment that he suffered, left the field open to the joint plot of Philip and John. Philip was base enough to persuade the Emperor to lengthen his enemy's imprisonment. Finally, the enormous ransom demanded for his release having been in part paid and the rest guaranteed by hostages, Richard I was released and returned to England in March 1194. John's rebellion collapsed with the capture of Nottingham Castle; and in May Richard crossed over to Normandy bent upon being avenged upon the King of France. On July 5, 1194 Philip was suddenly attacked near Fréteval in the Orléonais, and all but captured, losing his plate, his baggage, the seal of the realm, and the registers of the treasury. An English chronicler records that Richard pursued his conquered adversary so hotly that his horse went blind from the terrible exertion. As a result of this disaster, the most humiliating Philip II ever experienced, the French were forced to retire from Normandy, Maine, and Touraine and beg a truce. In 1196 the war was resumed in Normandy, but was shifted to Flanders by the turn imperial politics had taken.

*Philip II and
Richard
Lion-Heart*

At the death of Henry VI (1197) the Guelf and Ghibelline factions in the Empire put up rival candidates. The Welf candidate was Otto IV of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, and therefore nephew of Richard. England declared for the Welf candidate because of her commercial interests in northwest Germany, and because the Ghibelline choice was Philip of Swabia, younger brother of Richard's hated jailer, Henry VI.

*French in-
trigue in war
of succession
in Germany*

Flanders and Boulogne followed suit. On the other hand, Philip II naturally recognized his Swabian contemporary, of like name with himself, and carried the war into Flanders, where he was unsuccessful. An undecisive action also took place at Gisors on the Norman border (October 28, 1197). A year's truce again followed. The respite was used by Richard to build the remarkable Château Gaillard on the height overlooking the Seine near Andelys, just above Rouen, in order to guard the Norman capital from the French. The massive ruins of this structure yet testify to Richard's genius as an engineer. The erection of this fortress precipitated hostilities anew in September of the next year, although the truce had not expired. Philip again essayed to attack Normandy and again near Gisors (September 20, 1198) narrowly escaped capture. Finally the intervention of the Pope secured a five years' truce (January 13, 1199); and three months later the untimely death of the English hero (April 6) delivered Philip Augustus from the ablest foe he ever encountered.

Normandy

*Death of
Richard
(1199)*

The growing weakness of the Angevin Empire and the growing power of the French monarchy by this time were the subject of serious talk in England. We have an interesting record of such a conversation between the chief justiciar, Ranulf Glanville and Gerald of Wales, a bishop. The accession of John to the Plantagenet inheritance had precisely the same effect upon Philip's policy as that of Richard had had. The French King became the enemy of his former ally and continued to promote division in the continental dominions of the English crown. (The cynicism of Philip's policy at this time is remarkable.) He had pitted all the sons of Henry II against him; he had played John against Richard; and now when John was king, he played off Brittany against him in the person of Arthur. He recognized the latter in Brittany and Normandy and, under cover of supporting him, garrisoned Breton and Norman strongholds with French soldiery. Then by an infamous piece of double dealing Philip abandoned Arthur; and as the price of French recognition of John, in May 1200 he forced the English King to cede Evreux to France, renounce Richard's alliances in Germany and Flanders, marry his niece Blanche of Castile to the French Crown Prince Louis, perform liege homage, and pay two thousand marks sterling. For the next two years Philip bided his time while watching the progress of the struggle between John and his nephew. Arthur was captured by John, sent to Falaise, and thence removed to Rouen; and although exactly what happened has never been discovered, there can be no reasonable doubt that John made away with Arthur, probably in April 1203. Meanwhile Philip Augustus had thrown off the mask. John had unwittingly cast himself into the toils, for he had divorced Isabelle of Gloucester and married Isabelle of Angoulême, although she was betrothed to Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche, and John's

*Philip II and
King John of
England*

vassal as count of Poitou. The jilted lover (whether because his heart was sore, or because he was a partisan of Arthur and saw a way to embarrass John, we need not inquire) appealed to Philip as John's overlord for Poitou, for redress of the injury. The point was cleverly made. In the feudal system the highest suzerain was the king; beneath him the lords were judges in their own domains, as the king in his, only on condition of giving ear to all demands for justice. In case of failure to do justice, in the theory of feudal law, the king had original jurisdiction over rear-vassals. Even this prerogative of the king had lapsed under the first Capetians, and was not revived until the reign of Louis VI; but neither he nor Louis VII had ever attempted to coerce a grand vassal. It remained for Philip to do this, seizing upon the appeal of the Count of La Marche as a legal warrant for his conduct. The French King cited John as his liegeman for Poitou to appear in Paris prepared to answer the charge against him the second Sunday after Easter (1202). The sequence of the events that followed is obscure. There can be no doubt that the popular indignation against John because of the murder of Arthur helped Philip. John was placed in the dilemma of responding and being declared guilty, or absenting himself and suffering the penalty. He chose the latter alternative; but Philip was patient. In the intervals between successive summons he made the future secure.

"The policy of Philip completely mined the ground from beneath the feet of the English sovereign. . . . He won the subject vassals of the Norman duke for himself . . . by gifts, promises and bribery, not by force unless force was absolutely needed. The Church and the monks were made his friends by protection and concessions; and the growing power of the commercial class was recognized by the establishment or formation of communes in many of the Norman cities. The work was also aided by a policy fostering commercial intercourse with France proper. Through such means Philip won the adherence of a majority of the Normans in his favor, a work which Norman hatred of the Angevins, and weariness of the long wars doubtless assisted."¹

*English loss of
Normandy
and the
Angevin fiefs
(1204)*

Finally, when the fiefs of John had been watered and sown with French influence, the blow fell (1204). At one stroke the French King confiscated Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. The work that William the Conqueror had wrought, that the Henrys and Richard I had toiled and fought for, was lost utterly to England.

One is hardly likely to overestimate the great importance of this event. While technically in compliance with feudal law, practically the act of Philip II cut feudalism at the root. For France proper it doubled the territory of the royal domain and enormously enlarged the power and revenues of the king. As for the effects of the loss of Normandy upon England, they are as real, but not so apparent. The territorial loss was

¹ WALKER, *op. cit.*, 114.

not the greatest change. The effort to adapt English constitutional forms to continental conditions and conversely the influence of Norman conditions upon those of England were ended together.

During the next ten years Philip was occupied in consolidating the royal power in his new acquisitions and preparing against the inevitable effort that was to be made to recover them. The fellowship between Flanders and England, the union of Flanders with Hainault in 1191, the election of John's nephew, Otto IV of Brunswick, to the German throne in 1198, and finally the defection of the count of Boulogne to the English cause in 1211 were steps in the formation of a great anti-French coalition. The issue was joined in the battle of Bouvines (July 27, 1214). That great day was the most international event medieval Europe had yet witnessed, for in that engagement France, the Papacy, and the Empire, in the persons of Philip II, Innocent III, and Frederick II, were allied against England, Flanders, and Welf Germany. The victory of Bouvines confirmed the French acquisition of the Angevin fiefs.

*Battle of
Bouvines
(1214)*

The great administrative development of the French monarchy under Philip Augustus must now be observed.

Louis VI, as we have seen, had found that a danger lay in the tendency of the four great offices of the royal household — seneschal, butler, chamberlain, and constable — to become hereditary in the hands of the incumbents of these offices. The significance of the conflict with the Garlande brothers was not lost upon Philip II. What his father lacked the courage to do, Philip II did. The semi-feudal nature of these offices was a menace to the royal authority. Hence Philip II practically suppressed the seneschalship, as the most dangerous office, and filled the others with men of lower birth and without influential feudal attachments. Under him the central administration emerged from the feudal stage, although the development of these executive organs of the government had not yet reached the point of being sharply differentiated departments of administration. The king's chief minister, if such he may be called in an age when ministerial responsibility was in its infancy, was Brother Walter the Hospitaller, whose activity extended to all departments of the government, but was most manifest as vice-chancellor, military commander, and judge — a sufficiently illustrative example of the undifferentiated nature of the offices of the central administration.

Administrative changes

Household of the King

Around these chief officials was grouped a body of counsellors, lay and clerical, drawn from the king's most faithful adherents, who, without formal organization as a privy council, yet practically formed a king's council. On occasions of special moment this group was enlarged by summoning nobles and bishops of the realm. The summons expressed the nature of the business and the time and place of meeting. The character and rank of those summoned depended upon the nature of the

King's council

business. This body was variously called a *concilium*, a *colloquium*, a *curia regis*; and everything outside the range of ordinary routine and administration, which was dealt with by the palace officials, might be considered in it. It was thus a deliberative body, a legislative body which considered the royal ordinances, and a high court, all in one. It was never, however, a co-ordinate branch of the government. Its function was merely advisory and nothing in the law compelled the king to accept its advice. ~~The king was the seat of authority, executive, legislative, judicial.~~ This does not mean, however, that he was an absolute monarch. Far from it. A strong king is not necessarily an absolute king. The contractual nature of feudal government and the mutual relations subsisting between lord and vassal — and it must be remembered that the king was a suzerain — operated as a limitation upon royal prerogative.

/Parlement of
Paris

By far the most frequent and most important employment of this assembly was as the royal judicial court — the *curia regis*, as it was commonly called, for the title of *parlementum* or parlement did not come into use until the reign of St. Louis. But under Philip II the feudal element in this body was of decreasing importance. As the crown became stronger and more monarchical, as the royal jurisdiction extended, as the number of cases increased, there developed a necessity for the advice of those more learned in the law than fighting barons. Hence under Philip II for the first time we find the presence of technically trained legists in the *curia regis*. Before Philip Augustus's reign terminated, the competence of the royal court, reinforced by the king's superior military power, had made it prevail far beyond the territory of the royal domain. Every great feudatory acknowledged its jurisdiction. This extension was largely accomplished through the system of "inquests," which were really an extension of the *curia regis* to the local scene. But the inquest was not a local court. It merely ascertained the facts — the action based on those facts was determined by the king and his counselors. This practice greatly promoted the effectiveness of the royal authority and, as we shall see, paved the way for the wide recognition of the parlement of Paris under St. Louis.

Local
government

In the matter of local administration the first Capetians seem to have followed the Carolingian tradition of delegating local administrative power in prescribed areas of the royal domain to a local count of the region, who was, of course, the king's vassal. But in the reign of Robert the Pious we find provosts instead, at Sens and Étampes, and from the time of Henry I onwards no other local official is found. Apparently the kings — and some of the feudatories likewise — adopted the institution of provosts from the ecclesiastical system.

Provosts

The provosts were like the former Carolingian counts in that they had judicial, fiscal, and military responsibility; but their districts were much smaller than counties and in general not larger than a chatellany. But

like all other officers in the feudal age the provosts labored to make their office hereditary, to transform it into a fief, to the detriment of the king's authority. A bold and unscrupulous provost might become a petty local tyrant. The broad nature of their powers and the feudal tendency of the office in time made the provosts as locally dangerous as the petty baronage. We find instances of the complete depopulation of localities owing to their excesses.

Philip Augustus understood these evils and in 1190, before leaving for the Holy Land, introduced a radical reform of the local administration. This was the institution of the bailiffs. By this change a number of contiguous prévôtés were grouped into a larger administrative area called a bailiwick, and a bailiff was appointed therein to oversee the provosts. The bailiff was therefore an administrative, judicial, fiscal, and military superior of the provosts. But he was salaried out of the royal treasury instead of deriving his support, as did the provosts, from the fees of his office. Consequently the opportunity for graft was taken out of his hands. He was appointed by the *conseil du roi* or king's council and was responsible to it under the crown. As fast as the royal domain under Philip II expanded, the system of bailiffs was extended over the new acquisitions and everywhere made for efficiency and increasing centralization of administration.

Establishment of bailiffs

(The French king's statesmanship was singularly aided by circumstances independent of his own initiation, but by which he greatly profited. Not to mention John of England's troubles with the papacy and the English barons, and the feud of Guelf and Ghibelline in Germany and Italy, the situation of many of the great fiefs of France was such as to further his plans.) The early death of some of the greatest French vassals, or their long absence in the East on crusade, or protracted minorities gave room for advantageous interference by the king in their fiefs. When Baldwin of Flanders went on the Fourth Crusade and subsequently became the ill-fated first ruler of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, one of the king's most redoubtable opponents to the conquest of Normandy was removed from his path. Moreover, the lapse of many fiefs into the female line — among them Flanders, Brittany, Nevers, Boulogne — offered opportunity for Philip II to intervene, especially in regulating marriage to the royal advantage.

(But by far the most important event of Philip II's reign by which the French crown profited without effort or sacrifice on its part was the Albigensian Crusade, which destroyed the independence of the mighty county of Toulouse and the satellite fiefs attached to it and so made possible in the reign of Louis IX the extension of the royal power over the south. Although at the end of the twelfth century Philip Augustus annexed to the crown the important provinces of the northeast; although, at the

Albigensian Crusade

beginning of the thirteenth, by the conquest of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, and part of Auvergne, he extended his domination into the west and the center, yet the south or Midi still escaped entirely from royal authority. Ever since the accession of the Capetians the southern provinces had had little relation with the rest of France. Guienne and Gascony pertained to England. The south was free under its own local lords. The real rule of the French crown did not extend beyond the county of Poitou and the territories of La Marche, Aunis, and Saintonge, which were dependencies of it. In acquiring a portion of Auvergne Philip Augustus, approached towards the south, but did not penetrate it.

The two feudal sovereignties that divided authority in the Midi were the house of Barcelona and the house of Saint-Gilles. The former was represented by the king of Aragon, a foreign prince who possessed the county of Montpellier, and by a cadet branch established in the county of Provence. The latter governed the rich and powerful territory of the county of Toulouse and its attendant fiefs, Narbonne, Quercy, the Albigeois, Nîmes, the Venaissin, Béziers, Carcassonne, Foix, Rouergue, and Gévaudan. This political independence of the Midi was reinforced by the sharp difference in culture that existed between the north and the south of France.

In the rich and sunny land of Languedoc and Provence the ancient Latin heritage had been preserved with greater purity than anywhere else in Europe; the Germanic ingredient, everywhere else so dominant, was never more than a gloss there; the country had suffered little from the barbarian invasions, and the only serious misfortune that had befallen the country was the Arabic domination of the lower Rhone region between 888 and 972. But recovery from the ravages of the Saracens had been speedy, and in consequence the combination of a talented people, a marvelous climate, a rich and fertile land, accessibility to the commerce of the Mediterranean, and intelligent and just rulers had resulted in the development and diffusion of a civilization in the south of France of unusual nature and superior quality. In Provence the earliest vernacular literature made its appearance in the form of songs sung by troubadours and trouvères. One characteristic which made this portion of Europe unique was that its princes and people were truly urbane and intellectually tolerant. The Jews were not persecuted, nor were men harassed for their religious beliefs.

The result was that upon this most favored region of Europe two currents of religious opposition against established Catholic orthodoxy everywhere in power throughout Europe had converged. This opposition movement was very important and its consequences are even still to be felt. (In French history it had a material influence upon the formation of the royal domain, but it was a general event of European history.) The

two currents mentioned were the sects of the Waldensians and the Catharists. The former owed its inspiration to a merchant of Lyons named Peter Waldo in the twelfth century, who became imbued with the ancient ideal of apostolic poverty and began to preach against the riches and luxury and worldly pride and power of the high clergy. He attacked the Church for its indifference to social needs, its gross wealth, its hypocrisy, its complex and imposing ritual, its stiff and formal services, celebrated in a dead language. Peter Waldo's teachings struck a sympathetic chord in the hearts of the lower classes of Provence and Languedoc, especially among the working classes, and a host of popular preachers soon cropped up everywhere, haranguing the populace in the vernacular tongue and throwing disdain upon the Church and the clergy. The doctrine of the Vaudois marked a return to the evangel; it was therefore a movement analogous to that of the sixteenth century. In 1173 Peter Waldo renounced his property, caused the Scriptures to be translated into the popular tongue by two ecclesiastics, and finally set about traveling through the country to preach forgiveness to the people. He won some followers who adopted the life on earth of the apostles, traveling about in simple costume, wearing sandals instead of shoes, and preaching the gospel to every creature. About 1178 the Vaudois doctrine was declared heretical. By this time it had spread over the valley of the Rhone and Lombardy. This movement got a great following in the towns, especially among the working classes. The Vaudois preached a return to the apostolic Church and a reform of morals; they attacked the clergy on account of their riches and power; and, finally, they gained great influence among the people by their popular style of preaching and appeal to Scripture.

*Waldensian
and
Catharist
heresies*

*Waldensian
doctrines*

*Catharist
teachings*

The Catharist movement was of remote Oriental origin and harked back to the formidable Manichæan belief that had so tried the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries. Although frequently persecuted, the belief survived century after century. As Paulicianism its westward progress has been traced by historians across Asia Minor into the Balkan peninsula, where Paulician teaching gained great following among the Hellenized Slavs and the Bulgarians in the ninth century and was known as the Bogomil heresy. From the Balkans the teachings spread through Dalmatia, Bosnia, and the Adriatic ports into Italy. In the eleventh century we find the sect in many scattered groups in Lombardy, eastern and central France, the Rhinelands, and Flanders, where the votaries were mostly drawn from the lower classes. The teachings seem to have been first carried across the Alps by Italian students attending the schools in France, especially those of Rheims, Paris, Orléans, and Chartres, or by Lombard merchants going to the Champagne fairs and Flanders. For ideas, as well as goods, follow trade-routes, and we find that students and traders were often vehicles for heretical beliefs.

While Catharist teachings found a local following almost everywhere, in Provence and lower Languedoc Catharism was espoused by many of the upper class and by great masses of the population. Montpellier, Narbonne, Toulouse, Marseilles, Agen, and Montauban were dense centers of these sectaries. In the diocese of Albi these votaries were so numerous that the heresy became widely known as Albigensianism. The question of the number of these dissidents upon the eve of the Albigensian Crusade is one that history is unable to determine. The Church exaggerated the number in order to justify its work of proscription, while adversaries of the ecclesiastical policy, perhaps, have underestimated the number in order to make the Church's course of proscription and persecution more odious. One thing is certain: in its fanatical warfare the Church made religious toleration an equal crime with heresy and warred against Waldensians, Catharists, Jews, and every feudal noble who was tolerant of new and dissident religious ideas within his principality.

Unlike Waldensianism, which quarreled with the Church's social and economic practices, but accepted its theology, Catharism was a positive religious belief, founded upon principles that were radically hostile to both the doctrines and the practices of the Church and subversive of them. It was dualistic, not monotheistic; it taught that there was a God of good and a God of evil. Satan was not a fallen angel, but an evil deity. From this double premiss it was argued that everything spiritual was of divine emanation, and that everything of a material nature — however inoffensive it might seem to some — was of evil emanation. To eat meat was to make oneself "impure." The Greek word *catharos* = *pure* was the maxim of the sect and gave it its name Catharism. With relentless logic the Catharists disbelieved in marriage because it was based upon a physical relation, which gave ground for Catholics to say — and say truly — that they attacked the institution of the family. The Christian life ought to be ascetic; men should abstain from eating meat and from sexual relation with women and refrain from taking oaths. The Catharists rejected the sacrament and the doctrine of transubstantiation — of the change of the bread and wine of the mass into the body and blood of Christ. This, of course, was tantamount to rejection of the whole process of divine atonement and human salvation through Christ. The Catharists denied the existence of hell and believed that all men would ultimately be saved, some sooner, others later, by growth in "perfection." The perfectibility of the human race, not the universal depravity of mankind, was a cardinal tenet. To them Jesus was not the Son of God, nor the Holy Virgin the Mother of God. Instead Jesus and Mary were first among the angels. The Holy Spirit was the chief of "celestial intelligences." This doctrine, of course, denied the Trinity, and excited great hostility among Christians. Incarnation, atonement, resurrection, and ascension were all eliminated by their

tenets. At the resurrection not the bodies, but only the spirits of men would be raised up from the dead.

In outward form, however, the Catharist ecclesiastical organization was modeled after that of the Church. It had its "bishops," its lesser "clergy," called "believers," and its schools. All the clergy were rigorously ascetic and celibate. The Roman Church could pick no quarrel with the Catharists on this score.

The alarm of the Roman Church owing to the widespread diffusion of Catharism was very great. Neither admonition nor ecclesiastical discipline was effective among a population that denied the fundamental authority and teachings of the Church, and the clergy got no support from the feudality of Languedoc and Provence, some of whom were openly or secretly advocates of Catharism, and many more of whom at least believed in religious toleration. Papal legates came and went impotently seeking to uphold the hands of the bishops and dissuade the populace from toleration of the sect. About the end of the twelfth century the most civilized portion of Europe, the Mediterranean region, began to slip from the domination of the clergy. Heretics were formally condemned. Already at the Lateran Council of 1179 the bishops there had been advised to treat them as infidels and to organize a crusade against them. The condemnation was repeated in 1184. But the clergy was poorly organized to oppose them; they were not even in accord upon the procedure and the punishments. More especially there was no means of arresting the heretics when the feudal nobility protected them.

*Alarm of the
Church*

*Lateran
Council
(1179)*

(At last, after forty years of ineffectual effort, Pope Innocent III resolved upon recourse to suppression by force of arms—in a word, to coercion and destruction by a crusade. The great weapon of Christian fanaticism against the infidel was to be employed in a Christian land against a population that was still Christian in culture and feeling, one in blood and tradition with the French people, intelligent and industrious, whose labors had made Languedoc and Provence the happiest and most prosperous country in western Europe. Religious passion and prejudice culminated in two ferocious crusades, instigated by the papacy, which destroyed the integrity of the rich and brilliant provinces of the south, to the immense profit of the kings of France. Innocent III's call for a crusade in 1208 for the extirpation of the Catharists was eagerly responded to by the French baronage of the north. For since the failure of the Third Crusade in 1190 and the diversion of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 to Constantinople instead of to Egypt and the Holy Land, the real crusades had languished. Moreover, even the Pope for the nonce was more alarmed over the spread of heresy in southern France than in recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. As a result of the papal appeal the Duke of Burgundy, the counts of Montfort, Nevers, Auxerre, and Saint-Pol, and others

*First
Albigensian
Crusade
(1209)*

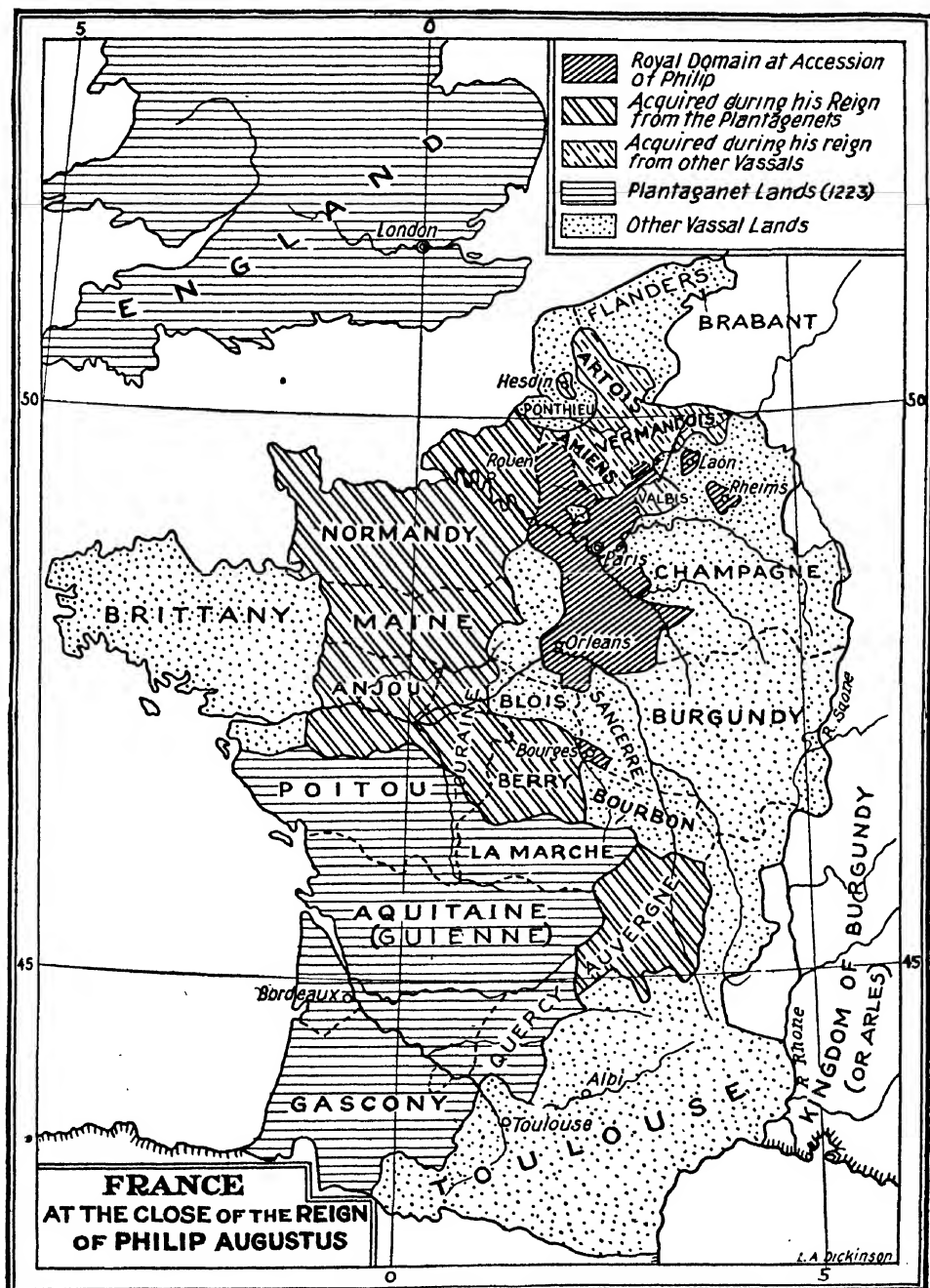
swarmed into the Midi with their feudal hosts, bent upon pillage and plunder and the acquisition of new territories. Thus the process that had been used against the infidel was turned against the heretics. Two crusades were hurled upon the south of France, in 1209 and 1225; there was a similar one in Lombardy in 1254.

Philip Augustus himself took no part in the expedition, and there is some evidence that he disapproved of the participation of his son Louis in it. In reply to the Pope the King asserted that he would not intervene unless Innocent III would compel peace between France and England and grant him the right to tax church property for support of the enterprise. But the Pope refused. The truth is that Philip II resented the papal interference in France and the assumption of papal right to dispose of French fiefs, and boldly so declared. If and when the Count of Toulouse were decreed to be a heretic, then the penalty for heresy, he said, was to be enforced by the secular arm, but the Pope had no right to dispose of the county of Toulouse, which was a fief of the crown of France.

*Devastation
of
Languedoc*

The Viscount of Carcassonne was the first victim of this invasion of the south by the warlike baronage of northern and central France. In 1209 Béziers was captured and its inhabitants massacred; Carcassonne succumbed to siege and the luckless viscount died in prison. After these preliminaries the victorious ruffians designated the notorious Simon de Montfort as their commander, whom the Pope decreed to be the new ruler of the conquered territory. (The war of religion became a war of conquest, waged by brutal invaders, not only against heretics, but against all the feudal princes of the south. Raymond VI, the great Count of Toulouse, was the saddest victim of this great spoliation.) Beaten at Muret (September 1213), he fled to the protection of the English in Gascony, while the crusaders overran his lands.

In 1215 the Lateran council, where 71 archbishops, 412 bishops, and over 800 abbots were convened, consecrated what force of arms had done. Raymond VI was declared a heretic and deprived of his estates; the county of Toulouse, the duchy of Narbonne, and the viscounties of Béziers and Carcassonne were adjudged to Simon de Montfort, who forthwith proceeded to divide the lands as fiefs among his swarm of vassals. The counties of Foix and Comminges and the viscounty of Béarn were spared from spoliation on condition that their lords did homage to the new Count of Toulouse. Raymond VI's son, another Raymond, to whom his father, when abdicating, had transferred his estates, was permitted to retain possession of the marquisate of Provence, together with some fragments of the county of Toulouse that the crusaders had not yet occupied. Provence and the county Venaissin and the city of Avignon were appropriated by the crown. A century later it became the seat of the papacy after the fall of Boniface VIII.



So far Philip Augustus had held himself aloof from the war in the Midi. But he could not resist the papal authority and the decrees of the Lateran Council. Accordingly on April 16, 1216 at Melun he received the homage of Simon de Montfort as count of Toulouse.

Strife soon broke out among Simon de Montfort's followers, a strife aggravated by his haughty and violent character. At the same time a movement of opinion began to form in favor of the dispossessed nobles. Raymond VI and his son reappeared in Provence, where the loyal population trooped to his colors. Béziers and Toulouse were recovered in September 1217 with the aid of Pyrenean vassals. All the Languedoc rose in insurrection. Simon de Montfort, hastily recalled to the south, was killed by a missile flung from a catapult (June, 1218), and his death was the signal for the retreat of the crusaders, who abandoned Quercy, Agenais, Rouergue, and Armagnac. Philip II refused to aid his son Amaury de Montfort as he had refused to support the father. In 1222, when Raymond VI died, he had the consolation of leaving his son the greater portion of his states, which he had recovered. Amaury de Montfort, at the end of his resources, offered to yield to the French King all the rights that his father and he had acquired from the Lateran Council. But Philip Augustus hesitated to accept so compromising an engagement—he had no wish to become embroiled with the Holy See—and died (1223) before any arrangement was effected.

*Effects of the
crusade*

Neither by character nor by circumstance was Louis VIII (1223-6) in a position to persevere in his father's policy of prudence and non-intervention in the south. Therefore he accepted the proffer of Amaury de Montfort, who ceded to him all the rights that the Church had conferred upon him, and in 1223 a second war for conquest of the Midi was begun under leadership of the French King. Although outwardly Raymond VII's position might have seemed to be strong once more, actually the county of Toulouse was a fragile shell. The first Albigensian Crusade had irretrievably altered the condition of Languedoc, politically, economically, and socially. The comital authority had been seriously shattered; there had been appalling destruction of life and property; thousands had been driven into exile; commerce, industry, and agriculture had been destroyed; the land was filled with new invaders, who had occupied the soil. Public opinion had changed; it was now either indifferent to Raymond VII or hostile to him and was favorable towards the extension of French royal domination over the south. Louis VIII captured Avignon, Nîmes, Castries, Carcassonne and Albi and at Pamiers received the homage of the Count of Foix. But the King's sudden death in 1226 again gave a lease of life to the house of Toulouse; for the minority of Louis IX and the revolt of the French baronage against the monarchy, whose growing power they feared and resented, tied the hands of the Queen-mother for two years. But by

1228 Raymond VII was at the end of his resources. On April 12, 1228 the Treaty of Meaux was signed, by which Raymond VII made his peace with the Church and surrendered most of his territorial possessions to the crown of France, retaining only a portion of his ancestral inheritance. The cession included almost all the lands between the eastern end of the Pyrenees and the Rhone — Narbonne, Maguelonne, Nîmes, Agde, Carcassonne, Vivarais, Gévaudan, and the part of Albigeois that lay south of the Tarn River. The Count retained the county of Toulouse, Albigeois north of the Tarn, Rouergue, Quercy, Agenais, and the suzerainty over Foix. But even this possession was a species of tenure, in usufruct; for a special article of the treaty provided that Raymond VII's daughter Jeanne was to marry a brother of the French King, that at the death of the Count of Toulouse his territories were to revert to his daughter (or rather her husband), and finally that if these two died without issue, the entire ancient heritage of the house of Toulouse should fall to the French crown.

French annexation

The King's brother who married the heiress of the Midi was Alphonse de Poitiers, who throughout his life was the ablest minister, confidant, and friend of Louis IX and almost the King's other self in intelligence, efficiency, and probity. His justice and integrity of character remedied the disasters that the county had suffered and slowly wrought the assimilation of the provinces of the south of France with the realm. (Thus, as Philip Augustus had territorially doubled the area of the French monarchy in the north and acquired the Channel coast, so Louis IX doubled the territorial area of the French crown in the south and reached the blue waters of the Mediterranean.) The two processes and the two events were complementary of one another.

The relation of this history of the Albigensian Crusade has carried our narrative deep into the period of the reign of Louis IX. We must now go back and view the beginning of Louis IX's reign (1226-70).

The progress of the French monarchy was not impaired by the death of Louis VIII, although Louis IX was a child of six at the time. France was already used to a regency. Louis VII had left France in the hands of Suger in 1147; and Philip II, when he went to the East in 1190, had also established a regency. The regent of the infant Louis IX was his mother, Blanche of Castile, a woman remarkable in history for her strength of will and piety. Blanche of Castile is one of the great women of medieval history — beautiful, high-minded, able in government, one who imbued her son with her own sense of duty, her own purity of purpose and conduct. Even after Louis IX reached his majority, she continued to be in fact, if not in name, the real ruler of the realm until her death, when her son was in Palestine. For ten years Blanche governed France, while her son was being educated by his mother as few monarchs have been in the theory and practice of government. He is called St. Louis, for the son surpassed

Minority of Louis IX

Queen Blanche of Castile the regent

even his mother in grace and Christian piety. His reign falls into five periods:

*Chief events
of the reign
of St. Louis*

1. The regency (1226-36);
2. The first period of personal government of St. Louis (1236-48), characterized by the conflict with Henry III over Poitou, the organization of the western and southern provinces of France and important foreign relations.
3. The Seventh Crusade (1248-54).
4. The second period of the personal government of St. Louis (1254-69), characterized by large administrative and institutional changes.
5. The Eighth Crusade (1269-70).

The epoch of the regency was a long struggle with rebellious barons, who resented the growing power of the monarchy and took advantage of the King's minority to revolt against the crown. Guienne and Gascony had been little affected by the Albigenian Crusade, but the loss to England of Normandy and the Angevin fiefs was profound. The continuous dominions beyond the sea of the English kings from the Channel to the Pyrenees were disrupted in 1204. Henceforward they could only communicate with their French provinces by sea and were in a constant struggle to prevent the absorption of the Plantagenet dominions by the rapidly growing power of the French kings.

"The minority of Louis IX. offered exactly the same opportunity for English interference in France which the earlier minority of Henry III had offered for the French interference in England. It was a case of simple retaliation. Just as Louis VIII. had been called in by John's discontented subjects, so Henry was summoned to head the resistance of the great feudatories who fiercely writhed under the vigorous regency of Blanche, the French Queen-mother. Henry towered far above the heads of these men. Though actually he held only Guienne and Gascony, he still received homage from Brittany and La Marche; he still regarded Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou as his own, torn shamefully by the French kings in its hour of weakness from the English Crown."¹

Chief among the malcontents was Peter Mauclerc, Count of Brittany, through his wife, Alice, who was the daughter of Constance, Arthur's mother. This faction pretended to espouse the claims of Philip Hurepel, a legitimated son of Philip II, and older than Louis IX; but the move was intended as a stab at Blanche. Few of the great French barons came to court to pay homage to the boy-King after his father had died, and soon after the coronation, when the court was at Monthléry, a plot was set on foot to seize the Queen-mother and separate her from her son. But the

*Baronial
reaction*

¹ MONTAGUE BURROWS, *The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire*, p. 17.

French towns which had received their charters of privilege from the crown, whose militia Philip II had fostered and used to advantage in the great victory at Bouvines in 1214, which hated and feared the haughty baronage and were attached to the royal cause, saved the day. When Queen Blanche sent word to Paris that the King could not come to his "good town" because the great barons threatened the road, the citizens turned out under arms and lined the road from Montlhéry to Paris with their militia. The memory of this devotion of the Parisians made a deep impression upon Louis IX and he always retained a peculiar love for Paris and its people.

The sullen barons again in 1229 formed a new conspiracy, and a league was framed in order to arrest the growing power of the monarchy, headed by the Duke of Burgundy and the counts of Brittany, Champagne, and La Marche and backed by Henry III of England, who sent forces in support of the movement into Brittany. Again the conspiracy was foiled. The termination of the regency in 1236 afforded a third pretext for revolt. The leader of the coalition was Theobald of Champagne, who also was heir of the Kingdom of Navarre. Again Peter of Brittany conspired with England; and again the rebellion was crushed. In the interval between these two repulses Blanche had profited by the effects of the Albigensian Crusade to acquire Beaucaire and Carcassonne from the Count of Toulouse, stipulating that the daughter of Raymond VII should marry Louis's younger brother Alphonse of Poitiers.

*New feudal
league
(1229)*

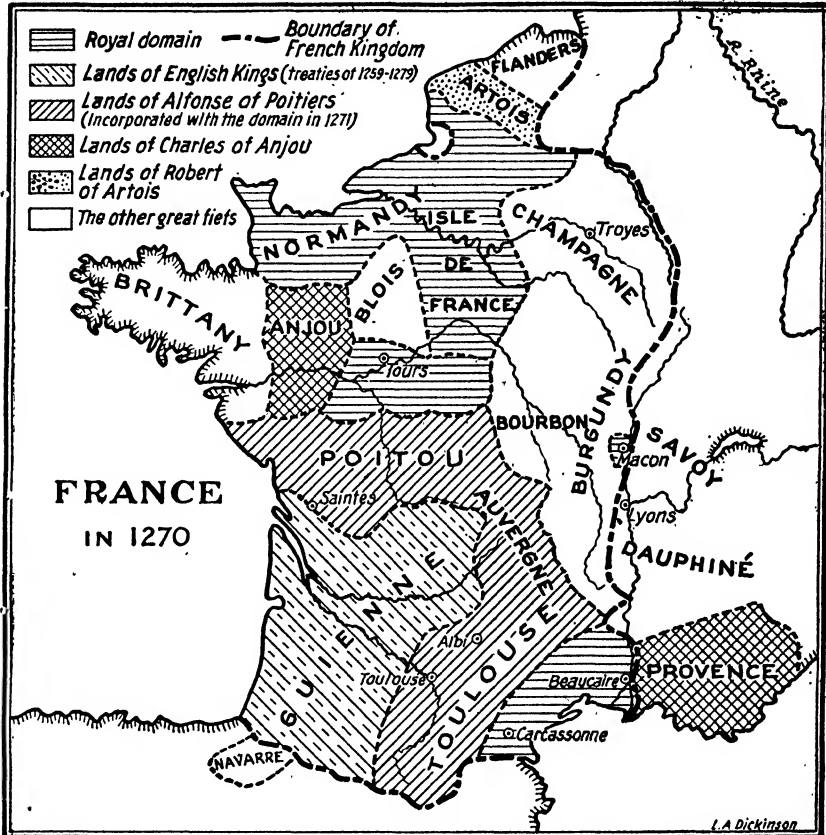
Louis IX began his independent rule by organizing the government of the provinces in the south, as Philip II had organized the Angevin fiefs. In 1241 his brother Alphonse was given Poitou in appanage. This investiture brought France and England again into conflict. Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche and vassal of Poitou, who had married John's widow, Isabel, resented the introduction of the French rule and appealed to Henry III, who sent across sea thirty hogsheads of esterlings to finance the conflict. The English hoped to overrun these provinces and to recover their former domination in France, relying on Raymond of Toulouse and the Count of Foix to divert the French. But the league was utterly broken in the battles of Taillebourg and Saintes (1241).

*War with
England*

Desultory war, punctuated by ineffective truces, continued between France and England until 1259, when Henry III at last perceived the futility of endeavoring to restore the Angevin Empire to its pristine splendor. In 1259 the English King accepted the terms of peace offered by Louis IX and renounced all claim to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou, but was confirmed in possession of Guienne, Gascony, Limousin, Quercy, and Périgord on condition of doing homage to the King of France and swearing never again to support any revolt of French vassals against their sovereign. This settlement marks an important stage in the

*Peace with
England
(1259)*

territorial expansion and consolidation of the French monarchy. Louis IX had the wisdom to leave the French acquisition of Guienne and Gascony to his successors. "France had already, and somewhat rapidly, taken into her system as much as she could digest and assimilate." At the same time disputed territorial claims between France and Aragon, arising out



of the Albigensian Crusade, were also adjusted. France gave up all pretension to the county of Barcelona in return for the renunciation of Spanish claims in Foix and Languedoc.

The Seventh Crusade was the one disastrous event of St. Louis's reign. Able and cautious though he was, the zeal of his heart carried him away. With the history of that crusade (1248-54) French history has to do only incidentally. The King's absence in the East might have proved disastrous for France had not Henry III been so involved at home, for the five years' truce had expired when Louis sailed. His return six years later (July 1254), though clouded by defeat and captivity in the East, was timely for France. Blanche had died in 1252, and Henry III was again threatening.

*Seventh
Crusade
(1248-54)*

*Develop-
ments in ad-
ministration*

(Like the reign of his grandfather, the reign of Louis IX was remarkable for improvements introduced into the internal administration, law-courts and judicial procedure. Most of these changes were developments of preceding reforms and are striking manifestations of the continuity of French monarchical institutions. St. Louis extinguished the practice of private war — the curse of the feudal world — throughout all the royal provinces; he abolished the judicial duel, and so improved the administration of justice that the golden age of Charlemagne seemed to have returned. Seneschals were set over the newly acquired provinces to enforce the administration of bailiffs, and provosts and special commissioners (*enquêteurs*) peered into court proceedings and checked and audited public accounts. Taxes were carefully spread and honestly collected. The appellate jurisdiction of the crown was greatly extended with the effect of both destroying ancient local abuses and introducing a growing uniformity of legislation and administration. The principle of feudal order formulated by Beaumanoir, the great medieval publicist of France, that "all law and jurisdiction is held of the king in fief or rear-fief," began to combine imperceptibly with the purely monarchic idea that "the king in virtue of divine right is the sole source and supreme dispenser of justice."

But the most important measure instituted by Louis IX was the formation and management of a trained body of lay lawyers, versed in the study of the Roman law, a tendency that shifted the decisive weight in the king's council and the parlement of Paris from the baronage to the immediate servants and dependents of the crown. This change encountered vehement opposition from both the feudality and the clergy, who foresaw the ultimate destruction of their privileged jurisdiction in the introduction of the principle that "the will of the prince is the supreme law," and who regarded with suspicion a body of non-noble judges who looked solely to the crown for advancement and recompense and were as clever as the canonists themselves in argument and endowed with a learning in the law and a subtlety of reasoning far superior to that possessed by the old-fashioned feudal legists. The royal ordinances were later collected into a famous code of French law, known as the *Etablissements de Saint Louis*, one of the great medieval sources of French jurisprudence.

The last years of Louis IX's reign, from the time of his return from the Holy Land, in 1254, to his death in 1270, were wonderfully peaceful and profitable years for France. Nothing happened to break the almost monotonous prosperity of the kingdom. French political history becomes little but the register of the King's annual journeys from province to province and town to town in vigilant enforcement of his enlightened administration and long accounts of the royal charity. The progress of

*Prosperity of
France*

ecclesiastical and civil architecture attests the material wealth and spirit of the reign. The period witnessed the high tide of Gothic architecture in such erections as the marvelous cathedrals of Amiens, Bourges, and Beauvais, exquisite churches like the Sainte-Chapelle, which the King built as a reliquary for the crown of thorns, and countless abbeys, convents, hospitals, and colleges, among them the Sorbonne for the University of Paris. The King's affectionate biographer, the Sire de Joinville, who had accompanied him on the ill-fated crusade and whose life of St. Louis is a perfect tribute to an almost perfect man, picturesquely and beautifully wrote of his benefactions: "As the transcriber illuminates the book which he is writing with gold and azure, so the King illuminated his realm with the fine abbeys which he built, with *maisons-dieu* and houses for the friars preacher, the Franciscans, the Carthusians, and many other religious orders."

Character of
St. Louis

Manliness, resolution, composure, spiritual elevation, nobility of mind, sincerity, and quiet dignity, mingled with familiar charm of manner, genuine piety without ostentation, seriousness, which yet could bend to merriment, modesty, and fine feeling, fondness for good company and pleasant friends and clean, enjoyable conversation — all these qualities so adorned St. Louis that he was truly almost a paragon among men. He was no goody-goody, no sentimentalist, but a man of character. As a sovereign there is no other monarch like him save Marcus Aurelius, the Roman philosopher-Emperor. He was the first king of France who was fond of books and learning beyond the self-education of court and camp. His reading was wholly in theology, but he was not cloistral in his outlook on life. In common with other noble-born youths Louis IX had been trained in all the exercises of chivalry, and the chase with hound and falcon. But he had no passionate devotion to outdoor sports or indoor games. When he was criticized for undue attendance upon religious services, he dryly replied that if he spent twice the amount of time in hunting and hawking and dicing, no one would think it extraordinary.

Louis IX's virtues so hallowed the idea of kingship in France that the viciousness or tyranny or weakness of some of his successors could not obliterate for many centuries the record of what kingship could be in wise and capable hands. Royalty became almost a political religion in France with St. Louis. In his own lifetime he was the most popular citizen, not only of France, but of all Europe. Even the Mohammedan world venerated him. History is sometimes pitiless in its destruction of illusions, but in the case of St. Louis history and legend are one. The fame of the man was as wide and as high as his repute.

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THE EASTERN EMPERORS, 813-1204

LAST OF SYRIAN (ISAURIAN) DYNASTY

Nicephorus I, 802-11

Stauracius, 811-12

Michael I, *Rhangabe*, 811-13

AMORIAN DYNASTY, 813-67

Leo V, the Armenian, 813-20

Michael II, the Stammerer, 820-9

Theophilus, 829-42

Michael III, the Drunkard, 842-67

BASILIAN OR ARMENIAN (MACEDONIAN) DYNASTY, 867-1057

Basil I, the Macedonian, 867-86

Constantine VI (with Basil I), 868-78

Leo VI, the Wise, 886-912

Constantine VII, or VIII, *Prophyrogenitus*, 912-59

Alexander, 912-13

Romanus I, *Lecapenus*, 919-45 (As associates his three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine)

Romanus II, 959-63

Nicephorus II, Phokas, 963-9

John I, Zimisces, 969-76¹

Basil II, *Bulgaroctonus*, 976-1025 (As associate his brother, Constantine, 1028)

Constantine VIII or IX, 1025-8

Romanus III, *Argyrus*, 1028-34

Michael IV, the Paphlagonian, 1034-41

Michael V, 1041-2

Constantine IX or X, *Monomachus*, 1042-54 (Reigns with his wife, Zoe)

Theodora, 1054-6

Michael VI, *Stratioticus*, 1056-7

COMNENIAN DYNASTY, 1057-1204

Isaac I, Comnenus, 1057-9

Constantine X or XI, Ducas, 1059-67

Eudocia, 1067-71 (In the name of her sons, Michael VII, 1067-78, Andronicus, and Constantine and with her second husband, Romanus IV, 1067-71)

Michael VII, 1071-8

Nicephorus III, *Botoniates*, 1078-81

Alexius I, Comnenus, 1081-1118

John or Calojohannes, Comnenus, 1118-43

Manuel I, Comnenus, 1143-80

Alexius II, Comnenus, 1180-3

Andronicus I, Comnenus, 1183-5

Isaac II, Angelus, 1185-95

Alexius III, Angelus, 1195-1203

Isaac II (restored) } 1203-4

Alexius IV, Angelus }

Alexius V, Ducas, 1204

¹ Usurper.

CHAPTER XIX

THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE FROM THE FALL OF IRENE (802) TO THE CRUSADES (1096)

THE HISTORY of the Eastern Roman Empire in the three centuries extending from the fall of Irene, in 802, to the inception of the crusades — a turning-point of immense significance in Byzantine history — has a natural unity. Yet it was a unity commixed with diversity, for in the course of these long years there were changes both within and without the Empire. The former were chiefly those of economic condition and social structure; the latter the rise of two new military powers upon the borders — the Russians in the north and the Seljuk Turks in Asia.

*Unity of the
period
(802-1096)*

Nicephorus I (802-11), as we saw in a previous chapter, unlike most of the emperors, had been bred up in the imperial civil service instead of in the army. He was a good administrator and endeavored by rigorous financial measures to repair the dilapidated condition of the treasury. Elsewhere in the government he tried to maintain the civil and political reforms that had been instituted by the iconoclasts, but with more moderation than they. Yet in spite of his intelligence and tact the hostile monastic party gave him constant trouble, and he was never able to mollify their prejudices. Abroad Nicephorus I's policy was less fortunate. In 803 he was compelled to bend to Charlemagne and recognize Frank overlordship over the two powerful dukes of Lower Italy, those of Benevento and Spoleto, so that Byzantine sway in the far south was reduced to the extreme of the peninsula. In 806 Cyprus, Rhodes, and Asia Minor were ravaged by the Arabs, with whom the Emperor was compelled to make a humiliating treaty. In 807 there was a rebellion of Slavs in the Peloponnesus. In the north the ferocious Bulgar chieftain Khan Krum menaced the Balkans, and in the battle that ensued only a remnant of the imperial army escaped from the bloody field of Bersinikia beyond the Hæmus. Nicephorus I was sorely wounded, and though he lingered for some months, his reign was over.

*Nicephorus I
(802-11)*

*Byzantine
Italy*

Arabs

Bulgars

A combined military and palace revolution brought about the abdication of the wounded Emperor. The new Emperor, Michael I (811-13), was a native of Amorion, in Phrygia, and had been count of the theme of Anatolia, the goal of many an Arabic invasion. Of more significance is the fact that by birth he was an Armenian — the first Armenian of prominence in medieval history. Verily times had changed since the age of Justinian. "The time had come when men of Armenian, Slavonic, or

*Armenian
influence
Michael I
(811-13)*

even Semitic origin might aspire to the highest positions in Church and State, to the Patriarchate and the Empire.”¹ The significance of the event, however, was not in the man, but in the evidence of the strength of the ancient Armenian stock. For Michael I himself was an incapable soldier, a weak administrator, an extravagant financier. Within two years he gave way before another Armenian of a different nature. This was Leo V (813–20), who had been made chief commander of the army after the battle of Bersinikia. The downfall of his predecessor and his own accession were due to a furious attack of the Bulgarians, which so frightened Constantinople that a revolution ensued. The repulse of this host and the death of the formidable Khan Krum carried the victor to the throne. Three years later another victory at Mesembria assured the Empire thirty years of peace in the north. Unfortunately the old fire of iconoclasm broke out, whose passionate spokesman was the famous Theodore of Studion. The iconoclasts were too strong. In 816 a new church council proclaimed the iconoclastic canons of that of 787, and the decree spelled the doom of Leo V. The forces of opposition were beyond his power to exorcise, and in 820 another ambitious general, another Michael (II) assassinated him and seized the purple.

Leo V
(813–20)

*Bulgar attack
on Constanti-
nople*

Michael II
(820–9)

*Slav and
Saracen
incursions*

Loss of Sicily
(827)

Civil war
(821–4)

The new Emperor was a rude provincial, but a man of vigor. Like Michael I, he was a native of Amorion and had been count of the theme of Anatolia. This low-born Phrygian founded a dynasty that lasted for three generations. But adversity dogged his reign. The Serbs invaded and occupied Dalmatia; Saracen corsairs, astonishing to say, from Spain, captured Crete and founded a pirate state there in 824; the African Aghlabites took possession of Sicily (827). But these reverses befell the remoter parts of the Empire. Far more serious was the civil war in the years 821–24.

The inspirer of this formidable rebellion was an adventurous, ambitious, and utterly unscrupulous officer in the army named Thomas, a Slavonian by birth, from a colony of Slavs settled in Pontus. He had played fast and loose under preceding rulers and once had lived as a refugee for fifteen years among the Arabs in Syria. In 821 he appeared as a pretender in the eastern themes of Asia Minor, where he drew to his standard swarms of the adventurous and discontented, who intercepted the taxes that should have been forwarded to Constantinople. Within a short time most of Asia Minor was either cowed or under his domination. Flushed with success, the insurgents, having seized much shipping, crossed the straits into Europe, where thousands of Slavs from Macedonia joined them; and soon Constantinople, which time and again had withstood external foes, saw itself besieged by domestic foes almost as dangerous. The siege was begun in December 821 and endured — though with long cessations from attack — until the spring of 823. The struggle was fought

¹ BURY, *The Eastern Roman Empire from Irene to Basil*, p. 22.

on land and on sea and was spectacular to a degree. In the end, by the irony of history, the civil war was terminated by the intervention, in the spring of 823, of the Bulgarians, who destroyed the rebel army and perhaps may be said to have saved the Empire from dissolution.

The influence of the civil war upon Byzantine economic conditions and social texture was profound, especially in the Asiatic provinces. *Effects*

"The system of immense estates owned by rich proprietors and cultivated by peasants in a condition of serfdom, which had prevailed in the age of Justinian, had been largely superseded by the opposite system of small holdings, which the policy of the Isaurian emperors seems to have encouraged. . . . The civil war could not fail to ruin numberless small farmers who in prosperous times could barely pay their way, and the fiscal burdens rendered it impossible for them to recuperate their fortunes unless they were aided by the State. But it was easier and more conducive to the immediate profit of the treasury to allow these insolvent lands to pass into the possession of rich neighbors, who in some cases might be monastic communities. It is probable that many farms and homesteads were abandoned by their masters. A modern historian who had a quick eye for economic changes judged that the rebellion of Thomas 'was no inconsiderable cause of the accumulation of property in immense estates, which began to depopulate the country and prepare it for the reception of a new race of inhabitants.' If the government of Michael II had been wise it would have intervened, at all costs, to save the small proprietors. Future emperors might thus have been spared a baffling economic problem and a grave political danger."¹

To all these effects we must also add the devastation and insecurity created by the raids of the Arabs from Syria who took advantage of the civil war to ravage the provinces of Asia almost with impunity. Further, the weight of fiscal oppression imposed by the imperial treasury impoverished the middle class and lower element of the population and in so doing operated to the advantage of rich local proprietors, who often bought confiscated or abandoned farms for a song. The chief of these onerous taxes were the hearth tax and the land tax. The former was a modification of the old capitation tax and was levied on households. But — and here was the rub — the urban population did not pay it, so that it fell wholly upon the rural population. Moreover, corporations like the monasteries and nunneries, which were enormously rich and upon which the imposition would have been no burden, were exempted. The collection of the land tax was equally unjust. Theoretically, large estates as well as small properties, including tenant and leasehold property, were liable for the land tax; but in practice the great proprietors frequently evaded it, so that small freehold and tenant farmers had to pay nearly all. The effect again was to make the poor poorer and the rich richer. To add to

*Fiscal
oppression*

¹ BURY, *op. cit.*, 110.

the injustice, if a taxpayer was insolvent, his neighbors, sometimes even the entire village, had to make up the deficiency. This extra charge was the notorious *epibolé*. Other sources of imperial revenue were customs duties, which were immense, a toll on receipts (which amounted to an income tax), death dues, and judicial fines.

Theophilus
(829-42)

*Series of
disasters*

The reign of Michael II's son Theophilus (829-42) was not fortunate, nor yet so disastrous as one might think when the events are known. In Sicily the Arabs extended their sway over the island, and in Asia Minor the Arabs, in their unceasing ambition to reach Constantinople from Syria, at last captured Amorion in 838. Worse still was the loss of Ancyra. Fortunately the European part of the Empire remained untroubled save on the extreme northern frontier, where the Petchenegs harried the mercantile ports on the Black Sea until an alliance with the Khazars put a partial check to their incursions. The two reverses in Asia, combined with the rising sea-power of the Mohammedans since the capture of Crete and Rhodes, induced Theophilus to make a remarkable diplomatic overture to the West. In 839 a Byzantine embassy was sent to Germany to solicit an alliance between the Frank and the Byzantine emperors and to petition for the assistance of a western fleet for attack on Syria and Asia. If Theophilus had known the torn condition of the Frankish Empire in the middle of the ninth century, he would have saved himself the futile gesture. No more effective was the Byzantine Emperor's fruitless embassy to the Spanish Khalif. Spain also was too distorn to make an expedition beyond the sea. Venice was implored likewise in vain. The negotiations are nevertheless interesting.

Commerce

Yet in spite of fighting within and foes without, the Byzantine Empire not only carried on; it prospered, thanks chiefly to its enormous commerce, both by land and by sea. We have no reliable figures for the ninth century, but we know that in the twelfth century the total imperial revenue in modern terms of money reached the sum of \$600,000,000. It could not have been less than a half-billion dollars in the ninth century.¹ Not all this enormous wealth was wantonly squandered. For, as we shall see in a later chapter, it became the means for the nurturing of a Byzantine art and a Byzantine literature that was one of the glories of the Middle Ages.

When the Emperor Theophilus died in 842, his son and successor, Michael III, was a child of three years of age, and a regency was appointed. Unfortunately, as the young Prince grew to manhood, he manifested so frivolous and vicious a character that in the end it entailed the fall of the Amorian dynasty. His extravagance almost staggers the imagination and reminds one of the tales told of the ancient Roman emperors Nero and Caligula; he had a passion for horse-racing and raced his own chariots in the circus; he travestied the ceremonies of the Church in mid-

¹ BURY, *op. cit.*, 219-21.

night carousals with his cronies in the palace and left the management of public affairs to his mother's brother Bardas, a capable man, who restored the sea-walls of Constantinople, which had been badly dilapidated during the recent siege. In this reign the great religious and administrative reforms initiated more than a century earlier by Leo III terminated in the surrender of the government to the orthodox clergy and the fanatical monks, with whom now the *dunatoi* or great landed proprietary class were allied. The weight that seems to have turned the scale in this direction was the increasing hostility of Church and State against the Paulicians, a sect that either maliciously or ignorantly was branded as Manichæan, than which no religious term could have been more opprobrious to the masses. "This sect widely diffused throughout Asia Minor from Phrygia and Lycaonia to Armenia, had lived in peace under the wise and sympathetic iconoclasts of the eighth century. They have been described as 'the left wing of the iconoclasts'; their doctrines—they rejected images, pictures, crosses as idolatrous—had undoubtedly a great influence on the generation of the iconoclastic movement."¹ They had suffered occasional persecution from Nicephorus I, Michael I and Theophilus and were now relentlessly pursued by the government. The ground of accusation was both religious and political; for, spread over the territory adjacent to the Mohammedan frontier in Asia Minor, the Paulicians would have been more than human if in the circumstances they had not connived with the Arabs. Accordingly those who were not slain or did not escape to Syria were transported into Bulgaria. These rural Manichæans were massed especially in Macedonia, where they found leaders in the big nobles of these valleys, who assumed biblical names, such as David, Aaron, Moses, Samuel. Allied with them were the local population around Mount Pindus, Albanians and Vlachs, and a vague ambition towards the autonomy of these peoples is manifest in the movement—to create a separate state in the region around Lake Ochrida.

*Alliance of
the monks
and the great
landed pro-
prietarys*

*Paulician
heresy*

The imperial government could not protect southern Italy against repeated Saracen raids from Sicily, by now become almost wholly an Arabic possession. But it found partial compensation nearer home in the conversion of the Bulgarians to the Greek form of Christianity at this time (867), to the vast chagrin of Pope Nicholas I, who had warmly espoused the labors of missionaries of the Latin Church in Bulgaria. In the nature of things the religious and political destiny of Bulgaria could hardly avoid being bound up with Constantinople rather than with Rome. This defeat of papal ambition and victory of Byzantine diplomacy marks an important point in Balkan history.

*Conversion of
the Bulgars
(867)*

In this same period also we first hear of the Russians, or rather the Swedes in Russia, from Byzantine chronicles. In 838-39 Russian envoys

Russians

¹ BURY, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

from Kiev had appeared in Constantinople at the court of Theophilus, but it was merely a curious incident. Now, however, with the founding of Kiev the Byzantine Empire and Russia entered into permanent relation. In 860 a Russian fleet crossed the Black Sea, entered the Bosphorus, plundered the monasteries on both sides of the straits, and threatened Constantinople. Fortunately a great storm at last dispersed the fleet and raised the siege. Thereafter, though there was not always peace between the two peoples, the penetration of Greek civilization and Greek Christianity into Russia, combined with important commercial intercourse, rapidly drew Russia into the orbit of Byzantine influence, even if the territory never became an integral part of the Byzantine Empire. This result brought the peoples of the great Russian plain for the first time in recorded annals within the purview of positive history and wrought a revolution of portentous importance in eastern Europe.

*Rise of
Basil*

In his later years Michael III fell under the influence of one of the most picturesque and heroic adventurers that even Byzantine history, which is so full of the exploits of such men, affords. This was Basil, whose biography reads like a romance. He was descended from lowly Armenian parents and was born in the colony of Armenians settled in Thrace. In childhood he had been carried into captivity by the Bulgarians in the time of Khan Krum and was brought up in the territory beyond the Danube, then called "Macedonia," a circumstance that accounts for the fact that he is sometimes called a Macedonian. He escaped from bondage when he was twenty-five years of age and made his way to Constantinople, where his great physical strength got him employment as a groom in the stables of a rich courtier. His handsome face and figure soon attracted the attention of a rich lady of Patras, who gave him money wherewith he purchased estates in Thrace, though he still remained in his master's service until new fortune befell him. The Emperor had a wild and spirited horse that no one could tame, and, having heard of Basil, gave him the task. Like Alexander the Great he rode the dangerous brute, and in after years, when he became emperor, as a reminiscence of this incident, court genealogists traced Basil's descent from the greatest Macedonian of history. His advancement thenceforward was rapid. He was made a *prostrator* of equerry of the palace, later became high chamberlain, and soon was adopted by the childless Emperor as his son. Already he had supplanted Bardas, and now his ambition aimed at the throne. In 867 Basil murdered Michael III and thereby founded a dynasty as brilliant and effective as the Isaurians before them, which ruled the Eastern Roman Empire until 1057.

*Basil I
(867-86)*

As an emperor Basil I (867-86), both as a soldier and as an administrator, proved to be a capable ruler. In Asia he conducted two victorious campaigns against the Arabs in 871 and 880. His success was even greater

in Lower Italy and Sicily, where the Saracens had taken Bari in 867 and had taken captive the western Frank Emperor Louis II. When released, the hard-pressed grandson of Louis the Pious endeavored vainly to strengthen his hand in Italy by effecting a marriage between his daughter and Basil's eldest son, but the negotiations led only to a warm feud between the two emperors as to the legitimacy of the claim of the Western Empire to be the successor of the ancient Roman Empire. In 874 the Arabs took Syracuse, and their corsairs soon appeared in the Ægean. But the Byzantine fleet swept the sea of these marauders and cleared Lower Italy of the invaders. At this time the theme system of the Byzantine Empire was extended to southern Italy, and the old provinces were organized into two themes, those of Longobardia and Calabria. At the same time Greek priests extended their missionary efforts among the Slavonians in Dalmatia, again to the discomfiture of the papacy. Croat civilization was superior to that of the Serbs. But the cleavage between the two peoples by which the Croats became catholic was due to an economic factor: the desire to get possession of the catholic Dalmatian cities.

*Military and
naval
victories*

The internal administration of Basil I was not less energetic. Church matters deeply interested him, not because of religious, but for political, reasons. As the highest ecclesiastical office in the Byzantine Empire the patriarchate of Constantinople had been bandied about for years between the political factions. Bardas when regent had exiled Ignatius, a monk and a narrow-minded bigot, and made Photius, the most famous Byzantine scholar of the Middle Ages, patriarch in his stead, in six days passing him through all the grades of the hierarchy. But on the morrow of the murder of Michael III, Basil, in order to acquire favor with the powerful monastic party, deposed Photius and recalled Ignatius; but after Ignatius's decease, he reinstated Photius. The studious scholar, however, had no taste for the cabals of the court nor for ecclesiastical administration and in 888 retired into a monastery in Armenia. As a financier Basil I labored to restore order in the finances and distinguished himself, though making many enemies in so doing, by compelling many of the unscrupulous favorites of his predecessor to return their ill-gotten gains to the treasury.

Government

Basil I's greatest achievement is the code of laws that he proclaimed, the *Basilica*, which entitles him to the honor of being called the Byzantine Justinian. This code supplanted the previous code of Leo the Isaurian and remained in force, with later modifications, until the fall of the Byzantine Empire, in 1453. It was not completed until the reign of Leo VI. The materials that entered into this magnificent *corpus juris* were Greek translations of Justinian's *Code* and *Digest*, supplemented by the opinions and interpretations of the greatest of Byzantine jurists. Like the previous similar codifications of Justinian the *Basilica* was compiled by a

Legislation

commission of lawyers who excelled their model in a superior method of arrangement of materials. The value of this magnificent code for administrative and institutional information is manifest; but to the historian the most important matter in the *Basilica* is the evidence that by the middle of the ninth century the great reforms of Leo III had been discarded. The great landed proprietors, the *dunatoi* and the monks, were again in the saddle, more especially in Asia Minor, and freeholders and free tenantry have disappeared or nearly so, and universal serfdom once more prevails as in the later Roman Empire in the sixth and seventh centuries. Basil I's legislation yielded to circumstance and restored the old order. From this time forward the tendency was for large estates to grow still larger and for the number of them to increase, for small peasants to become tenantry, for the tenant class to sink to serfdom.

Leo VI
(886-912)

Reverses

Under the long rule of Leo VI (886-912), surnamed "the philosopher" because of his studious habits, the ascendancy created by Basil I diminished. On every frontier the Byzantine Empire was menaced or even driven in. The Bulgarians broke the long peace that had obtained under their formidable "Czar" Simeon. The battle of Bulgarophygon was a disaster to the Greek arms, and perhaps nothing but the danger the Bulgarians themselves felt from the Magyars prevented them from following up this victory by an attack upon Constantinople. In the West, Sicily was finally wholly lost with the Arab capture of Taormina in 907. At the same time Mohammedan corsairs from Syria and Crete ravaged the islands of the Ægean. Samos was pillaged in 889, Demetriad in 902, Lemnos in 903; and in 904 Thessalonica, next to Constantinople the most important city of the Byzantine Empire, was taken by surprise and sacked by the Tripolitans.

Growth of
despotism

And yet so conservative were Byzantine tendencies and traditions that in spite of these reverses the imperial prerogative inclined more and more towards despotism. "The legislative and executive power were centred in the person of the monarch," writes Gibbon, "and the last remains of the authority of the Senate were finally eradicated by Leo the Philosopher. A constitution of his speaks the language of naked despotism." This autocratic authority extended even to the Greek Church, whose clergy, if they knew, must have envied the power and independence of the bishops in the kingdoms of western Europe. It is an interesting contrast to observe that this intense centralization in the East is simultaneous with the extreme of political centrifugalism and feudal particularism in the West. Besides the *Basilica*, in which this absolutism is reflected, we have another evidence of it in a work of Leo VI's own compilation entitled *The Book of the Prefect*, a manual of instruction for the prefect of Constantinople, which shows that nothing was too great or too small for imperial cognizance. State control and administrative surveillance of subjects probably has

Book of the
Prefect

never gone further anywhere else in history than in the Byzantine Empire in the high Middle Ages. It was state socialism, not for the benefit of the subjects, but for the benefit of the government, and especially for that of the fisc.

The next Emperor, like his predecessor, was also a pedant on a throne. This was Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus (912-59). For twenty-four years he was under a regency, and his independent reign was only during the years 946-59. At the time his father died, the situation of the Byzantine Empire was grave. Arab corsairs vexed the Archipelago and threatened the mainland. Simeon, the Bulgar Czar, again defeated the imperial arms at Anchialos in 917. Two pretenders to the throne arose; there were factions within and fears without. Fortunately Simeon died in 927, before he could do more harm, and things mended when the Emperor's personal rule began. His generals defeated the Magyars, who, having been checked by the Germans in the West, turned their arms against the East, in 958, 961, 962. In Russia imperial influence was extended over the Petchenegs and Khazars, and the Russian Grand Duke of Kiev (956) formally professed Christianity of the Greek rite. In Lower Italy the government held its own against the Arabs of Sicily. In Asia a series of great victories over the Mohammedans again extended Byzantine sway to the Caucasus and over Armenia once more.

*Constantine
VII (912-59)*

*Wars on
every
frontier*

With all these achievements the studious Emperor had really nothing to do. It was the work of his generals and his civil officials. But the success attests the innate vitality of a state that tradition erroneously represents as stagnated and effete, sunk in sloth and bigotry. Constantine was not a man of action. His own interest and influence were wholly exerted in the realm of literature and the fine arts. No ruler in history, perhaps, so assiduously cultivated letters and the arts. He wrote a large number of books, a collection of historical extracts, lives of the saints, scientific, medical, and agricultural treatises, *The Ceremonies of the Court*, which shows him to have been an ardent antiquarian, *The government of the Themes, Tactics*, and *The Life of Basil the Emperor*, a remarkable work both in composition and in originality, and finally, most important of all, *The Book of Administration*, peculiarly valuable for the information embodied in it about the various Slavonic nations with which the Byzantine Empire was in contact. As to the arts, this Emperor took intelligent and ceaseless interest in church and palace decoration, and it is said that he himself was a capable painter and goldsmith.

*Literature
and art*

The brief reign of Constantine VII's son Romanus II (959-63), in spite of his frivolity, was one of prosperity, thanks to his efficient minister the eunuch Bringas and the no less energetic general Nicephorus Phokas, who by capturing the island of Crete cleared the Mediterranean of Arab corsairs, reconquered Cilicia, and even stormed Aleppo. These victorious

*Romanus II
(959-63)*

expeditions were the prelude to the formidable offensive undertaken by his successors.

Power behind a throne often becomes the power upon the throne. It was in the nature of things, when Romanus II died, that his victorious general Nicephorus Phokas (963-9) should become emperor. No other man was so fitted for the office as he. His six years of rule were filled with achievement. In 965 he recovered Tarsus and thus made all Cilicia a Byzantine province once more. In 968 he carried his victorious arms into Syria and Mesopotamia and recovered Antioch, which had been lost for three hundred years. Between these two campaigns he made an expedition against the Bulgarians, in which he was aided by the Russians. If unable to recover Sicily, Nicephorus II strongly established the Byzantine power in Lower Italy, thus checkmating the designs of Otto the Great upon the south. But in order to accomplish these prodigious achievements the Emperor was compelled to impose heavy taxes, to devise new sources of revenue, to alter the coinage, and even to tax the Church. These measures made him exceedingly unpopular. In 969 he was assassinated by John Zimisces, the captain of his guard and the secret paramour of the Empress Theophano. Whether some of the incensed clergy were party to the murder is conjectural. But it is significant that on the morrow of the murder the patriarch demanded and received the revocation of the imperial law in prohibition of mortmain — that is the law of Nicephorus II that had forbidden the clergy to possess land free from taxation.

John Zimisces (969-76) was an able soldier. He thrashed the Bulgarians and compelled their King, Boris, to become his vassal; he defeated the Russian Duke Svatoslav and his Petcheneg allies, who had penetrated as far as Adrianople in a mighty raid, and recovered the frontier of the Danube. In Asia he was not less fortunate, for he annexed Syria as far as Beirut, and the old theme of Mesopotamia as far as Nisibis (974-5). But when he planned to stop the graft of the powerful eunuchs of the court he was poisoned by his chamberlain.

In 976 the Macedonian house again came back to the throne after the interval of two reigns, in the person of Basil II, a son of Romanus II. The reign of Basil II (976-1025) is the high water mark of Byzantine power in the Middle Ages. There was no other sovereign like him in his time in power and achievement in either western Europe or the Moham-medan world. But the first ten years of his rule were not auspicious. For Basil the chamberlain carried himself with arrogance, and two generals of the army revolted. But by 989 Basil II was master in his own house and the ensuing thirty-six years were years of brilliant accomplishment. His first achievement was that of crushing the last representatives of the great Asiatic feudality, whose field of struggle was the valleys of Asia Minor (971-7).

*Nicephorus
Phokas
(963-9)*

*Recovery of
Antioch
(968)*

*Byzantine
Italy*

*Zimisces
(969-76)*

*Basil II
(976-1025),
the Great*

Basil II's greatest feats were the subjugation of the Bulgarians and the reconquest of Lower Italy. The Bulgarian "empire," as the Czar Samuel grandiloquently styled it, was of vast dimensions and of formidable military power. The ambitious barbarian coveted Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly — indeed, as much as he could get of the whole Balkan peninsula. "The final destruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria appears, since the time of Belisarius, the most important triumph of the imperial arms."¹ The almost incessant Bulgarian war was terminated in five years of vigorous campaigning (1014-19), which culminated in the complete conquest of the Bulgarians and the unification of the Balkan peninsula once more; for the lesser movements of Vlachs and Serbs, for centuries yet, were without cohesion.

*Conquest of
the Bulgars
(1014-18)*



In Lower Italy Basil II continued the effective work begun by Nicephorus II. Less cautious than his father, the German Emperor Otto II, who had married Theophano, daughter of Nicephorus II, after her father's murder,² planned to acquire Apulia and Calabria by force of German arms, speciously justifying this war of aggrandizement by the plea that these Byzantine provinces in southern Italy had been promised to Theophano as "dowry." But Basil II formed an alliance with the Saracens of Sicily, and in 982 Otto II was disastrously beaten at Stilo, near Tarentum. The danger of future German aggression, however, was so great that the Emperor reorganized the government of these two provinces, putting the

*Repulse of
German
ambition in
Lower Italy*

¹ GIBBON.

² Constantinople must have been an unhappy place for the young girl, seeing that her father's murderer had become emperor with the connivance of her own mother.

administration, which was much militarized, in the hands of a catapan or viceroy, whose seat was at Bari.

*Relations with
Venice*

Basil II knew that when he allied himself with the Saracens of Sicily he was using a two-edged sword, and to insure himself against them he entered into an alliance with Venice, with whose sea-power he designed to supplement the Byzantine navy. In 991 in a notable document he granted the Venetians important trading privileges within the Byzantine Empire. The wisdom of this course was soon proved; for in 1002 the Venetian fleet delivered Bari from capture by the Saracens, Basil attacked the Arabs in Lower Italy and the revolted local catapans, like Melos of Bari, who, as we have already seen, called upon the Normans for assistance. The Byzantine Emperor left to the Lombard princes in the south, those of Benevento and Capua, such as Pandulph II, and to Guaimar of Salerno, the difficult task of combating these incomers.

*Relations with
Russia*

The Russian peril also at this time was allayed. The celebrated "conversion" of the Russian Princess Olga had not prevented her son Svatoslav from warring against the Byzantine Empire and taking Cherson, the only Greek colony still left independent in the Black Sea territory. But when Vladimir, Svatoslav's son, demanded the Emperor's sister in marriage, the door was opened to the ingress of Christianity and Byzantine civilization into Kiev as never before. From this time the Russian dukes became friends and were no longer enemies of Byzantium, and Russia became a rough, semi-civilized country. With the death of Yaroslav the Wise in 1054, contact between Scandinavia and Russia declined. But the Russian State, which had finally subdued the Pechenegs, was hard pressed by the Polovians, who formed the next nomadic wave out of the East. The old trade-route to the north had become discontinued; the trade-route to the south was now cut off. "Northern commercial interest in the Dnieper valley as a line of communication now ceased." The proximity of Kiev to the higher culture of Byzantium nourished Russian civilization, but politically the Russian State from now on stood alone and developed its own form and institutions until it succumbed to the Mongols in the thirteenth century.

Basil II, unlike his grandfather, had no taste for literature or the arts. He was a soldier through and through. But, as with Nicephorus II, so with Basil II, the enormous cost of his wars was paid for in merciless taxation and he was hated by all his subjects except the clergy, whom he propitiated instead of offending as Nicephorus II had done.

*"A shameful
and destruc-
tive period"
(1025-57)*

The Macedonian dynasty practically terminated with Basil II. In the next twenty-seven years there were seven emperors, every one of them a hopeless wight, the creature of the eunuchs of the palace, in whose hands all administration lay. It was "a shameful and destructive period," as Gibbon declares. The eunuch John had the hardihood to make his own brother and then his nephew emperor. Corruption and inefficiency pre-

ailed. The Petchenegs assailed the Danube frontier, Arab pirates harried the Ægean, in Lower Italy the Catapan of Bari was left unsupported by the home government to resist the redoubtable Normans; worst of all, Antioch was lost in 1029. The army grew mutinous because it was unpaid. Sedition and tumult broke out in various provinces.

The stage was set for revolutionary change and a new dynasty. In such political conditions history shows that always the initiative of new things will emanate from the real point of power. In the Byzantine Empire in 1057 that power existed among the great landed aristocracy — the *dunatoi* — in the provinces of Asia, from among whom sprang up a new dynasty, the Comneni.

*Dynasty of
the Comneni*

Before entering into the history of this new dynasty, it is pertinent to pause here for a moment to consider the nature and the bearing of some of the great social classes in the Byzantine Empire, and this entails a glance backward as far as the fourth century. In that century the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine had superimposed a hierarchic and bureaucratic administrative or official aristocracy upon the more ancient Roman landed and senatorial aristocracy. From that time forth the competition between these two high social classes for control in the government was a bitter one. Justinian had preserved the balance between the two and played the one against the other. But the Isaurians had flatly set their faces to the destruction of the great landed aristocracy, or *dunatoi*, and had deprived it of all influence in the administration and to a large degree also reduced the extent of their proprietorships. But, as we have seen, in the ninth century this proprietary class began to recover under the Amorion emperors and by the time of Basil II (c. 1000) had become reconstituted again. Under the weak emperors who succeeded him the feud between the official aristocracy and the *dunatoi* was renewed with great bitterness. But, in addition to being a class feud, this conflict was also in some degree a racial and sectionalistic one. For the *dunatoi* were especially strong in the provinces of Asia Minor, particularly in the eastern themes, in which they were native and where their great proprietary power was a bulwark against Arabic aggressions; while the administrative aristocracy was largely recruited from the Greek race in the Peloponnesus and the Balkan peninsula. Below this powerful landed aristocracy in Asia Minor and supporting it by their labor was the vast mass of the native peasantry, of hardy Anatolian stock. In the middle of the eleventh century the moribund Byzantine Empire was revived and reintegrated by this feudal aristocracy, similarly, but not exactly as the moribund Merovingian kingdom in the eighth century was made anew by the great feudality. The explanation of this phenomenon lies in economic conditions and social structure, not in politics.

*Economic
and social
changes*

The dunatoi

Among this Anatolian aristocracy the greatest family was that of the Comneni, whose rise somewhat reminds one of that of the great house

*Dynastic
revolution
(1057)*

of Austrasia in the Frankland. They are first mentioned at the end of the tenth century in the time of Basil II, when Nicephorus Comnenus was governor of the Armenian province of Vaspuracan. Manuel Comnenus defended Nicæa valiantly against the usurper Bardas. Henceforward the Comneni were never out of imperial favor, although regarded with suspicion by the crafty eunuchs of the palace. By the middle of the eleventh century the army and the court were full of bearers of this distinguished name. They commanded armies and governed provinces. Isaac Comnenus had won laurels for his prowess against the Turks, and in 1057, when Michael VI died, a group of discontented generals, "inflamed by the parsimony of the emperor and the insolence of the eunuchs," secretly assembled together in St. Sophia and put up Isaac Comnenus as emperor. He was backed by the army and the great landed aristocracy.

But although a new dynasty had come to the throne, it was some years before its sway was permanently established. For in 1081, twenty-two years after the death of the first imperial Comnenus, the Byzantine throne fell to others. It required a supreme crisis to make the rule of the Comneni permanent. This crisis was precipitated most formidably by the rise of the Seljuk Turks.

Seljuk Turks

The Seljuk Turks (who are sharply to be distinguished from the later Ottoman Turks) were a nomadic, pastoral race who tented on the plains of what is now Turkestan. They were a hardy and warlike people.

In 842 the Khalif Vathek had invested a Turkish captain with the military title of sultan. Within twenty years the Turkish prætorians were the power behind the throne. In 945 the authority of the Khalif was restricted by the Sultan to his religious duties. In 1055 Togrul Beg (1036-63), commander of the guard, compelled the Khalif to make the sultanate hereditary in his family. By this time also he had welded the loose agglomeration of Turkish clans together into a nation under his domination and ruled from the Jaxartes to the Tigris—which is to say, over all the Persian portion of the Baghdad khalifate. He soon seized Irak and Armenia. The Khalif was the shadow of a name. Except in theory the khalifate was a Turkish empire.

It was this political revolution in western Asia that precipitated the crisis in Byzantine history which brought the Comnenus dynasty into permanent possession of the throne. For the Turks were a warlike race and infused a new military spirit into the khalifal armies. Before long the warfare between Mohammedan and Christian, which for centuries past had been of the nature of occasional raids and counter-raids across the frontier between the two states, was transformed into a series of gigantic campaigns, whose design was nothing less than Mohammedan conquest of all Asia Minor. Between 1065 and 1068 Alp-Arslan (1063-72), Togrul Beg's nephew and successor, conquered Syria, Armenia, and Georgia. This destruction of the ancient kingdom of Armenia was star-

ting news to Constantinople. The Turks soon penetrated into Phrygia. The Emperor Romanus Diogenes (1067-71) for the time being dissipated this danger by falling upon the numerous Turkish detachments under local emirs whom Alp-Arslan had left scattered over central and eastern Asia Minor, in three bold campaigns, which drove the Turks again beyond the Euphrates (1068-70).

*Turkish
invasion*

But the retribution was terrible. Flushed with these successes, Romanus projected the recovery of Armenia. The Byzantine army, which numbered at least a hundred thousand men, was a motley host whose contingents were drawn not only from the dominions of the Empire, but from all Europe. Side by side with Greeks, Phrygians, Anatolians, and Cappadocians were to be found Bulgarians, Russians, and, above all, mercenary battalions of French and Normans and Norman-Italians, whose lances were commanded by Ursel of Baliol, the ancestor of the kings of Scotland. In his over-confidence the Emperor, having crossed Armenia with difficulty, advanced to the siege of Manzikert, north of Lake Van. The result was the greatest defeat even Byzantine arms had ever suffered (August 1073), for the army was literally annihilated by the victorious Turks.¹ The Emperor was taken prisoner and was only delivered when he signed a treaty agreeing to pay a million pieces of gold for his ransom and 360,000 pieces of gold annually as tribute. No more than two hundred thousand pieces of this enormous ransom were ever paid. For when word of the terrible overthrow at Manzikert reached Constantinople, a revolution in the palace dethroned the hapless ruler. Ten years of tumultuous vicissitude ensued, at the end of which Alexius I, Comnenus (1081-1118), the greatest of the Comneni, became emperor. His history is an important chapter in that of the First Crusade, where it will be considered.

*Battle of
Manzikert
(1073)*

Arp-Arslan died in 1072 and a war of succession among the Turks between Alp-Arslan's son, uncle, cousin, and brother temporarily abated the Seljuk peril. When finally the son Malek Shah at last won, he found it necessary to reconquer the tribes to the east that had escaped from the Turkish yoke during the struggle. He reduced Bokhara and Samarkand, crossed the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and penetrated even into Kashgar, at that time a Tartar kingdom tributary to the Chinese emperor. He was a new Alexander, for his great empire rivaled that of the Macedonian conqueror in size.

*Dissipation
Turkish
power*

The civilization of this new empire created almost overnight in western Asia was as remarkable as its physical grandeur. In the peaceful prosperity of his reign the cities of Asia were adorned with palaces and hospitals, with mosques and colleges; few departed from his divan without reward and none without justice. The language and literature of Persia revived under the house of Seljuk. But the greatness and the unity of the

¹ In the very same year, with the loss of Bari, the Byzantine domination in Lower Italy disappeared.

*Turkish prin-
cipalities
formed in
Asia Minor*

Turkish Empire passed when Malek Shah died, in 1092, for it dissolved into the mixed and incongruous elements of which it had been composed. The indulgence of the weak Seljuk princes "invested their slaves with the inheritance of kingdoms," who became regents or *atabegs* for their sons or heirs and in this wise got supreme political control in their own hands. Such was the condition of the Orient when the Crusades began (1095). The most interesting and important of these fragmentary kingdoms was the Kingdom of Roum, which comprehended most of Asia Minor and extended from the upper Euphrates to the Sea of Marmora and from the Black Sea to Syria. It was rich in mines of silver, iron, copper, and alum, fruitful in grain and wine, and enormously productive of cattle and horses. But, contrary to widespread belief, the Christian Anatolian peasantry found that the Turkish mastery was no worse — in fact, lighter in its exactions — than that of the Byzantine Empire had been. Iconium and Angora were two of the strongest Turkish points in the Kingdom of Roum, but the capital was at Nicæa, 120 miles from Constantinople, the Roman Emperor Diocletian's ancient capital and the city of the Nicene Creed. One may reflect upon the irony of history in so recording.

It must also be remembered that at the same time the European possessions of the Byzantine Empire had shrunk. A Slav wall of partition separated Constantinople from the interior of the Balkan peninsula; and, moreover, the Pisans, the Genoese, and, above all, the Venetians were invading the waters of the Ægean and forcing themselves into the Byzantine ports. The Normans in Italy regarded the territory of the Eastern Roman Empire as their natural prey. At the accession of Alexius Constantinople was the capital of a realm that extended from the Bosphorus to Adrianople — and no more. Yet the Empire not merely survived; it took a new lease of life under the able rule of Alexius, in whose reign its history became one with that of the crusades.

*Reasons for
persistence of
Byzantine
Empire*

The long duration and vitality of the Byzantine Empire may be explained in no inconsiderable degree by its immense and prosperous trade, and some words concerning that commerce may appropriately terminate this chapter. The primary factor in this condition was the physical situation of Constantinople, impregnable located between two seas and two continents. The greatest trade-routes of the world converged upon the city on the Golden Horn, whether from Asia, from Africa and India, or from Europe, and whether they were sea routes or land routes. In addition to raw materials in tremendous volume from every hinterland, Constantinople drew unto herself the infinite variety of luxurious importations out of the Far East, products that were sold for enormous profit, like silk, spices, precious dyes and unguents, jewels, lacquer ware, and curiously wrought articles in jade, ivory, and woods of various kinds. In addition to all this inpouring wealth from the ends of the earth the Byzantine Empire was lord of some of the richest and most populous countries of

the world, with populations immemorially skilled in commerce and trade, in craftsmanship and manufacturing, and in husbandry. The success of Byzantine diplomacy in bribing or subsidizing on a grand scale rested upon its immense financial resources.

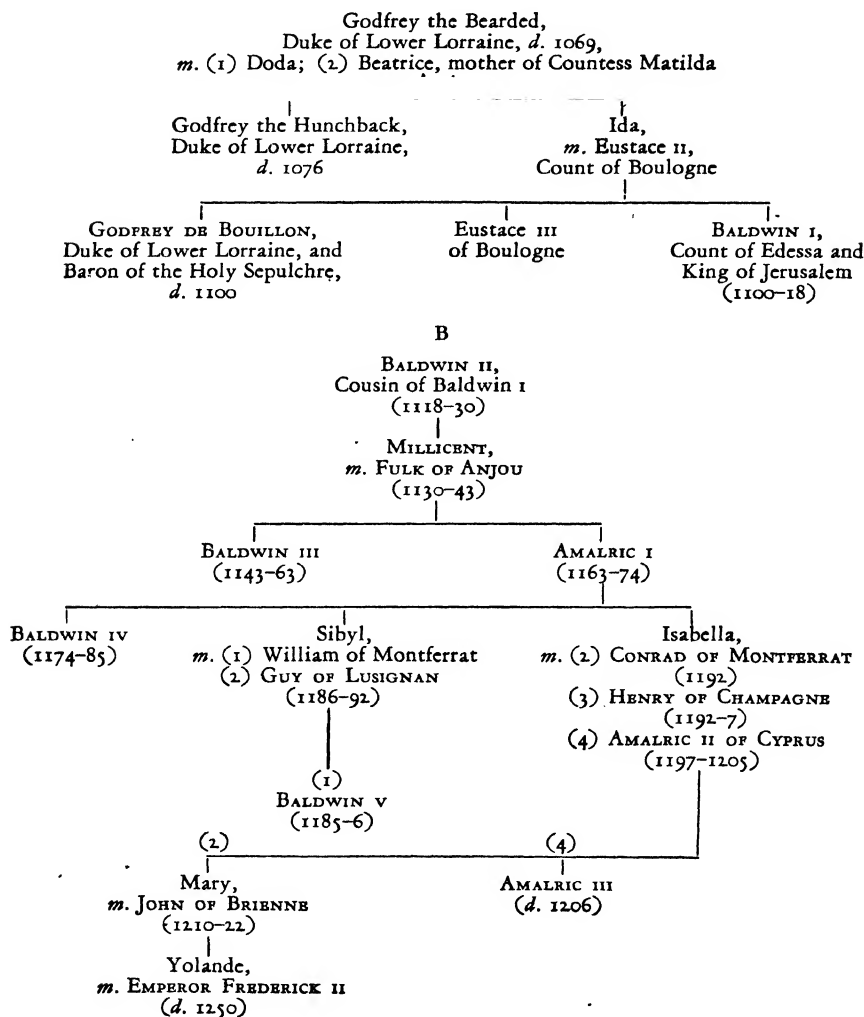
All this wealth was meticulously supervised and regulated by a government alert to derive as much fiscal benefit as possible from it, as the taxation system of many an emperor and *The Book of the Prefect*, written by Leo VI, amply demonstrate. Even the constant wars with the Arabs and the chronic piracy in the Mediterranean did not seriously arrest this commerce. The volume of the trade out of the Orient was so immense and the profits of both Arab and Christian so great that commerce made its way through every barrier and survived every disaster. When one road was blocked, another was opened; as when Syria was lost, the trans-Asian trade found its way out through Trebizond; or, again, when Armenia was closed, the trans-Asian route shifted to the head of the Caspian, where Astrakhan arose, doubly advantaged by Russian and Oriental commerce, whence the trade followed down the Don to the Black Sea and so found an outlet at Constantinople.

All western Europe for centuries got its Eastern luxuries from Constantinople; not directly from Greek merchants adventuring into the West, but from Italian merchants — Venetians and Amalfitans chiefly, until the Crusades began — who acted as middlemen. While Venice, owing to its early and peculiar trading privileges in the Byzantine Empire, profited most from this trade, as early as the tenth century the Lombard cities, notably Milan, were beginning to awaken to newness of life from the increasing volume of trade flowing over the Alpine passes, much of which was of Oriental provenience. (The desire of western Europe to grasp this lucrative trade and make itself independent of Byzantine control was a not inconsiderable motive of the Crusades.)

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GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF JERUSALEM



THE CRUSADES (1095-1291)

THE Crusades may be defined as military expeditions made at the instigation of the popes, by the nations of western Europe, especially the Normans and the French, for the Christian recovery of the Holy Land from Mohammedan domination in the two centuries embraced between the years 1095 and 1291. The first of these dates is that of the Council of Clermont, when Pope Urban II called upon the Catholic nations of Europe to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from infidel hands. The second date marks the year in which the port of St. Jean d'Acre, the last shred of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was lost to Christendom.

But this definition, though true in a narrow sense, conveys little understanding of the enormous nature of the enterprise, of the variety of motives engaged, of the play of the potent forces that were released by the movement, of the intricate combinations of men and events, of the complexity of the results. The Crusades were not mere exhibitions of popular fanaticism, as the philosophers of the eighteenth century thought; they were not mere outgrowths and culminations of pilgrimages which reached portentous dimensions in them; they were not simply a "new wandering of the nations" again, like the great migrations of the fourth and fifth centuries in their nature, with a religious ingredient admixed with old factors and motives; nor were they wholly, as some modern economic historians have contended, a medieval form of European expansion and colonization. The Crusades were all of these simultaneously. In each and every campaign in the long series of expeditions that fill the history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries every one of these motives and phenomena may be found. But the proportion or degree of the various elements differs according to time and circumstance. Even the conventional dates (1095-1291) must be accepted with reservation; for within them only the most active period of the Crusades is enclosed. The long stage of preparation and the long stage of decline of the crusading ideal lie before and beyond these two dates. In truth, the Crusades should be regarded as the medieval period in the long conflict between East and West, which has been simultaneously or in turn racial, political, religious, commercial; and in which sometimes one interest has predominated, sometimes another. And while Palestine was the earliest and primary objective of these expeditions, the exigency of events drew other Mohammedan lands, like Syria, Egypt, and northern Africa, in addition to the countries

*Significance
of the
Crusades*

comprehended within the Byzantine Empire and Armenia, into the vortex long before the Crusades reached their termination.

Historians generally distinguish eight separate crusades, of which four were directed towards the Holy Land, two against Egypt, one against Constantinople, and one against the Mohammedan power in north Africa at Tunis. But in reality these several expeditions must be regarded as particular manifestations of a single broad movement, which was one from beginning to end. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries constituted the epoch of the Crusades; only the wave rose higher and was of vaster volume in some years than in others.

*Roots of the
crusades*

Before narrating the history of the Crusades it is important to describe the preliminaries of them and to trace the origin and genesis of the movement. The oldest root of the Crusades is to be found in the medieval habit of making pilgrimages to the Holy Land, a practice that began as far back as the time of Constantine in the fourth century. At first these were voluntary acts of devotion, but in course of time the Church exacted pilgrimage as a penalty for sin and means of expiation therefor. From the middle of the fourth century to the end of the eleventh century a long list of such pilgrimages might be compiled. There were six in the eighth century; twelve in the ninth. Within less than a century after the recognition of Christianity St. Jerome wrote: "Every man of note in Gaul hastens thither [to Palestine]. Even the Briton, although sundered from our world [the Continent] by sea, no sooner gets religion than he leaves the setting sun in quest of a spot of which he knows only through scripture and common report." By the fifth century guide-books for the direction of pilgrims appeared. Neither the dissolution of the Roman Empire nor the establishment of the barbarian kingdoms arrested the pilgrim movement. On the contrary, as Europe fell more and more under ecclesiastical influence, the pilgrimages multiplied, though now and then a more discerning cleric like St. Boniface protested that too many pilgrims were adventurers and vagabonds or peddlers masking themselves as pilgrims to facilitate their wanderings, or even fugitive criminals.

Pilgrimages

Those to whom the Holy Land seemed too far away went instead to shrines nearer home, such as Rome, or the tomb of St. James at Compostella in Galician Spain. In England Glastonbury was a popular shrine and in France no place was half so sacred as the tomb of St. Martin at Tours. The word "pilgrim" originally meant a foreigner, whence it was narrowed down to mean a traveler to some holy place. The earliest particular usage of the word in this sense is with reference to pilgrims who were going to Compostella. A "palmer" was one who brought back palms from the Holy Land; a "Romer" (whence "roamer"?) was one who had been to Rome. The derivation of "saunterer" from Sancta Terra

(the Holy Land) seems a bit of overstrained etymology; it may have been derived from the medieval Latin *se adventurare*, to adventure oneself.

Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, though it might have had hardships, was devoid of great peril, even after 638, when Palestine was conquered by Omar. For the wars between the Ommeyyad khalifs and the Byzantine emperors were political wars and waged for territorial aggrandizement. The commercial relations between the East and the West were too important to be stopped, so that Christian and Mohammedan merchants and traders continually crossed the lines between the conflicting states, and the pilgrims were wont to go and come with them. This relation was even much improved in the time of Charlemagne, whose pacific negotiations with Harun-al-Rashid gave Western pilgrims definite legal and protected status in Palestine. For Charlemagne's ambassadors obtained for him the at least theoretical military and civil governorship of Jerusalem. Charlemagne was also made *wali* of the Magrib — the Mohammedan name for the West, employed by the Arabs to designate the Spanish-African khalifate, with which the khalifate of Baghdad was at enmity. Thus the greatest Christian ruler of the West and the greatest Mohammedan ruler of the East were allies, and the court of Baghdad approved the Carolingian expeditions into Spain. This tradition took a new and heroic form when the Crusades befell, three hundred years later, and explains why and how the legend of Charlemagne as the great battler for the cross against the crescent arose during the Crusades.

*Relations of
Charlemagne
with the
Orient*

When we pass into the eleventh century, we find acute and important changes occurring in both East and West. In the East the Seljuk Turks established a new rule within the Baghdad khalifate, which was conquered by them in 1057. A few years later, in 1073, the terrible defeat of the Byzantine army at Manzikert opened nearly all Asia Minor to their sway. But these events did not diminish the ardor of the West for making pilgrimages. On the contrary, in the eleventh century pilgrimages enormously increased, both in frequency and in the number of those participating. Thousands now went where hundreds had gone before, and from sixteen pilgrimages recorded for the tenth century the number rose to a hundred and seventeen pilgrimages in the eleventh!

*Seljuk
Turks*

The genesis of the idea of the Crusades must be found in developments in the West in this century. The appeal of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius to the Count of Flanders and other nobles of the West after the disaster of Manzikert, for assistance against the Seljuk Turks, if ever made, can have produced little impression.

*Alleged
appeal of
Alexius*

[There are epochs in history when the hearts of men seem newly and more deeply stirred than ordinarily by intense religious feeling and strong emotional impulses. There is a spiritual contagion in the atmosphere, so to speak. The eleventh century was such a period. Examples are the craze

*Factors in-
fluencing the
Crusades*

for pilgrimages, the pious zeal for collecting relics of the saints — souvenirs of their passion, even fragments of their bones. Higher and more spiritual forms of this new expression were the rapid growth of the cult of the Virgin, revivalism and popular preaching and the wave of church-building that swept across Europe, bearing on its crest a new and more beautiful ecclesiastical architecture, the Romanesque. Even the new heretical movements that became so manifest in the eleventh century may be regarded as signs of religious awakening. For an age of religious doubt is also always an age of intensely earnest religious feeling. Another symptom of the new spirit was the growth of those two associative movements known as the Peace of God and the Truce of God, the endeavor of which was to suppress the worst evils of private war among the barons.

Truce of God

The peace movements were not pacifist movements. The Church understood human nature too well not to know that war was so ingrained in feudal society that it could not be eradicated. What the Church labored to do was to eliminate the worst brutalities of feudal strife and above all to create a distinction between "just" wars and "unjust" wars. Internecine strife of Christian with Christian it tried to diminish by imposing formidable ecclesiastical penalties upon those who waged wars unjustly. But the surest means to suppress wars at home was to divert the mind of the warrior class, the baronage, to wars abroad. Hence the "justest" war, in the Church's teaching, was a war waged against the infidel Mohammedan. Such wars redounded to the true glory of God and the defense of the faith and were spiritually "meritorious" and would bring material enrichment to those who participated in them. In a word, the Church idealized war against Islam.

*Influence of
Cluny*

The order of Cluny was especially active in promotion of this idea, as it had been the most active instrument of church reform. But recovery of the Holy Land was not at first contemplated. Until well towards the end of the eleventh century conditions were not ripe for that endeavor. In southern Italy and in Spain two countries lay nearer to hand in which Mohammedanism was entrenched. The romantic achievement of the Normans in Apulia and Calabria, which culminated in the expulsion of both Saracens and Greeks from the Italian peninsula and the creation of the Norman kingdom of Lower Italy and Sicily by Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger, in a certain sense was a "crusade."

*Precedent of
Norman
achievements*

In these same years we find other Norman adventurers in Spain. In 1017 a certain redoubtable Roger de Toesny came to the relief of the Countess of Barcelona with a handful of Norman knights. He conquered Gerona and Tarragona, married the daughter of the Countess, reigned for fifteen years in the county of Barcelona, and then left his wife and returned to Normandy. Europe rang with his exploits. Normans, French, Burgundians, Picards, Poitevins, and Gascons had fought under his stand-

*Spanish
crusades*

ard, among them the Bishop of Toulouse. It is hard to tell where history ends and legend and chanson begin in Roger de Toesny's record as a Norman *conquistador* in the peninsula. Sancho the Great, who in 1037 had united Castile, Aragon, and Navarre, gave Cluny a free hand in his triple realm, which founded twenty-five Cluniac houses there and actively promoted continuous Christian aggression in Spain against the infidel by preaching the cause of the Spanish crusade throughout France. In 1063 the powerful Duke of Aquitaine, William VIII, commanded a great host of French crusaders in Spain. In 1073 Ebles, Count of Roucy, a son-in-law of Robert Guiscard and brother-in-law of Sancho of Aragon, led a formidable expedition against the Moors, which received the blessing of Pope Gregory VII. Hugh I, Duke of Burgundy, after warring in Spain for years, retired to Cluny and died there, leaving the prosecution of the Spanish crusade to his brothers, Eudes and Henry, who nominally fought under the banner of Alphonso VI of Castile. The crowning achievement of this tremendous campaign was the capture of Tudela and Toledo. Nine years later, in 1094, the notorious Cid Campeador took Valencia. But if history tells the truth, the tide of Christian conquest south of the Pyrenees was due more to Norman and French prowess than to native Spanish military skill.

This relation of Normans and other French, Cluny, and the papacy to the Spanish crusades is important; for Christian Spain was the laboratory where the inchoate idea of the Crusades was worked out into reality, and the experiment of arming Christendom for action against Mohammedanism was successfully performed. To these events must be added the revolution in sea-power in the western basin of the Mediterranean wrought by the Normans in Italy and the expeditions of Genoa and Pisa against Tunis and Bona.

(The Crusades were the result of the fermentation of all these ideas, the supreme culmination of all these movements, religious, political, warlike, adventurous, with which Europe pulsed towards the end of the eleventh century. It needed only the white-hot imagination of a great personality to fuse these forces together and furnish leadership to make the Crusades a reality. Commercial aggrandizement, too, operated as a motive with the Italian maritime cities, like Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, which had long been engaged in the Levantine trade and which hoped by seizure of the ports of the Orient to increase their commerce in the enormously profitable luxuries of the East.)

*Culmination
of many
motives in
Crusades*

(Western Europe had no great grievance against the Eastern Mohammedans, and, truth to tell, no keen interest in Palestine. The political condition in the Holy Land in the eleventh century was not one to offend the West. The widely accepted belief that from the time of the Mohammedan conquest in 635 down to the First Crusade the lot of the Christians in the

*Cruelties of
the Moham-
medans not
founded on
fact*

Holy Land was a protracted martyrdom has no foundation in fact.) The recovered Byzantine domination in 975 actually was harder upon pilgrims than that of Islam; for the imperial government taxed pilgrims as the Islamic government had not. But, even so, there was no grievance. In 995 the Patriarch of Jerusalem sent an embassy to Rome, not to demand succor, but to confer with regard to ritualistic and disciplinary matters of the Church. It is true that in 1010 the Khalif Hakem of Fatimite Egypt destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but it was the act of a madman and was so recognized at that time. The church was soon rebuilt, partly at Mohammedan expense as an act of just indemnification.

(The actual interest in Eastern affairs of the popes before Urban II was in the fate of the Byzantine Empire. Gregory VII never dreamed of delivering the holy places.

*Papal
influence*

It remained for Pope Urban II to take the initiative and to condense the vapors in feudal Europe into positive purposes. In 1095 Europe was ripe for the great crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land. "The growth of papal influence, the spread of the reforming movement, the advance of the Almoravids in Spain, the interference of the Seljukid Turks with pilgrims, but above all the growing numbers of the feudal aristocracy, the consequent impoverishment of the younger branches of royal and particularly princely houses, and the immense success of previous robber expeditions such as those of the Normans in Italy and to England"¹ — all these conditions and precedents proclaimed to clergy and feudality alike that a vast and magnificent future of new effort and rich reward was open to feudal Europe.

Bohemond

Second to the Pope in furthering the Crusades was Bohemond, the portionless, restless, intriguing, ambitious, crafty younger son of Robert Guiscard, who saw that the road to Jerusalem led through the territories of the Byzantine Empire, and that, although his father had failed in 1081 to capture Durazzo, under better auspices he might conquer Illyria and Macedonia and all the territory extending from Durazzo to Thessalonica. If failure befell him there, then the East would beckon — Asia Minor or Syria or Palestine might fall to his sword.

*Council of
Clermont
(1095)*

Urban II naturally appealed to France; for were not the Normans, the French of the Île de France, the Burgundians, the Poitevins, the Picards, the Flemings, the Champenards, the Gascons, and the Provençals the peoples who combined with singular success religious zeal and victorious warfare? At the Council of Clermont, in August 1095, the great parole was sounded by the Pope in a harangue whose clarion words were broadcast by eager hearers and fanatical preachers to the ends of Western Christendom, even as far as Iceland. Perhaps never before or after in history was a single speech so effective among men. The Pope played upon

¹ H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, 102-03.

the emotions of the vast and variegated audience with consummate skill. He appealed to all sorts and conditions of men before him, the clergy, the monks, the feudality, the peasantry, and touched the ruling motive of each class with thrilling effect — faith, valor, freedom, ambition, land-hunger, avarice, adventure. The shame of the lost Holy Land was told them, and the sufferings of pilgrims; their duty as Christians to fight for the cross was urged, and the fairest promises of the Church — plenary indulgence and eternal life — were promised to those who would go. More material inducements also were held out: serfs were to be freed, debtors were to be relieved, prisoners were to be released, all to swell the ranks! The Pope appointed Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, to lead the crusade, with the title and full prerogatives of a papal legate. The time of departure of the army was fixed for August 1096. The result was that, in the months which followed, feudal Europe, especially France, Flanders, and Norman Italy (for the Germans and Lombards held aloof from the First Crusade), were keyed to a pitch of excitement that often bordered upon hysteria of the whole population, and the tension of this emotional strain was sustained by organized propagandistic activity on the part of the high clergy.

*Urban II's
speech*

The papal privileges granted at Clermont to all who joined the crusade provided that "if anyone, through devotion alone, and not for the sake of honor or gain, goes to Jerusalem to free the Church of God, the journey itself shall take the place of all penance." The crusaders were protected against prosecution for debts during their absence and exempted entirely or for a certain period of time from payment of taxes; they might alienate their lands without the consent of their overlord; they could not be summoned before a secular court, but were given privilege of the clergy in processes of law. The Pope's carefully framed statement preserved the religious intention of the expedition from the humiliation of degradation of the crusade to base motives. For there were few who were impelled by high or holy intention. We get a true picture in the description of a contemporary observer who had no illusions:

*Privileges of
the crusaders*

"For some went to the East out of curiosity; others, who had lived at home in pinching poverty, wanted only to fight, either against enemies or friends of Christianity in order to end their poverty; still others fled from their debts, from duties which they ought to have performed, or from punishments which their crimes had deserved. Only a few could be found who did not bow their knees unto Baal, and who were actuated by a holy purpose."

*Mixed
motives*

Ordericus Vitalis, a monastic chronicler of unusually shrewd observation, wrote in the same vein, for he saw that there was something besides religious fervor in the movement. "The crusaders advanced through Thrace," he records, "threatening to tread under foot the Byzantine dynasty, but the providence of God frustrated the ambition of those who

burned to despoil their neighbors, so that this proud army of ambitious men missed the prize which they vainly thought was within their grasp."¹

At bottom the Crusades were a military enterprise sanctioned by the religious fanaticism of the European feudality, whose appetite for conquest had been whetted by the buccaneering expeditions in Lower Italy and Spain, to enrich themselves by despoiling the rich countries of the Levant, both Greek and Saracen.

*Stampede
of the
peasantry*

The Pope and the princes and nobles of Europe knew that protracted preparation was necessary for the conduct of the contemplated expedition. But in the meantime the movement, to the consternation of the leaders, got out of hand. The servile peasantry, who for centuries had been bound to the glebe lands of Church and noble, whose sole occupation was the toil of laborers in the fields, swayed by the preaching of fanatical itinerant preachers, of whom Peter the Hermit was the most notorious, ran away *en masse*, leaving abandoned farms behind them. Whole villages were left deserted. Hordes of peasants, with their wives and children, together with a plentiful sprinkling of vagabond monks, runaway serfs, spend-thrifts, speculators, prostitutes, boys and girls, fugitive criminals, and the scum of medieval society, thronged the roads, pillaging farmsteads as they journeyed and sacking the Jewry in every town through which they passed. Fanaticism and avarice went hand in hand. The most famous of these motley hosts of this so-called Peasants' Crusade were the two "armies" led by Peter the Hermit and a penniless knight named Walter. After great suffering and hardship these wretched bands at last arrived at Constantinople, where they swarmed all over the city, into the churches, into private palaces and gardens, even into that of the emperor, looting and pilfering almost with impunity. For the imperial government dared not use force in suppression of their wantonness, since it feared the vengeance of the mailed hosts of the feudality approaching behind them. The wild and fanatical throng was hastily transported across the Bosphorus. But no sooner were they set on the soil of Asia Minor than they were destroyed — one may believe to the grim joy of the Byzantines — by the Turks. Few escaped. Peter the Hermit was one of these.

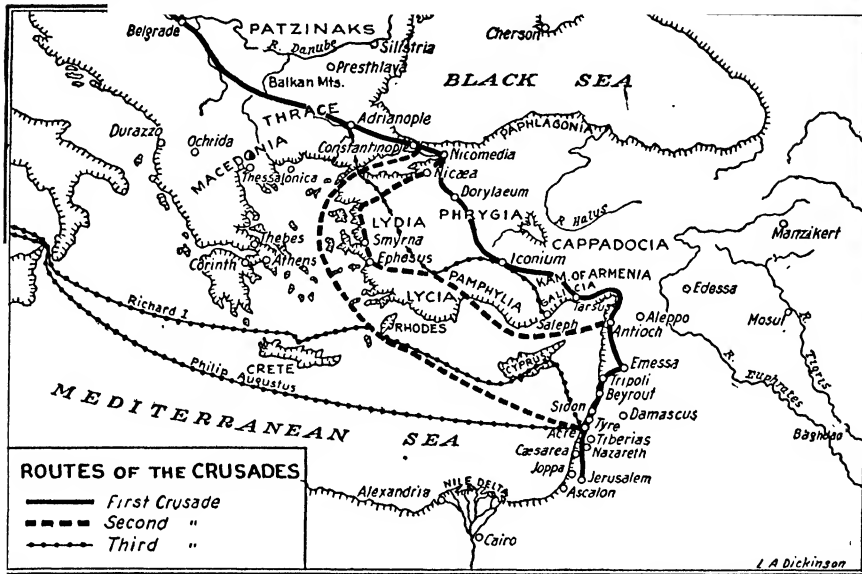
*Peter the
Hermit*

*Crusading
armies in
Constanti-
nople*

The situation was changed when the mailed warriors of the West appeared. No unity of command governed the crusading armies; there were four columns, independently commanded and moving separately. The first to arrive in Constantinople (December 23, 1096) was that commanded by Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, the same who had been Henry IV's staunch friend in Germany. With him were his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin of Boulogne. The second army, composed of Flemings and led by Robert, Count of Flanders, arrived in April 1097. Both of these armies had come by way of the Danube. The crusaders of

¹ *Historia*, V, chap. xxx.

southern France and Italy, under Raymond of Toulouse, who had fought against the Moors in Spain, naturally came through Lombard Italy and Dalmatia. With them were Robert of Normandy, the Conqueror's son, and Hugh of Vermandois, a brother of King Philip I of France. No king participated in the First Crusade. Only Bohemond possessed any ability as a commander; but, because of jealousy and other reasons, he was unable to get control of the whole army. There was no central authority, each body acting for itself.



The uneasiness of the Eastern Emperor increased as the host grew in numbers, and when the son of his ancient enemy Robert Guiscard appeared in the person of Bohemond, and his nephew Tancred, who were accompanied by the flower of the Apulian chivalry, Alexius's anxiety was great. It was with relief that he saw the invaders cross the straits in the early spring. But the Emperor's fears were not of the cowardly sort. He cleverly negotiated with the leaders; and, in return for the vessels and supplies furnished the armies, Bohemond and the rest agreed to recognize his overlordship and promised to restore to the Emperor those provinces that the Christians might conquer, with the exception of the Holy Land.

If ever the Emperor really had appealed to the West for aid against the Turk, he must have repented of his overture when he saw these hosts of burly helmed and hauberked fighters, mounted on great chargers and accompanied by formidable contingents of vassals. The crusaders despised the Greeks, whose civilization and culture were so different from their own and so much higher, and hated them as schismatics who refused to recognize Catholic Christianity as "orthodox"—for the long

*Western
hatred of the
Greeks*

estrangement between the Latin and the Greek churches had only lately, in 1054, been converted into formal separation of Eastern and Western Christendom. They looked with envious eyes and greedy hearts upon the sumptuous palaces, the churches whose interiors blazed with gems and gold, the heaped-up wares of the Orient in the markets. The shrewd Alexius handled the arrogant leaders with consummate diplomacy and tactfully expedited their crossing of the straits.

The first place in Asia to be assailed by the crusaders was Nicæa, the capital of Bithynia and the seat of the Mohammedan kingdom of Roum. It capitulated after a month's resistance (May 15-June 19, 1097), when the inhabitants, upon the proposal of a Greek officer who had made his way into the city, raised the Greek standard and thus escaped the worst vengeance of the crusaders. Alexius garrisoned the place with four thousand men, while the crusading army continued its march into Asia Minor. On July 1 it encountered the Turkish host going to the relief of Nicæa, under command of the Emir Soloman, at Dorylæum, the first important battle of the crusade. The battle was won through the skill of Bohemond, the Christians losing about four thousand, while the loss of the Turks was over five times as much. As the result of this battle the crusaders could now count upon the alliance of the Christian King of Armenia, as well as upon the support of thousands of Christians in the Turkish dominions.

*Battle of
Dorylæum
(1097)*

Nevertheless, great hardships were endured. Many of the horses died, and hunger and privation were universally experienced. This unfortunate condition was aggravated by dissensions that broke out among the leaders. Baldwin, Godfrey de Bouillon's brother, and Tancred quarreled over the possession of Tarsus in Cilicia, and the former deserted the main army-corps after the passage of the Taurus, seized Edessa—not a Mohammedan, but a Christian stronghold—and so founded on the edge of Upper Mesopotamia a crusaders' post where this great bastion had guarded the crossing of the upper Euphrates and Armenia for centuries against both Persian and Mohammedan invasion.

*Privations
across
Asia Minor*

The army pursued its course after this defection and on October 21, 1097 appeared before the great city of Antioch, the most important in Syria. The siege of Antioch was long and terrible, not merely for the besieged, but for the besiegers. It was difficult to provide food for so enormous a host, and provisions had to be brought by sea from Constantinople in the midst of winter. Fever ravaged the camps. The Mohammedan Prince of Damascus attempted to relieve the city, but his army sent thither was destroyed by Baldwin and Robert of Flanders, on the last day of the year 1097. A second detachment experienced the same fate, on February 9, 1098. Undeterred, however, by these reverses, the Mohammedans raised so large an army that the Christian princes realized that the crusaders

*Siege of
Antioch
(1097-8)*

would be lost if Antioch was not taken before the arrival of Kerbogha. Bohemond, whose energy inspired the crusaders more than that of any other leader, had succeeded in getting into communication with a traitor within the town. A picked band of men, on the night of June 2, 1098, scaled the walls with the aid of a rope-ladder provided by the renegade, and in a short time Antioch was taken. Ten thousand of the inhabitants were slaughtered before light, and when the dawn broke, the standard of Bohemond was floating from the ramparts.

Three days later Kerbogha, the lieutenant of the Khalif of Baghdad, arrived at the head of an enormous army, wildly estimated by the chroniclers at over half a million men. Unfortunately for the Turks, he had made the fatal mistake of wasting three weeks in an ineffective siege of Edessa. The situation of the Christian army was now critical indeed. Many even of the leaders deserted, among them being Peter the Hermit, while camp-fever and hunger weakened or slew thousands who were brave enough to remain. In this crisis, new courage was aroused by the faked "discovery" of the lance that had pierced the body of Christ, the precious relic having been revealed in a dream by St. Andrew to a priest of Marseilles. Animated by the possession of this precious relic, the crusaders drove the invading army of the Turks back to the Euphrates, and Bohemond received in recompense the principality of Antioch.

In dwindling numbers, for desertion and disease steadily reduced the army, the residue of the crusaders pursued their way towards Jerusalem, Godfrey de Bouillon being now the only prominent leader left among them. On July 16, 1099 Jerusalem was taken by storm, and a frightful massacre of the population ensued, in which not even the local Christians were spared. "In Solomon's porch and in his temple," runs a contemporary record, "our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of the horses." Every man seized the first house he could possess and marked it with a sign in chalk to indicate his ownership, "and preserve it as his heritage to the present day," relates a chronicler. It was a rough and ready mode of acquisition of property.

*Capture of
Jerusalem
(1099)*

As soon as Jerusalem was captured and their vow fulfilled, a great majority of the crusaders returned home. This exodus left the newly founded Latin states in a precarious position. Godfrey's army was reduced in the spring of 1100 to two hundred knights and eleven hundred infantry. Urgent appeal was made to Pascal II, the new Pope, who issued a circular letter addressed to "all archbishops, bishops, and abbots," imploring them to stir up the feudal nobles in their dioceses to new military effort in the East. Full remission of sin again was promised and the threat of excommunication was held over those who had not yet executed the vows that they had assumed at Clermont or later. Letters and numerous synods and councils show the effort to renew the eastward

flow of warriors. Public opinion was utilized to enforce these stimuli. "Slackers" were looked upon askance and derided. Some who had ignominiously deserted during the long siege of Antioch and come home were covered with shame and humiliation.

*Godfrey de
Bouillon*

Godfrey, the one bright and honorable figure in a host of cut-throats and swashbucklers, refused to take the royal title in the city of the King of kings and was crowned on Christmas Day 1100 in the basilica in Bethlehem by the Patriarch Daimbert as "Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulchre." On him fell the heavy task of improvising a government in the conquered territories. The country immediately around Jerusalem, never very fertile, was reduced to a desert when the city fell; for the Turks ravaged it in their retreat. To save Jerusalem from starvation Godfrey sent Tancred, the Count of Flanders, and Eustace of Boulogne to take possession of the rich territory of Naplouse, while he himself seized Jaffa in order to give Jerusalem a port upon the Mediterranean. After the battle of Ascalon, Godfrey and Tancred carried their arms into Galilee and raided various villages beyond the Jordan. The investiture of Tancred with the principality of Galilee, united with the county of Tiberias, was the first infeudation that Godfrey made. Raids were also made into the Liban and even to Damascus and into Arabia. But no one of these territories was acquired by the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The countryside around Jerusalem was so depopulated that Godfrey was compelled to introduce Arab families from across the Jordan, whom he persuaded to come by promise of freedom of religion and grants of land. Years elapsed before certain important points were taken from the Turks. These were port towns which the crusaders, being without a fleet, could not successfully assail. But effective aid was soon supplied by the maritime cities of Italy, Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, which had long been engaged in trade with the Orient, and which, in return for their assistance, were promised a third of the booty of every place captured and free and permanent possession of a quarter there for purposes of trade. Amalfi, Gaeta, and Salerno had preceded them, but the cities of the south could not compete with the queen of the Adriatic and the two rivals situated on the Ligurian coast. Arsuf and Cæsarea were captured in 1101, Acre in 1104, Apamea in 1106, Laodicea in 1109. Tyre, the greatest of all the port towns, held out until 1124, when the prowess of Domenico Michael, the Venetian Doge, who held his fleet together even through the winter, at last overcame it.

*Later con-
quests in
Syria and the
Holy Land*

It did not follow that, because the Mohammedan emirs had been expelled, the lower element among the Mohammedans was also driven into exile. This class, redoubtable fighters, took to the hill forts, whence they carried on guerrilla warfare with the conquerors in the plains for many years and only very slowly crept down among the indigenous

Syrian population and Western interlopers, when the first ferocious antagonism was overpast. In the first sixty years of the kingdom the kings were conquerors. After that the tide of conquest slackened. Baldwin I conquered Arsuf, Cæsarea, St. Jean d'Acre, Sidon, and Beirut; Baldwin II acquired Tyre with Venetian assistance; Fulk got Paneas; Amaury I, Ascalon, whence Egypt was twice attacked, in 1115 and again in 1168. But long before the process of expansion was arrested, the offensive of Islam had begun. From 1113 to 1187 it was intermittent, but under Saladin became constant until the fall of Jerusalem in 1187.

The conquerors naturally applied the principles and practices of the feudal society whence they came and with which they were familiar to the territory that they occupied, much as the Normans had done before in Italy and England. But they were so at odds with one another that no methodical partition of territory was possible. Unlike Norman Italy under Robert Guiscard and England under William the Conqueror, there was no hand stronger than all the rest. Hence from the beginning the Kingdom of Jerusalem was a rope of sand, a weak mechanical combination of rival and sometimes warring principalities. "Jerusalem is now no vision of peace," disconsolately wrote an eyewitness, "but of tribulation where men contend with bloody hands."

*Nature of the
Christian
conquest and
settlement*

As in the West, so now in the East, the lands were let as fiefs to subordinate nobles. Thus Bohemond, after overrunning Syria and establishing his principality, distributed Laodicea, Gibelet, Valenia, Margat; and Raphania as fiefs. In the same way Baldwin divided the county of Edessa. The kingdom comprised four grand principalities or baronies: Antioch, Edessa, Tripoli, and Jerusalem; for the king was *ipso facto* baron of Jerusalem as the kings of France were counts of Paris. There were seven grand fiefs in Palestine alone: the county of Jaffa and Ascalon, the principality of Galilee, the barony of Sidon, the seigniory of Krak and Montreal, the seigniory of the count Joscelin, the seigniory of the Thoron, the seigniory of Beirut. Of the dynasts, Baldwin of Edessa, brother of Godfrey de Bouillon, was a Fleming; Bohemond of Antioch was an Italo-Norman; the Count of Tripoli came from Languedoc.

*Kingdom of
Jerusalem*

Unique creations of the First Crusade were the two military orders the Knights of the Temple and the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in whose organization chivalry and monasticism were combined. They soon had commanderies spread all over Christian Europe. These commanderies corresponded to what are now countries, France, Spain, and Italy. These countries were divided into priories — France had four — and in every priory there were several local chapters, which met for religious service and military drill every Sunday. In addition there was an annual session of all the knights in each priory once a year. The Grand Commander was appointed for life and was an autocrat. He was elected

*Military
orders*

by the General Chapter, which was made up of the priors, and which dealt directly with the Grand Master.

*Influence of
Italian cities*

The First Crusade resulted in the creation in the East of a veritable European colony, continually fed by new immigrants and visited by many pilgrims and merchants. Owing to the large part that the French and Normans had played in the movement, French became the official language and the current tongue in the new State. But the Italian cities possessed a great influence, especially in the ports, and monopolized the commerce. For after the Iliad of the barons the Odyssey of the Italian maritime and commerce cities began. Until the First Crusade the only two cities of Italy that had tasted of the sweets of Oriental commerce were Venice and Amalfi. The former had confined her relations to Constantinople and Egypt. The latter had traded in Eastern wares through the port of Jaffa, and some Amalfitan merchants had established a hospice and a church for themselves at Jerusalem shortly before the crusades opened. But in 1096 Amalfi was incapable of participating in the First Crusade, for in that year she was captured by the Normans. What little warring Amalfi henceforward did with the Mohammedans was against the Arab corsairs out of Bona and Tunis.

*Commercial
competition*

Venice, Genoa and Pisa, the "big three" Italian maritime republics, got into the Eastern trade as soon as the first conquest of the crusaders had been made. Their fleets had lent material assistance in the subjugation of the coast towns of Syria and Palestine and they received their reward in large trading concessions in these ports. These concessions consisted in grants to the Italian merchants of tracts of land along the water-front, together with relief from tolls, taxes, and tariffs and the right to govern themselves. Within this walled compound were a bazaar, warehouses, a court-house for the local *bailo*, who was an appointee of the home government, a church, a bath, a mill, an oven, houses for the residents, and long piers for lading the ships. This establishment was known in the East as a *fondaco* (plural, *fondachi*¹). It was a quarter of the city, distinct and independent — a colony of Italian merchants with their families, clerks, servants, etc., settled abroad, but under jurisdiction of the city whence they came and not subject to the local prince, not even the King of Jerusalem. The Italian cities never had any religious or mystic illusions about the Crusades. They were out for trade, and their settlements in the East were really commercial colonies abroad. More and more, commerce became the absorbing interest of Europe in the East. The Templars and the Hospitallers enjoyed large trading privileges and did a rushing business. Even the pilgrims took to peddling and merchandising and returned

¹ The word was derived from the Arabic *funduk*, itself derived from the Greek *pan-docheion* (trading-post). The word "factory" in the East under the British East India Company exactly describes it.

home laden with goods. By the time of the Second Crusade the Provençal cities, like Marseilles and Barcelona had entered the lists. All Latin Europe which touched the Mediterranean waxed fat on the Oriental trade. The volume of it became so great and the profits were so high that a vast quantity of it found its way up the Po, where the Lombard towns, notably Milan, furthered the transportation of this heavy commerce over the Alpine passes into central Europe.

Territorially the states founded by the First Crusade lay roughly between the Euphrates and Egypt. The Christians controlled the whole coast of Cilicia and Syria. In the interior, on the other hand, their extension was very unequal. To the west they were threatened by the Byzantine Empire. To the east they could not capture the three great cities of Aleppo, Hamah, and Damascus. To the south Egypt was always a menace, although the Christians succeeded in extending their protectorate over the monasteries in the Sinaitic peninsula and also held the port of Aila on the Red Sea. The county of Edessa formed the extreme limit of the Latin conquests and touched the Euphrates at the little town of Melitine. Little Armenia was an annex of the principality of Antioch.

*Territorial
extent of the
Kingdom of
Jerusalem*

When Fulk became king of Jerusalem in 1131, the Christian principalities in the Orient had reached their highest point. The seeds of decay were already manifest. The loss of Edessa in 1146 was not compensated for by the belated Christian capture of Ascalon (1153), which had withstood all attack for fifty-four years. The Kingdom of Jerusalem was "the most purely feudal state that ever existed."

"The royal authority was in theory and in appearance great and genuine; in practice . . . it was wholly insufficient for the duties which it had to perform. The true sovereignty rested not with the king, but with the nobles; there was no strong central authority. The orders of knights were a novel and promising attempt at a permanent military organization, but they could not counterbalance the weaknesses inherent in the feudal system. The financial resources of the kingdom were sufficient in themselves, but were curtailed by unwise grants and concessions to the clergy and the trading communities. The judicial organisation was the most perfect of the age, but the king was only nominally its head. The ecclesiastical hierarchy, in which the kings should have found their surest support, was intent only upon its own aggrandisement. As things were, the monarchy had to combat single-handed a variety of forces that were united only in opposition to a strong central power, and all alike made for weakness and division."¹

Political conditions in the East did not permit the formation of so rigid a kind of feudal government as obtained in the West. The crown never became hereditary, the first essential of royal independence. From the very beginning the baronage kept their hands on it and maintained its

¹ C. L. KINGSFORD, in *English Historical Review*, XI, 145.

Feudalism

elective nature until the end. An even greater weakness was the recognition of a woman's right to rule. In regard to fiefs, again, it was impracticable to apply Western usages. The traditional feudal aids might be given, but they could not be enforced; relief, coercion, forfeiture, went by the board. The great vassals fought with each other or against the military orders or against the king almost without constraint. In the middle of the twelfth century the king of Jerusalem could count upon no more than 577 knights.

Weaknesses of government

(The weakness of the crown and the looseness of the government, which was a union of the vaguest nature, was a serious defect of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to the end of its history. Although an imitation of that of France of the same time, the government in certain important particulars differed from its Western prototype and was even weaker. For example, the clergy were wholly independent of the crown, neither holding lands in fief, nor liable to military service. Again, the powerful military orders, the Templars and Hospitallers, who were endowed with enormous tracts of land, commanded the labor of tens of thousands of serfs, and enjoyed lucrative market and toll rights in addition, were so privileged as to be independent military and political corporations within the kingdom. Moreover, the two orders were bitter rivals and in constant feud with each other, so much so that each frequently connived with the external enemy against the other.)

(To these grants must be added the lands and liberties given to the Italian cities. The bourgeois in towns, chiefly Italians with a mixture of merchants, tradesmen, and artisans of other nations, owned houses with small plots of ground. The mass of the population was composed of the Oriental Christian population, Greek and Syrian, found there when the crusaders arrived, a population increased by new arrivals of pilgrims and peddlers and steadily augmented by half-castes (*pullani*), who, like the Eurasians of modern India, were the offspring of European fathers and native mothers. Below this floating, inorganic social stratum were serfs, Christian and Mohammedan, who labored in the fields, vineyards, and olive groves and did the heavy labor required. This mixed population of the lower classes was secretly hostile, even the Christian Syrians.

Assizes of Jerusalem

(The form of government of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was not erected in a day or a year, but was the product of experiment and change, developed, as all institutions are, by the good old human method of trial and error. In course of time the various institutions acquired shape and were given definition in a written code, known as the Assizes of Jerusalem. But the Assizes of Jerusalem are not a trustworthy historical source for the period anterior to their redaction, in the middle of the twelfth century.

The permanence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, once established, depended upon three principles of conduct: the loyalty of the conquerors

to the main idea, the preservation of isolation and mutual hostility among the emirates, and the steadfast support of the princes of the West. Every one of these conditions failed. The Crusades were betrayed by Latin Christendom itself, which thereby facilitated Byzantine intrigue and Mohammedan hostility. From the beginning the feudal princes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the high clergy, the military orders, and the maritime cities of Italy were at feud, sometimes even in open war against each other. Raymond of Toulouse allied himself with the Byzantine Emperor against Bohemond and did all he could to destroy the power of the Normans in the East. Baldwin of Edessa, after having established himself in Edessa, turned his arms southward and overran Arsuf, Cæsarea, Acre, Beirut, and Sidon, which he made pictures of desolation. It was his boast that for eighteen years he had never passed a day without arms.

*Internal
dissensions*

(The conflict of baron with baron, of class against class, of Templar with Hospitaller, the commercial rivalry of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, was constant and bitter. Animosities inherited from the West and carried into the East blossomed into malignant enmities; the king was a lean and solemn phantom, for the crown of Jerusalem had no inherited tradition of either dignity or authority, such as the French and German and English dynasties possessed; geographical conditions and strange racial ingredients aggravated this friction. Instead of following a conciliatory policy towards the emirs along the eastern border of the kingdom, the crusaders constantly harried their territories and drove them into union. Even when the intrigues of the Byzantine emperor are admitted, there is much to be said in palliation of his double-dealing, for he was between two fires and was justly suspicious of the intentions of the Westerners towards his empire and skeptical of the sincerity of the crusaders' motives. Moreover, the crusaders, the kings in the West, the Italian cities, even the pope, were as faithless towards him as he was towards them. The conquest of the Byzantine Empire, long before it took place in 1204, was implicit in the resentment of the West and the fears of the Greeks.)

*Seeds of
dissolution*

{ Finally it must be added that the western nations of Europe, after the first burst of enthusiasm and the first achievement, grew indifferent to the welfare of the Holy Land. The hardships endured, the terrific losses of life and property suffered, the enmities engendered, stripped the glow of romance from the crusades and cooled ardor for any further effort. While the Holy Land was visited constantly in the years after the conquest in 1099 by throngs of pilgrims and many merchants, few knights and nobles were among them and the available military forces of the realm steadily diminished. Want of numbers was the real cause of the failure of the Franks to conquer inner Syria. Only the military orders were able to maintain a war footing, and much of their energy and resources were squandered in internal dissensions. "The sky does not change the

nature of those who cross the sea," was the biting comment of a contemporary historian.

The political and religious antipathy of the Greeks, the diverse elements in the population of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the inability of the Westerners to assimilate the native Christian population, while at the same time themselves succumbing to a considerable degree to the climate and the customs of the Orient, the floods of pilgrims which poured in without becoming established in the land, the incapacity of the neo-feudal institutions to secure a firm government, the feuds of the barons, the jealousy of the crusading orders, the competitive exploitation of the merchants—all these factors were seeds of dissolution. A physical and moral degeneration of the Western stock seems slowly to have taken place under the influence of climate and new racial contacts. "The Syrian Frankish princes began to show in lepers, in default of male heirs, in princes unworthy of their titles, a general degeneracy."¹

Mohammedan capture of Edessa (1144)

In 1144, when the Prince of Antioch was campaigning against the Emperor Manuel Comnenus and could bear no assistance, the Emir of Mosul took advantage of the condition and suddenly attacked and captured Edessa, the advance post of Christian domination on the upper Euphrates. The crusaders temporarily forgot their differences in their consternation, and Europe was thrilled to a new crusade by the impassioned preaching of St. Bernard.

Second Crusade (1147)

King Louis VII of France, who was morbidly religious and at the moment was plunged in remorse because of violence done to the church of Vitry and was anxious to make expiation, was easily persuaded to assume the cross. Pope Eugene III, a French Cistercian monk and intimate friend of St. Bernard, issued an encyclical letter decreeing the crusade. Having fanned France into flame, St. Bernard crossed the Rhine. The Germans had not participated in the First Crusade, for in the days of Henry IV the movement was too papal in its nature to enlist their support. But conditions had changed in Germany. There was truce between emperor and pope now. The German nobles had no dominant internal interest to absorb them except the Saxons, who were keenly desirous of prosecuting an aggressive war against the Slavs of the lower Elbe, and Conrad III grasped at the idea of a crusade as a means to give the bitter factions of Guelf and Hohenstaufen something else to think about than their own quarrel. It was regarded as "a miracle of miracles" that the cynical and calculating Conrad III was persuaded to espouse the movement, and the achievement was attributed to the magic eloquence of St. Bernard. Probably the contagion of enthusiasm through the influence of one man was never before so strikingly exerted. In Italy he even persuaded Pisa and Genoa to forget their bitter commercial jealousy and

¹ E. CURTIS, *Roger of Sicily*, p. 213.

furnish shipping for the expedition, although this provision proved useless, since both armies followed the old route via the Danube and Constantinople.

(Unlike the First Crusade, the second was not characterized by a tumult of the peasantry.) The feudality and the clergy had learned from former experience and prevented their serfs and villeins from deserting the manors. Moreover, many serfs preferred to stay at home and rejoiced to see their lords and masters ride off to the East, fervently hoping that they would not return. For one of the most immediate results of the crusades was the relief felt by the peasantry from that indulgence in private war which was inherent in the feudal regime, and from which the common people suffered so much.

The gay French Queen Eleanor, the countesses of Toulouse and of Flanders, and many other high and noble ladies resolved to go with their husbands on the expedition, accompanied by troubadours and trouvères. In the baggage train of the French were trunks and boxes of feminine apparel. The austere St. Bernard was scandalized. The frivolity and romanticism that characterized the undertaking boded ill for its success; the crusades were not a pastime. Western Europe was predestined to a new shock of disillusionment.

Conrad III and Louis VII agreed not to unite their hosts together, since there was bad feeling between the French and the Germans. Racial antagonism, conflicting claims over the border territory of the two kingdoms, the pride and hauteur of the French nobles — a byword in medieval Europe — who bragged of their military prowess and derided the clumsy armor and obsolete equipment of the Germans — for the French led all Europe in military science, accouterment, and siege-craft — engendered strife too liable to terminate in brawls. Conrad III, therefore, started in advance of the French column, from Regensburg at Easter 1147. Louis VII waited until Pentecost.

From the moment they entered the territory of the Byzantine Empire the Germans began to loot and pillage as if in an enemy country. They seized provisions in the markets without even pretense of payment; they devastated farms and made havoc along the road. It is no wonder that the dismayed inhabitants of the walled towns shut their gates. The suburbs of Philippolis were burned. When Constantinople was reached, the Germans invaded a beautiful park outside the walls, in which were waterfalls and fairy grottoes and where tame deer were preserved. In the West feudal nobles had enclosed the forests and protected wild game for indulgence of their own sport, imposing fearful penalties, blinding and mutilation, upon the meaner classes who violated the game laws. The sight of these herds of deer awakened the brutal instincts of the Germans; the deer were slaughtered and the garden reduced to ruin.

But the Emperor Manuel Comnenus knew that he must handle the situation with patience and composure; it would never do to give the German host a chance to run amuck. Like Alexius at the time of the First Crusade, he hastened the Germans on their way across the straits and left them to the tender mercies of the Seljuk Turks. Some weeks later the French arrived; they had been conducted with better discipline, but had suffered from lack of provisions, owing to the fact that Conrad III's forces had swept the towns clean of provisions, and because the populace regarded the French as ruefully as they had viewed the Germans.

The Greek Emperor palavered Louis VII, but was not solicitous to expedite his crossing of the Bosphorus until the French King and his barons promised to recognize Byzantine suzerainty over the conquests that they might make. Meantime they were fed on honeyed words; and, as the French chronicler complains, "in place of food they had to satisfy themselves with looking at pictures." Godfrey, Bishop of Langres, boldly urged the French capture of Constantinople! At last Louis VII consented to preserve the Emperor's rights. Forthwith the French were freighted across into Asia, their parting being speeded by the false news that Conrad III had won a great victory over the Turks. As a matter of fact the Germans had marched for eight days through a hostile country, were deserted by their Greek guides, and found themselves without food in a desert region, and nine-tenths of the army perished in a disastrous battle near Dorylæum. Made wise by disaster, Conrad III avoided the route across Asia Minor and followed the coast. He participated in the unsuccessful siege of Damascus, but his whole enterprise was a colossal failure and he returned a beaten leader, broken with suffering and disease. The German people soon discovered the depth of the mendacity of the letters that he had sent home during his absence.

Word of this distressing event at Dorylæum made Louis VII more cautious. The French progress was not seriously impeded by skirmishes with the Turks, but foraging parties were liable to be cut off, so that the army suffered for food. It reached Laodicea, however, with little impairment of its forces. Passage of the defiles of the Phrygian mountains entailed great hardship and heavy losses. The cumbrous war-horses, in heavy armor and bearing a heavily armed knight besides, labored on the steep and stony road. They were like gigantic tortoises. Fortunately the light javelins and reed arrows of the Turks seldom pierced these habiliments. When Attalia was at last reached, the French hoped that they might go by sea to Tarsus, the nearest town in the principality of Antioch. But the Greek sea captains demanded four silver marks for every passenger. To make matters worse, Attalia was crowded with sick and destitute pilgrims. The upshot was that Louis VII, the Count of Flanders, the Sire de Bourbon, and other high nobles deserted the army,

abandoning the crusaders and the pilgrims to the treacherous Greeks, who, being now deprived of the profits that they had expected to make out of the business of transportation, heartlessly let the Turks massacre the hapless victims of cowardice and treachery. The horrible event at Attalia virtually concluded the Second Crusade. Louis VII and his entourage reached Antioch by sea and thence went to Jerusalem. Like a whipped dog, he feared to stay in the East and shrunk from the humiliation of returning to France. Meantime the abbot Suger, whom he had left as regent of the realm, because the King had exhausted the revenue of the crown in this disastrous expedition, had administered the affairs of government out of the revenues of his own abbey of Saint-Denis. At last Suger, who had been the chief counselor of both Louis VI and Louis VII, wrote the craven King a letter so tart and condemnatory that he must have blushed with shame. No medieval monarch before King John of England was ever so bluntly told what his people thought of him. "The disturbers of thy country have returned," wrote Suger, meaning the French barons who had escaped from the debacle, "and you, who ought to defend it, still dally in the East like a captive, afraid to stay and fearing to come home."

The prodigious and humiliating failure of the Second Crusade shocked Europe. The comment of the historian Otto of Freising is: "If we were to say that the holy abbot Bernard was inspired by the spirit of God to arouse us, but that we by reason of our pride and wantonness, failing to observe his commands, deservedly suffered loss of men and of property, it would not be at variance with what has been thought and experienced before."

After 1149 the Mohammedan attack fell upon the Kingdom of Jerusalem from all sides, and the situation was aggravated by the treachery of the Templars and the apathy of the West, which bore no aid. The kings were weak and trival-minded. Baldwin IV (1173-84) was a leper. His son, Baldwin V (1184-6), was a child, after whose death, not without suspicion of his having been murdered by his mother, her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, a handsome but unscrupulous man, was made king, whereupon his brother Geoffrey, who was of better mettle, ironically exclaimed: "If he is a king, then surely I am worthy to be a god." Such were the last guardians of the Holy Sepulchre — a leper, a child, a woman, a coward, and a traitor. It is a wonder that the fall of the kingdom was still delayed for twelve years.

The doom of Jerusalem was inevitable and the calamity was nigh. The emirates were hardened into an aggressive and powerful state. Mohammedanism found a leader in Nureddin, the Turkish Emir of Aleppo, who began the consolidation of the separate emirates. Raymond, Prince of Antioch, perished in battle in 1149. In 1153 Ascalon was captured. A defeat of the Mohammedans on Lake Tiberias in 1158 partly compensated

for this loss; but the conquest of Egypt by the newly risen Islamic power was fatal to the crusaders.

The Fatimite rule in Egypt at this time was in advanced decay, and the country was rent with dissension. Moreover, to orthodox Mohammedans, the Fatimites were heretics. Accordingly when the Egyptian Khalif appealed for assistance to Nureddin, the latter sent him a Kurdish chieftain in his service named Chirkuh. But Chirkuh died soon after reaching Egypt and his nephew Salah-eddin or Saladin, when the Khalif accommodately died, seized the government in Egypt (1171). War might now have ensued between Nureddin and Saladin — whereby the Kingdom of Jerusalem might have been prolonged — if it had not been for the fortunate death of Nureddin, which left the field to Saladin.

Saladin

¶ With the mind of a statesman and the eye of a soldier Saladin consummated the process of consolidating the emirates by subjecting Arabic Syria, Mesopotamia, and the emirates of Mosul and Aleppo (1174-83) and thus created a formidable state along the eastern confines of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. He now had the kingdom, as it were, between the jaws of a vise, and its fate was a mere matter of time. In addition to its great wealth, Egypt furnished Saladin with a fleet, so that the realm of the crusaders could now be attacked both by land and by sea. Saladin is one of the greatest Mohammedans of history, brave, honorable, just, and chivalrous, a fit compeer for his famous antagonist, Richard Cœur de Lion. His character made a profound impression upon the West; Christendom both feared and honored him.

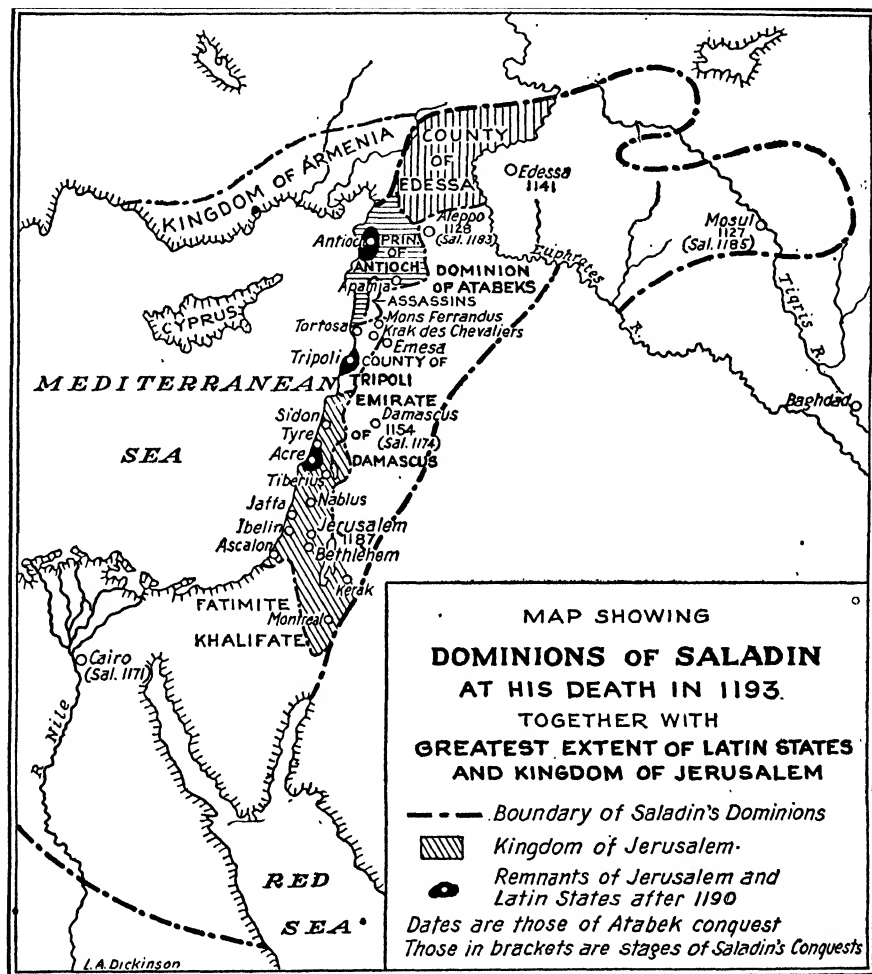
Character

" It is important to make clear that Saladin was a man of peace and more interested in promoting the welfare of his dominions than in adding to them by conquest of the Holy Land. The crusaders goaded him into hostility by their own frowardness and folly, twice breaking the truces that had been made with him. But when Renaud de Châtillon, seigneur of Karak beyond Jordan, the huge fortress of the crusaders on the frontier, wantonly attacked a caravan, and Saladin's own sister was made prisoner, forbearance ceased and Saladin resolved to invade the kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1187 he won a great victory at Hattin, near Tiberias, captured Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, and a crowd of knights, among whom was Renaud, whom he promptly beheaded with his own scimitar. The fall of Jerusalem and, with it, of the Latin kingdom in the Holy Land soon followed. But unlike the crusaders in 1099, Saladin was a clement conqueror. The Christians were permitted to take their private property away with them. Henceforward the only Christian states in the East were the principality of Antioch and the little kingdom of Cilician Armenia. The only Latin cities uncaptured were Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch. The Kingdom of Jerusalem succumbed through its own organic defects.

*Capture of
Jerusalem
(1187)*

The catastrophe of Tiberias and the capture of Jerusalem deeply impressed the West. The Genoese established in the Holy Land and the Grand Master of the Temple importuned Pope Gregory VIII for assistance. The celebrated Pierre de Blois, who was in Sicily at the time, wrote a letter to Henry II of England recounting the events. Although Gregory VIII filled the Holy See for only two months, the letters that he wrote to

Consternation of the West



the chief courts of feudal Europe initiated the movement known as the Third Crusade. His successor, Clement III, authorized William, Bishop of Tyre, from whose pen we have the greatest history of the crusades, to preach a new crusade. A contemporary historian gives a vivid picture of the methods employed to raise recruits. The moral pressure brought to bear through the operation of suggestion and mob psychology was often irresistible.

It was all-important to reconcile the enmity between Henry II of England and Philip Augustus of France, an achievement that was accomplished by the intermediation of the Bishop of Tyre in an interview with the two kings at Gisors in Normandy. At the same time the papal decree, confirmed by the French and English kings, authorized the levy of the Saladin tithe, an important event in the history of medieval taxation. But the strife that immediately broke out between Henry II and his rebellious sons, to which Philip II was a party, delayed the movement. In the interval the English King received letters from the Patriarch of Antioch and the Grand Master of the Knights Templar. At the same time the French King received word from ambassadors whom he had sent to Constantinople that the Emperor Isaac wished to obstruct the enterprise and that Saladin was politically in high standing at the Byzantine court.

*Third
Crusade
(1190)*

The death of Henry II in 1189 and the accession of Richard I to the English throne expedited matters, because Richard I burned to go to the relief of the Holy Land and composed his differences with Philip II. But adventurous and impetuous as Richard I was, he was not so short-sighted as to leave his provinces in France exposed to French attack in his absence and made his own departure conditional upon Philip II's also joining the crusade. In the meantime the emperor Frederick Barbarossa had resolved to crown his long and brilliant career with the laurels of a crusader and, having heralded his coming by haughty letters to the Greek Emperor, to the Sultan of Iconium, and to Saladin himself, set out for the East in advance of the other two sovereigns. His progress through the territory of the Byzantine Empire was almost as an enemy, so suspiciously (and with good reason) did the Greeks regard him and his forces, and so wantonly did the Germans pillage the countryside and the cities through which they passed. As in 1147, so now the Westerners looked with covetous eyes upon Constantinople, and Frederick Barbarossa, knowing the military straits to which the Byzantine Empire had been reduced owing to the crushing defeat of its army in central Asia Minor in 1176 at Myriokephalon by the Sultan Kilidj Arslan, actually indulged the design of capturing Constantinople.

Frederick I ought to have gone by sea from Venice, but the German host fought its way across Asia Minor, blind to the lesson of both the First and the Second Crusade that the route by land was difficult and dangerous in the extreme. The Emperor was drowned while crossing a river in Cilicia, and the command fell to Duke Leopold of Austria. Only a remnant of the German army arrived before Ptolemais.

The English fleet put out from Normandy — for there were few Englishmen who took part in the crusades — and made the long voyage through the straits of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean. Stops were made at Lisbon, at Marseilles, where Richard I joined the fleet, and at Messina.

This last stop was destined to have an important influence upon Richard I's career. The feud between Guelf and Hohenstaufen flared out before the beleaguered town. Frederick Barbarossa had driven Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, into exile in 1181, and the banished Guelf had found refuge in Normandy with his father-in-law, Henry II of England. Now Richard I found himself face to face at Messina with Frederick I's son Henry VI, who was besieging the town in the course of his conquest of the Norman kingdom of Lower Italy and Sicily, and the memory of the wrong his sister's husband had received induced him to give aid to the Mes-sinese. He was destined to pay dearly for his interference. Failing to save Messina, Richard set sail once more. But again adventure befell him. He was compelled to stop at Cyprus. This rich island, the ancient copper queen of the Mediterranean, at this time was under the sway of a Cypriote bandit chieftain who had overthrown the Byzantine government there and made himself ruler. He lived on piracy and shipwreck. The heroic Richard I was drawn thither by the shipwreck of one of his vessels, on which was his Queen Berengaria of Navarre, whom the ruffian ruler of the island made prisoner. Having rescued the Queen, Richard conquered Cyprus, which he first offered to the Templars; and when the purchase price was not forthcoming, the King gave it to the homeless King of Jerusalem. Thus a Mediterranean island became officially the "restored" Kingdom of Jerusalem, though generally it was called the Kingdom of Cyprus.

In due course after these delays Richard reached Acre, where the French had already arrived. After a fierce siege (August 27, 1189-July 12, 1191) Acre was recovered by the Christians. The camp of the international forces outside of the invested city resembled a town, with markets and bazaars in which the products of the Orient were displayed. Jaffa and Cæsarea were afterwards taken by the crusaders. But the ancestral feuds between the kings flared into bitter enmity. Richard I and Leopold of Austria quarreled—the Guelf-Ghibelline feud sowed dragon's teeth; Philip Augustus and Richard I quarreled. The Germans returned home in high dudgeon. Philip of France, feigning illness, after scuttling all the ships he could lay his hands on except those that he needed for himself, sailed away.

Richard I had need of a lion's heart against Saladin, a foeman worthy of his steel. The English King was not a mere swashbuckler, nor yet a romantic, with his head full of stories of Roland and King Arthur, as he is so often represented to have been. He was an able soldier, an expert in castle-building and fortification, one of the greatest military engineers of all time. He did not wage war for the sheer joy of fighting, in spite of his prodigies of valor. Indeed, with him the history of the crusades entered a new phase; for he fruitlessly endeavored to settle the long struggle

between Christian and Mohammedan by diplomatic negotiation and only when this effort failed resorted to arms again.

Saladin, too, was an honorable foe. The two military orders were the only Christians to whom, as a class, Saladin showed no mercy; and with good reason. "There was nothing he loved so much as a good knight," says Ernoul, a historian of the crusade, and he expressed unbounded admiration for a certain Green Knight of Spain in Richard's army. Moslem chivalry in Saladin found a noble hero, an epic leader. The truces that covered the negotiations were honorably regarded on both sides. But Saladin steadfastly refused to negotiate with Richard in person on the ground that kings cannot be enemies after having had friendly converse, nor would he yield the all-important point in western demands—the surrender of Jerusalem. When hostilities were renewed, the odds were heavily against Richard, in spite of his heroic conduct, and after indecisive and abortive endeavors the English King gave up the struggle and started homeward. The failure was not his fault. Saphadin, Saladin's diplomatic agent in the empty negotiations, quaintly said of him: "Everywhere he left trophies of his courage. But, thanks be to God, he was burdened with the French King and hindered by him, like a cat with a hammer tied to its tail." Arab tradition is full of tales of Richard I's valor; he left an indelible impression on the East. On his way home, as has been said in a former chapter, Richard I fell into the hands of his old enemy Leopold of Austria, who surrendered him to the Emperor Henry VI, by whom he was imprisoned for a long time.

Causes of
failure of the
crusades

"The Third Crusade resulted in the recovery of Acre, the one Christian stronghold in the Holy Land, but left the crusaders in other respects weaker than ever. Not only had this crusade, which had been led by the three greatest sovereigns in Europe, failed; the crusades as idea and achievement were virtually proved to be a failure. Western Europe had only itself to blame for this result. Under different conditions the death of Saladin in 1193, followed by the swift dissolution of the empire that he had created, might have made success possible. But the mind of the West was saturated with "defeatism" after the great failure. Philip II and Richard I were engaged in open war in France; the military orders were at feud with each other; several pretenders to the crown of Jerusalem arose; the Italian and south French cities were waxing rich on the eastern trade and were indifferent to the cause of arms; the feudality had discovered that crusading was no parlor performance; the glory of the romantic chansons and the sordid reality of experience—with loss of life or health or property—were shockingly in contrast. In a word, Europe had become disillusioned or indifferent about the crusades. The chief participants in them manifestly were playing the game for their own political aggrandizement.

The Emperor Henry VI soon afforded concrete exemplification of the employment of the crusades for selfish advantage. Ruler of Germany and Italy, including in the latter the Norman realm in the south of the peninsula and Sicily, with the double tradition of Robert Guiscard's and Frederick Barbarossa's ambition to conquer the Byzantine Empire, eager to capture markets in the ports of the East, which had so enriched Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, Henry VI himself "preached" another "crusade." He contemplated the conquest of Byzantium, the Holy Land, and Egypt, and two expeditions were prepared. The sudden death of the Emperor in September 1197 frustrated the grandiose design. But the suggestion was not lost on Europe.

*Henry VI's
"crusading"
ideas*

The papacy, which had inspired the crusades, felt the humiliation of the failure most. In 1198 the popedom rose to the pinnacle of its power in the Middle Ages in the person of Innocent III (1198-1216). It was impossible that such a pontiff should not endeavor to resuscitate the movement that the papacy had inspired. Accordingly, soon after his accession the Pope set measures on foot for a new crusade. The vast machinery of the Church, its immense political pressure, a host of brilliant preachers, not so effusive and rhetorical as those before, but clever and artful advocates, everywhere in Europe began to flog Christendom into a new effort for the recovery of the Holy Land.

*Innocent III
advocates a
fourth
crusade*

The immediate purpose this time, however, was to overcome Egypt and then to use that country as a military and naval base for the conquest of Palestine. The Third Crusade — indeed, all the crusades — had showed the difficulty of a frontal attack upon Mohammedanism in Palestine. Disastrous experience, too, had demonstrated that the effective form of attack was by sea and that sea-power and naval force were more important than infantry and cavalry. In consequence Innocent III appealed to Venice, the greatest maritime state of the Mediterranean, for shipping to carry the crusaders to Egypt. But the Venetians, who had never let religious scruples interfere with business and who had for centuries plied a lucrative trade with Egypt in slaves, timber, iron, and arms, in defiance of papal prohibition, had no mind to see that trade jeopardized by the proposed Christian conquest of Egypt or to have her rivals, Genoa and Pisa, break into her commercial monopoly.

*Appeal to
Venice*

Again, as before, France and Flanders furnished men and money. Germany was torn by the strife between Philip, son of Henry VI of Swabia, and Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, and had neither time nor interest for the crusades. Genoa and Pisa would have nothing to do with a movement that Venice promoted. Only one Italian noble joined the proposed expedition — Boniface of Montferrat in Piedmont — and he was half French. The leaders were Baldwin, Count of Flanders, Theobald of Troyes and Louis of Blois, who were brothers, and Geoffrey de

Leaders

Villehardouin, marshal of the Count of Champagne, whose fame rests upon his epic account of the expedition.

*Venetian
duplicity*

In the spring of 1202 the crusaders began to rendezvous at Venice for embarkation for Egypt. But the astute Venetian Doge Henry Dandolo found pretexts of delay until the crusaders, tired of idleness at the Lido and having squandered their money away, were in the toils of Venetian statecraft. Venice would brook no commercial competitors that she could destroy. Across from Venice on the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic was situated Zara, the only port of Hungary. Artfully Dandolo hinted that the crusaders, tired of the tedium, might have the excitement they craved and at the same time enrich themselves by storming Zara. The sack of Zara (November 11, 1202), as Venice calculated, whetted the appetite of the crusaders for greater conquest, and when the fleet finally set sail, ostensibly for Egypt, it was cleverly "diverted" by Venetian wile to Constantinople. The hook had been skillfully baited, and behind the immediate inducement lay the long heritage of suspicion and resentment of the West against the Byzantine Empire. Had not Bohemond in the First Crusade cherished the thought of conquering the great city on the Golden Horn? Had not Louis VII of France been advised so to do? Had not Frederick Barbarossa so dreamed? Had not Henry VI projected it and half carried out the design? Was not the whole West incensed against the Greeks and envious of their wealth? Did not western Europe attribute the failure of the crusades to Byzantine intrigue? The Fourth Crusade was an expedition for conquest as much as was the Norman conquest of England. This is not saying, however, that others must not share the guilt. It has been plausibly argued that "the misdirection of the crusade was but an episode in the long struggle between Guelf and Ghibelline." For the crusade was the pet child of Innocent III; it was to crown his pontificate. What more natural than that the Ghibelline Philip of Swabia, the son of Frederick Barbarossa, himself just then lying under a solemn excommunication, should endeavor by all means in his power to thwart the expedition, to turn it to his own ends. In the maze of conflicting evidence it is impossible to ascertain the inward truth about the diversion of the Fourth Crusade or accurately to apportion the responsibility. But the fact that Venice profited from the result far more than any other participant points to the greater guilt of Venice in the crime that was perpetrated.

*Capture of
Constantino-
ple (1204)*

The one thing that palliates the scandal of this notorious expedition is that it gave birth to Villehardouin's *Chronicle*. This is a medieval *Iliad*, as picturesque, as epic, as Homer. One seems to be reading over again the story of the siege of Troy. The account of the departure of the fleet from Corfu, the capture of Abydos, the landing at Chalcedon and Scutari, the capture of the tower of Galata, and, above all, the storming of the city is a masterpiece of historical writing. "The ships burned on the water, and

the water itself was aflame with the great joy of war which all had." When the wondrous city was sighted, priests and clerks, sailors and men-at-arms crowded up on deck and lustily sang *Veni, Creator spiritus*, "and all wept for great joy and happiness. . . . The morning was fair a little after the rising of the sun . . . and the trumpets sound, and every galley takes a transport in tow. . . . None asks who shall go first, but each makes the land as he can. The knights issue from the transports and leap into the sea up to their waists, fully armed, with helmets laced and lances in hand; and the good archers and the good sergeants and the good cross-bowmen, each in his company, land as soon as they touch ground."

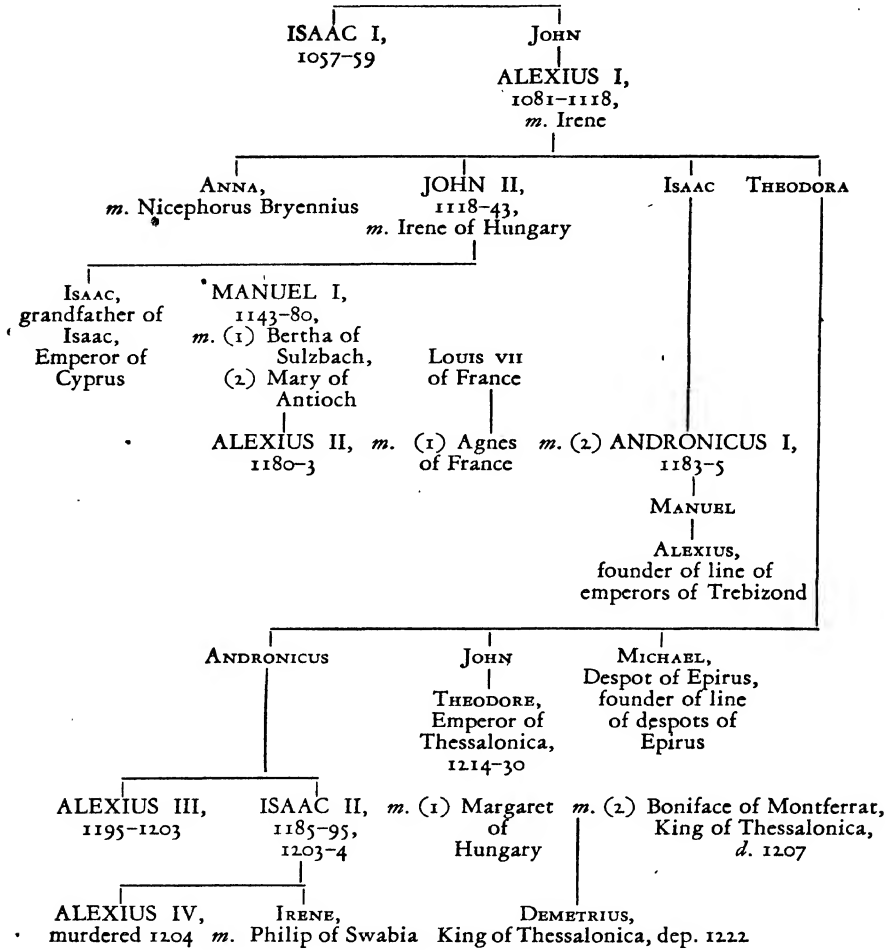
The first assault (July 17, 1203) and also the second (April 8, 1204) failed. But six days later a grand assault was delivered and the capital of Constantine, for the first time in its history, was captured by an enemy. "Never was there a city which possessed so much," records Villehardouin; "never, since the world was created, had so much booty been won in any city. Those who before had been poor were now in wealth and luxury." Fire, rapine, slaughter, lust, were visited upon the captured city to an appalling degree. The plentitude of the spoil amazed all and astonished Europe when it at last reached the West by devious ways of pilgrim, merchant, and returned man-at-arms. The loss to civilization by this wanton spoliation is irreparable. Constantinople was the heir of ancient Greek culture and its guardian. Its libraries, museums, and private palaces were filled with precious works of art and no less precious manuscripts, almost all of which perished in the universal confusion. We know that all the plays of Sophocles and Euripides had survived until then. The few we now have are but the salvage of this infamous destruction. Morally the sack of Constantinople staggered humanity. The event constituted an appalling indictment of the justice, the motives, the conduct of the crusades. It was terrible evidence of the intolerance, the licentiousness, the self-seeking, the gross materialism to which the crusades had degenerated.

*Atrocities of
the Sack*

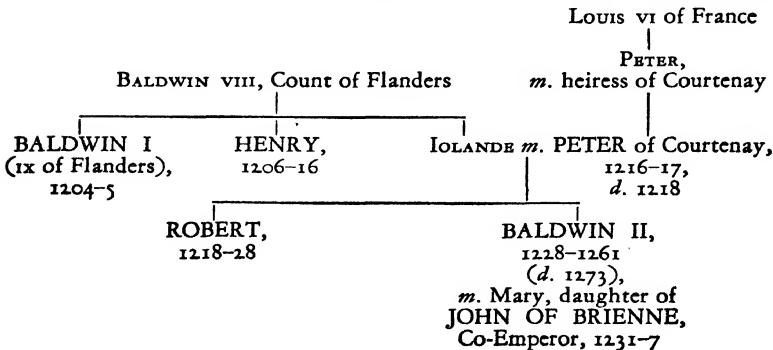
On the ruins of the Byzantine Empire in Europe — for its possessions in Asia Minor were beyond the attainment of the crusaders — the so-called Latin Empire of Constantinople was erected. Venice took three-eighths of the city of Constantinople, the ports of Modon and Coron in the Morea, Epirus, Acarnania, the Ionian Islands, the Peloponnesus, the islands of the Ægean, Corfu, the island of Eubœa (now called Negropont), Gallipoli, Rodostro in Thrace, and Adrianople, the richest city of the plain behind Constantinople. It is obvious that Venice believed in the maxim that "trade follows the flag." Baldwin of Flanders was elected "emperor" and possessed five-eighths of the city. The rest of the territory of the Balkan peninsula and Greece was apportioned among the leaders of the crusade after the feudal manner. Boniface of Montferrat was "king" of Thessalonica (modern Salonika) and lord of Macedonia; Henry of

*Latin Empire
of Constantinople*

GENEALOGY OF THE COMNENI AND ANGELI



GENEALOGY OF THE LATIN EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE



Flanders was lord of Adramyttion; Louis of Blois duke of Nicæa, although unable to acquire possession of it; Renier de Trith duke of Philippolis; Hugh de St. Pollord duke of Didymoteichon. Lesser fiefs were distributed according to the rank and number of retainers in portions of a hundred knights' fees, sixty, fifty, forty, etc., down to shares of ten. Practically the Fourth Crusade was an enormous expansion of French feudal institutions and culture into the Balkan peninsula, an overflow of the French nation like those earlier colonizing movements into England, Lower Italy, and Spain. But the Latin Empire of Constantinople was a far more fragile political creation than the Norman realms in England and Italy and lasted no later than 1261, when a political revolution overthrew it and restored a Greek dynasty and Greek rule, which endured down to the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Ottoman Turks in 1453.



Innocent III, who had instigated the Fourth Crusade and sincerely deplored the failure of its original purpose, accepted the accomplished fact, taking comfort that the Latin and the Greek Churches were once more united. At once the western hierarchical and episcopal system was erected in the Balkan peninsula, a parallel to the Western feudal system established there.

(The annals of history record a fifth, a sixth, a seventh, an eighth crusade. But except that of St. Louis in 1248-54, not one of them was a real crusade. The Children's Crusade (1212) was a pathetic example of credulity and religious emotionalism approaching hysteria. Thousands of little children, mostly French and German, inspired by the high-keyed preaching of fanatical zealots, started en masse for the Holy Land. In their shame

*Last
Crusades*

over the Fourth Crusade misguided orators proclaimed that the Holy Land could be recovered by innocent children. "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast Thou ordained strength," was the perverted motto which influenced them. Slave-dealers and kidnappers preyed upon the helpless columns. Venetian and Genoese merchants sold the wretched little victims of this mania into slavery in Egypt and Tunis. The few who escaped were those who reached Rome to get the blessing of the Pope, and whom Innocent III sent home again.

The crusade of Andrew II of Hungary (1217) was a futile bit of tourneying.

In 1218 Jean of Brienne, as "king of Jerusalem," with the aid of the two military orders and forces of the Duke of Austria and the Count of Holland, launched an expedition from Cyprus against Egypt and attacked Damietta. In spite of an inundation of the Nile the besiegers persisted until the Sultan offered to make peace, promising to restore the Kingdom of Jerusalem as it was in 1187. But the papal legate would not accept the terms. Damietta succumbed on November 5, 1219 and the elated crusaders believed that they would soon be masters of Egypt. For a whole year they lay idle on their arms. Finally in the spring of 1221, having received reinforcements from Italy, they marched against Mansourah (July 1221). But an unexpected rising of the Nile blocked both advance and retreat. The Sultan again proffered terms, proposing to restore the Kingdom of Jerusalem for the return of Damietta. Once more the obduracy of the legate frustrated a settlement. Then ensued a queer battle in the marshes of the Delta, the Saracens attacking in boats and the crusaders, men and horses, floundering through the canals and swamps in a desperate endeavor to get back to Damietta. The handful of those who reached the city evacuated it on September 7, 1221 and made their way to the ports of Syria and Cyprus or to Europe as best they could.

Western Europe had long since become too preoccupied with its own political and material interests to take thought of any crusade. But the papacy still clung to an obsolete ideal and an outworn and impossible enterprise. Honorius III turned to the young and brilliant Emperor Frederick II. But "the first modern man," as he has been called, whose precocious genius understood the present and the past and read the future almost with the power of divination, was the last man in Europe willingly to promote a crusade. He knew the iniquity, the hypocrisy, the senseless fanaticism, the unjust enmity, the futility of the crusades. The Pope threatened him with excommunication, yet still Frederick II delayed his going from month to month, from year to year, throwing a sop in the form of gold now and then, or providing a few contingents of men-at-arms for Jean of Brienne, whose daughter he had married. In 1227 Honorius III died and was succeeded by Gregory IX, a choleric and arrogant pontiff,

who refused longer to brook delay on Frederick II's part, and imposed the long-threatened ban of excommunication. Even then it was seven months before the Emperor sailed (April 1228).

Frederick II was the first crusader — if he may be called so — who brought the mind of a statesman to bear upon the question of the crusades and endeavored to find a practicable solution. His aim was to establish the security of the Holy Land by substantial treaties — in a word, he preferred diplomacy to war — and to restore tranquillity in the Latin kingdom. Although badly received by the clergy and the French baronage when he arrived at Acre, the Emperor persevered and was met half-way by the Sultan, a man of peace like himself. The upshot of these negotiations was the signature of a treaty in February 1229 by which Jerusalem was restored to the Christians, together with Bethlehem and Nazareth and a zone of territory extending to the sea. All prisoners on either side were to be released and peace was to be inviolate for ten years and ten months. The Mosque of Omar, however, was to remain in Mohammedan possession and all Islamites were to have free access to it if without arms.

*Frederick II
in the East
(1229)*

Once more papal bigotry and religious fanaticism defeated a settlement. Neither the Pope, nor the Latin clergy, nor the Christians of the Orient would tolerate the terms. Frederick II could find no cleric to crown him, and when he crowned himself king of Jerusalem (March 17, 1229) the Archbishop of Cæsarea threw an interdict upon Jerusalem and Acre. When Frederick II returned to Italy, he found that the Pope's army had invaded his kingdom of Naples during his absence and he was re-excommunicated. It was obvious that the papacy had used the Emperor's crusade as a pretext to ruin him politically.

In the war between Emperor and Pope that followed, Gregory IX was obliged to sign the Peace of San Germano, to absolve the Emperor, and to approve the treaty made with Alekamil (1230). But the papal legate and the clergy in Syria and Cyprus, sustained by the Templars and the French baronage, kept the country in a state of civil war. With strange inconsistency or curious duplicity, the Pope called for a new crusade, though he had approved the treaty of 1229. Money was collected and soldiery urged in every country of the West. Each spring, year after year, crusaders and pilgrims might be seen in every port of the Mediterranean. In 1239, in anticipation of the expiration of the treaty in 1240, an army, mostly French in composition, sailed from Marseilles, but lack of unity of command and disaster before Damietta and Gaza dissolved the host. In 1240 a new force of crusaders came out, this time an English expedition under Richard of Cornwall, a brother of Henry III. But he accomplished nothing save the ransom of some Christian prisoners in Egypt and the fortification of Ascalon.

Western Asia at this time was on the verge of a mighty revolution.

*Mongol
invasions*

The Mongol conquest was nigh, and while the storm out of Far Asia drew near, Christian and Mohammedan in the Orient were tearing at each other's throats. Syria was in a state of civil war; in the Holy Land — or what was left of it — the Catholic clergy and the French baronage resisted the officials whom Frederick II had installed. The Sultan of Egypt thought he saw his chance to conquer the Holy Land and Syria and so called to his aid a horde of Turks who had been driven out of Kharasmia by the Mongol advance. These fierce warriors fell upon Syria and Palestine. Jerusalem was taken in 1244. Repulsed before Acre, the Turko-Egyptian forces massacred the Christian army at Gaza. In the next year Damascus was captured, so that the empire of Saladin was restored. In 1247 Ascalon was lost to the crusaders, and Acre and Antioch seemed doomed. In this crisis two men arose, of very different office and character: one was Pope Innocent IV (1243-54), the other King Louis IX of France (1226-70). (The Pope, who was an implacable enemy of the Emperor Frederick II and in constant war with him, did not forget the Holy Land in the midst of his political designs. In fact, the Holy Land was more a political object than a religious one with him, in spite of his professions of religious zeal. Innocent IV was a "political" pope, an ecclesiastical financier.) In 1245 he called a great council of the Church at Lyons, for he dared not summon it to meet at Rome because of his arch-enemy the Emperor. The entire body of the clergy was assessed for a twentieth of its income, diplomatic negotiation was entered into with Egypt in order to abate the peril of the Holy Land, and with the Mongols, who were enemy to the Baghdad Khalifate and therefore potentially allies of the Latin princes. But Europe at large was indifferent to the proposed crusade. Even the Pope used the resources that he had acquired to finance his conflict with Frederick II in Italy.

*Crusade of
Louis IX
(1248-54)*

The honor of Christendom was saved by the saintly King of France. When Europe was thrown into consternation by the capture of Jerusalem by the Kharasmian Turks, St. Louis, having recovered from a serious illness, in gratitude to God resolved to take the cross. "I am only a man whose life will end like other men's when it shall please God," he said. "Everything is in our favor, whatever may happen to us. If we are conquered, we shall be martyrs; if we triumph, the glory of God will be exalted thereby — that of all France, yea, even of Christianity, will be exalted thereby." But the kings in the West were deaf to his appeals. Haakon of Norway withdrew his pledge of support; the avarice of Henry III of England raised money from his subjects on pretext of the crusade, but he stayed at home; the King of Castile had his own crusade in the peninsula against the Moors.

The French fleet sailed August 30, 1248, from Aigues Mortes, the great artificial harbor-town which Louis IX had erected on the Mediterranean

coast after the annexations in the Midi made as a result of the Albigensian Crusade. The imposing walls of the town still stand intact in the midst of the salt-marshes, which have trespassed upon all the land round about. The former crusades had failed because of want of discipline. This Seventh Crusade was to fail because of the incompetence of its royal commander. The Sieur de Joinville, the King's loyal servitor, has written, in his immortal *Life of St. Louis*, the melancholy tale of this disastrous enterprise. The Mohammedan garrison in Damietta underestimated the French "fury," and the place was taken on June 6, 1249. If Louis IX had marched at once against Cairo, he might have succeeded. But he lacked decision in military affairs—he who was so quick and resolute in administrative matters. Instead the King waited for the arrival of his brother Alphonse de Poitiers, who did not come until October 24. Then he wasted precious months debating whether Cairo or Alexandria should be attacked. Finally, on November 20, the army began its advance upon Cairo. The numberless canals greatly impeded the French progress, for the Mussulmans cut the dikes. Two months were lost in finding a crossing of one of these canals.

Hunger, privation, and disease had already terribly reduced the French forces. Then followed the disastrous engagement of Mansourah (April 5, 1250), in which Louis and the *élite* of the French chivalry were made prisoner. The King and his great nobles were treated courteously by the Sultan, but the sick among the captives were put to death and ordinary men-at-arms sold into slavery. Meanwhile Queen Marguerite had arrived at Damietta with money for the French army. But it was all employed, and much more also, in ransoming the King and his fellow prisoners. The sum was four hundred thousand gold bezants, estimated by a modern French scholar to have been over two million dollars according to present coin. In addition Damietta had to be restored to the Saracens. The additional portion of the ransom was contributed by the Templars.

In spite of this disaster Louis IX, still under the infatuation of rescuing the Holy Land, sailed to Acre and remained four years in Palestine and Syria. Here he negotiated with the new Sultan of Egypt and with the sultan of Damascus and sought to get into connection with the Mongol Khan. But the Khalif of Baghdad proved a better diplomat and reconciled the hostile sultans of Syria and Egypt, forming a Mohammedan triple alliance against the Christians. In the end Louis IX accomplished nothing except the fortification of Acre, Jaffa, Ascalon, and Cæsarea, and all of them were doomed to be lost within a generation. France was almost bereft of money owing to the cost of the expedition, the enormous ransom, and the lavish charities of the King in the East. It taxed the abilities of his mother, Queen Blanche, to make both ends meet in these years of

adversity. Finally in 1254, after six years of absence from his realm, Louis IX sailed for France, to find that his heroic mother had died. But, unlike Louis VII a century earlier, Louis IX by his sincerity and his sacrifices saved his character.

*War between
Venice, Pisa,
and Genoa*

In the years that followed the Seventh Crusade the state of Syria and what yet remained of the Christian holdings in Palestine went from bad to worse. The Latin princes in the East and the military orders wrangled and fought among themselves. Worse still, Venice, Genoa, and Pisa engaged in a fierce commercial war, which began in 1258 and continued until 1270 and then broke out again in 1282. Genoa, vanquished by Venice on the sea, formed an alliance with Michael Palæologus, whose family possessed great estates around Nicæa, where it perpetuated the memory of the Byzantine Empire after 1204,¹ and in 1261 successfully staged the revolution that overthrew the Latin Empire in Constantinople, which Venice had established.

*Mongol sack
of Baghdad
(1258)*

Meanwhile the Mongols became ever more formidable. In 1258 they overthrew the Baghdad Khalifate; in 1259 Aleppo and Damascus were captured by them. The conquest of Syria and the Christian holdings in Palestine was imminent when of a sudden Hulagu, the Mongol Khan, was called to the Mongol capital of Karakorum in the Far East of Asia by news of the death of the Grand Khan. What stayed the Mongol conquest of Syria and spared for a season the remnant of Christian holdings in Palestine was the war between the Mongols and the ferocious Bibars of Egypt. "But that which the palmer worm spared, the locust consumed." In 1264 Bibars defeated the Mongols and their allies, the Armenians; in 1265 he attacked the Christian coast towns. Cæsarea and Arsuf were taken; in 1266 he took Safed, a fortress belonging to the Templars, and destroyed an army of the crusaders near Tiberias. In 1267-8 he attacked Jaffa, and finally, on May 27, 1268, Antioch, the star of Christian Syria, succumbed and Syria was lost to the Christians.

*Louis IX in
Tunis (1270)*

These disasters stirred St. Louis to another forlorn effort in behalf of Christendom in 1270. But instead of succoring the Holy Land the King was seduced by his ambitious and astute brother Charles of Anjou, who two years before, instigated by the Pope, had conquered the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily and overthrown the last of the Hohenstaufen, to strike at Tunis. For Charles aimed to unite the mainland of Mussulman Africa to his dominions and cleverly used his saintly brother as a cat's-paw. This Eighth Crusade was not so disastrous as the Seventh, but it was more tragic. Louis IX died on the sands before Tunis.

The opportunity afforded by the diversion of the French crusade to Tunis was utilized by Bibars for additional conquests. In 1271 he besieged

¹ Another similar Byzantine state was the "Empire of Trebizond" on the Black Sea, perpetuated by the dynasty of Lascaris.

and captured the mighty citadel of the Knights of the Hospital called the Krak, whose ruins still stand in lonely grandeur and are the vastest castellated ruins in the world; he took Montfort, a fortress of the Teutonic Knights, the German military order that had been established during the Third Crusade; he reduced the principality of Tripoli to tribute, but failed in a naval attack on Cyprus. Acre was spared for a few more years owing to a new advance of the Mongols against Bibars and the fortunate death of "the Panther," as he was called, in 1277.

But the surcease was of brief duration. Bibars had a successor in Egypt almost as terrible as he had been, in a new Sultan, Melik-el-Ashraf, who crushed the Mongols at Hims (1281) and renewed the "holy war," while the Pope and France were thrown into a spasm of fear in 1282 by the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers. In 1285 Laodicea and Markab succumbed; in 1289 Tripoli fell. In the next year the great siege of Acre was begun. For nearly two centuries the crusaders had acted more with criminal folly than with high devotion, but the heroic resistance of Acre partially redeemed the military orders from infamy. With the fall of Acre (June 16, 1291) the last holding of the crusaders was obliterated. The Mohammedans massacred sixty thousand prisoners, destroyed the fortifications, and filled up the port with the debris. Until 1517 Acre pertained to Egypt, in which year the country of the ancient Pharaohs was conquered by the Ottoman Turks.

The year 1291 marked the termination of the crusades, although for two centuries more fantastic and sporadic "crusades" were made from time to time. They were but mere military and adventurous palpitations, the last flurries of the ebb-tide of a great movement which had run its course and perished. Gibbon wrote the epilogue of the crusades in a masterly sentence: "By command of the sultan the churches and fortifications of the Latin cities were demolished, . . . and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world's debate."

[Europe was profoundly altered during the two centuries that embraced the period of the crusades in form of institutions, in social texture, in economic condition, in intellectual outlook, in morals. But it is difficult to pronounce whether these changes were primarily due to the effect of the crusades, or whether they were only stimulated by the crusades. The causal phenomena are so complex, the changes so profound, that historians are divided in opinion. From the pen of one writer we read that "it would be almost impossible to find a sphere of the political, military, mercantile, industrial, scientific, artistic, and even ecclesiastical life, which had not received some enrichment of some kind from the East."¹ From another equally competent scholar we have this verdict: "Doubtless the Crusades

¹ KUGLER, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*.

had some general effect upon Christian society, but for all of these results there were more active and more effective causes in the peoples of the West themselves." These divergent opinions need not embarrass us; for there is no gainsaying that far-reaching and revolutionary changes took place in Europe *during* the crusades, even if they were not accomplished *by* the crusades.

These changes may be conveniently classified as (1) political, (2) ecclesiastical, (3) economic, (4) social, (5) intellectual and moral. The two most important political changes undoubtedly were the increase of royal power and the rise of the towns. The first of these has already been considered in the altogether typical illustration of the development of the French monarchy and the growth of the Germanic kingship. The rise of the towns was an event of such importance that it is dealt with at some length farther on. The supreme ecclesiastical change was the enormous development of papal power, culminating in the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216). But the Church in general, simultaneously with the papacy, increased in authority, in power, in wealth. Indulgences, the inquisition, the privileges of the crusaders, donations, new taxes like the Saladin tithe, enlarged jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, were the means by which these results were achieved.

The widest, the most complex, and the most enduring changes, however, were in economic and social transformation, expressed in the enormous growth in volume and variety of commerce, in development of industry and agriculture, in increase of wealth, in rapid transition from a natural to a money economy, in changes in social condition and the formation of new classes in society due to the decline of serfdom, the emergence of the bourgeoisie, and the rise of the towns. The growing prosperity of Europe is reflected everywhere in increase of population. Even if it be admitted that the crusades were in origin chiefly motivated by a religious fervor, in the end they were conducted for commercial and colonizing ends and for the satisfaction of luxury. Commerce and navigation opened new careers to the ambitious, and the wandering, adventurous knight lost prestige. The technique of business was improved and new commercial institutions were introduced, like the bill of exchange and double-entry book-keeping. These new usages and customs — many of which, however, were borrowed from Byzantine and Roman precedents, like the Rhodian Code — finally began to be codified and in this form became the primary sources of international law. Such is the origin of the *Maritime Code* of Trani (1183), the *Constitutum usus* of Pisa (1160); the *Customs* of Montpellier (1223), of Valence (1250), of Marseilles (1255); and of the *Capitulare nauticum* of Venice in the same year. The Italian cities led in this progress and profited most, but the cities of

¹ SEIGNOBOS, in Lavis and Rambaud, *Histoire générale*, II, 348.

Provence and Aragon — notably Marseilles, Montpellier, and Barcelona — were little behind any save Venice and Genoa, the greatest of these.

The improvement of material comfort due to importation from the Orient of things unfamiliar to Europe before, or else so costly that only the rich could afford to have them, was great. Among these articles may be enumerated new foods, such as sugar, pepper, spices, apricots, peaches, cherries, dates, melons; glass, pottery, and textiles, like cotton, silk, and linen. While the lower classes still remained unable to purchase these commodities, the wealthier bourgeoisie or burghers of the towns could and did. The fondness of the Orientals for ablution was imitated by the West, and conduits and baths were introduced into castle and cloister. The use of latrines also increased. Garments of new materials, new colors, Saracenic jewelry, and adornment of houses became fashionable in high society.

(Relatively the peasantry and the bourgeoisie prospered most by these economic and social changes. The drawing off to the East of the violent baronage gave peace to the countryside, unknown before) and was wider and more effective than the restraints imposed by the Peace of God and the Truce of God. The call for ready money occasioned by the crusades caught the feudality (whose wealth was in acres of land, compulsory services, and the exaction of manorial dues or payment of *banalités*) without the ready money necessary for travel in distant countries, and the peasants frequently from their little hoards, often the stealthy savings of years, were able to bargain with their manorial lords for abatement of local “renders” or abolition of the most grievous ones, and even sometimes to purchase their freedom. The eager nobles, compelled to realize on property for hard cash, often parted with their lands outright or mortgaged them to neighboring monasteries. The abbeyes and great nobles profited much by such transactions.

“In consequence of the quantity of property thrown upon the market, the Crusaders were compelled to submit to any terms. A vast commercial and monetary excitement ensued; a general outburst of speculation. All articles needful for the equipment of the Crusaders rose to enormous rates. . . . Money became scarcer and scarcer. Some of the baronage, like the Viscount of Melun, pursued the plain course of robbery, pillaging villas and villages; others squeezed their serfs; but the greater number adopted the ordinary habits of business, and raised their funds by loan or sale. . . . At the sight of the red cross, when the purchaser entered the stone-vaulted store-chamber, the dealer asked the greatest price. At the sight of the red cross, when the baron entered the chapter house, the treasurer of the monastery prepared to make the smallest bidding. The Crusader, always on the wrong side of the counter, bought at the highest quotation, sold at the lowest: the price current constantly ran against him. The alienations made by the Crusaders are well known. Many families were ultimately dilapidated by them; . . . but . . . few . . . felt they were making any

sacrifice, — on the contrary, they acted under intense excitement, anxious, hazardous, but, on the whole, not unpleasurable. They disposed of their property in Europe, for the purpose of establishing themselves in the Asiatic colony. Gain, enjoyment, subsistence, ambition . . . excited . . . them. The profits resulting from the adventure, Greek and Syrian domains, lands, castles, towns and towers, dinars and bezants, silks and pearls, slaves, black and white, had been advertised by the promoters of the scheme as inducements to take shares. . . . Similar to all grand speculations, the venture became unprofitable to the majority, but this was as it might be; to others, it succeeded. Immense sums of money were exported to foreign countries; and very many families, previously opulent and powerful, either became extinct or were reduced to extreme poverty: for the heads of families either mortgaged or sold their territories, possessions and estates in order to defray the expense of their journey — Robert duke of Normandy mortgaged to his brother William king of England the duchy of Normandy to enable him to take his departure to Palestine . . . while others imposed such intolerable burdens upon their vassals and tenants as frightened them into giving up their houses and lands to take the cross themselves.”¹

The gradual disillusionment of Europe in the crusades is reflected in the changed note to be observed in the preaching of them when we reach the thirteenth century. It becomes argumentative and is denunciatory of those who hang back. The Sieur de Joinville, for all that he loved St. Louis as a brother, when urged by the King to join the expedition to Tunis in 1270, straitly told him that “while I was abroad in the King’s service before [1248–54], I was so impoverished that I did not think I would ever recover from it. I saw clearly that if I went on another crusade, it would be the total destruction of my property.”

The ultimate results of the crusades, in so far as the papacy, which instigated them, was concerned, were as unexpected as other results.

“Increasing at first the power of the popes and the Roman hierarchy, the crusades tended at last to impair and diminish it. Expected to knit together the Latin and Greek churches, they made their divisions wider and added a feeling of exacerbation to their mutual relations. Intended to destroy forever Mahometan power in the East, they really contributed to strengthen it. Undertaken as a religious war to propagate the faith of Christ with the sword of Mahomet, and to vindicate Christian dogma against unbelievers, they really subverted the interests of free thought.”²

(The intellectual results, however, were of vast benefit to the West. A keen interest was awakened in strange plants and animals and led to the establishment of botanical and zoölogical gardens in Europe. The crusades inaugurated the period of exploration and discovery, which led, first, to the penetration of Asia and, secondly, to the discovery of America

¹ PALGRAVE, *History of England and Normandy*, IV, 585–8.

² OWEN, *Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 23.

(1492) and the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope (1498) and the finding of the all-sea route to India and China. The crusades increased knowledge, stimulated intelligent curiosity.

Their influence upon art, architecture, and literature was very great and wholly excellent, as a subsequent chapter will show. The era of the crusades is the watershed, the great divide, in medieval history.)

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

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TABLE OF POPES AND EMPERORS

<i>Year of Accession</i> A.D.	<i>Bishops of Rome</i>	<i>Emperors</i>	<i>Year of Accession</i> B.C. A.D.
		Augustus	27
		Tiberius	14
		Caligula	37
		Claudius	41
42	St. Peter (according to Jerome)	Nero	54
67	Linus (according to Irenæus, Eusebius, Jerome)		
68	Clement (according to Tertullian and Rufinus)	Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian	68
78	Anacletus(?)	Titus	79
		Domitian	81
91	Clement (according to some later writers)	Nerva	96
		Trajan	98
100	Evarestus(?)		
109	Alexander(?)		
		Hadrian	117
119	Sixtus I		
129	Telesphorus		
		Antoninus Pius	138
139	Hyginus		
143	Pius I		
157	Anicetus		
		Marcus Aurelius	161
168	Soter		
177	Eleutherius		
		Commodus	180
		Pertinax	193
		Didius Julianus	193
		Niger	193
193	Victor(?)	Septimus Severus	193
202	Zephyrinus(?)		
		Caracalla, Geta	211
		Opilius Macrinus, Diadumenian	217
		Elagabalus	218
219	Calixtus I		
		Alexander Severus	222
223	Urban I		
230	Pontianus		

POPES AND EMPERORS

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<i>Year of Accession</i>	<i>Bishops of Rome</i>	<i>Emperors</i>	<i>Year of Accession</i>
A.D.			A.D.
235	Anterius or Anteros	Maximin	235
236	Fabianus		
		The two Gordians, Maximus Pupienus, Balbinus	237
		The Third Gordian	238
		Philip	244
		Decius	249
		Hostilian, Gallus	251
		Volusian	252
251	Cornelius	Æmilian, Valerian, Gallienus	253
252	Lucius I		
253	Stephen I		
257	Sixtus II		
259	Dionysius		
		Gallienus alone	260
		Claudius II	268
269	Felix	Aurelian	270
		Tacitus	275
275	Eutychianus	Florian	276
		Probus	276
		Carus	282
283	Caius	Carinus, Numerian	284
		Diocletian	284
		Maximian, associated with Diocletian	286
296	Marcellinus		
304	Vacancy	Constantius, Galerius	305
		Severus	306
		Constantine (the Great)	306
		Licinius	307
		Maximin	308
308	Marcellus	Constantine, Galerius, Licinius, Maximin, Maxentius, and Maximian, reigning jointly	309
310	Eusebius		
311	Melchiades		
314	Sylvester I	Constantine (the Great) alone	323
336	Marcus I	Constantine II, Constantius II, Constantians Magnentius	337
337	Julius I		
352	Liberius	Constantius alone	353
356	(Felix, antipope)	Julian	361
		Jovian	363
		Valens and Valentinian I	364

<i>Year of Accession</i>	<i>Bishops of Rome</i>	<i>Emperors</i>	<i>Year of Accession</i>
A.D.			A.D.
366	Damasus I	Gratian and Valentinian I	367
		Gratian and Valentinian II	375
		Theodosius	379
384	Siricius		
		Arcadius (in the East), Honorius (in the West)	395
398	Anastasius I		
402	Innocent I		
		Theodosius II (E)	408
417	Zosimus		
418	Boniface I		
418	(Eulalius, antipope)		
422	Celestine I		
		Valentinian III (W)	424
432	Sixtus III		
440	Leo I (the Great)		
		Marcian (E)	450
		Maximus, Avitus (W)	455
		Majorian (W)	455
		Leo I (E)	457
461	Hilarius	Severus (W)	461
		Vacancy (W)	465
		Anthemius (W)	467
468	Simplicius		
		Olybrius (W)	472
		Glycerius (W)	473
		Julius Nepos (W)	474
		Leo II, Zeno, Basiliscus (all E)	474
		Romulus Augustulus (W)	475
		(End of the Western line in Romulus Augustulus)	476
		(Henceforth till A.D. 800, <i>emperors reigning at Constantinople</i>)	
483	Felix III ¹		
		Anastasius I	491
492	Gelasius I		
496	Anastasius II		
498	Symmachus		
498	(Laurentius, antipope)		
514	Hormisdas		
		Justin I	518
523	John I		
526	Felix IV		
		Justinian	527
530	Boniface II		
530	(Dioscorus, antipope)		
532	John II		

¹ Reckoning the Antipope Felix (A.D. 356) as Felix II.

POPES AND EMPERORS

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<i>Year of Accession</i>	<i>Bishops of Rome</i>	<i>Emperors</i>	<i>Year of Accession</i>
A.D.			
535	Agapetus I		
536	Silberius		
537	Vigilius		
555	Pelagius I		
560	John III		
		Justin II	565
574	Benedict I		
578	Pelagius II	Tiberius II	578
		Maurice	582
590	Gregory I (the Great)		
		Phokas	602
604	Sabinianus		
607	Boniface III		
607	Boniface IV	(Heraclian Dynasty 610-717)	
		Heraclius	610
615	Deus dedit		
618	Boniface V		
625	Honorius I		
638	Severinus		
640	John IV		
		Constantine III, Heracleonas, Con-	
		stans II	641
642	Theodorus I		
649	Martin I		
654	Eugenius I		
657	Vitalianus		
		Constantine IV (Pogonatus)	668
672	Adeodatus		
676	Domnus or Donus I		
678	Agatho		
682	Leo II		
683(?)	Benedict II		
685	John V	Justinian II	685
685(?)	Conon		
687	Sergius I		
687	(Paschal, antipope)		
687	(Theodorus, antipope)		
		Leontius	694
		Tiberius III	697
701	John VI		
705	John VII	Justinian II restored	705
708	Sininnius		
708	Constantine		
		Philippicus Bardanes	711
		Anastasius II	713
715	Gregory II		
		Theodosius III	716
		Syrian or Isaurian Dynasty 717-802	

<i>Year of Accession</i> A.D.	<i>Bishops of Rome</i>	<i>Emperors</i>	<i>Year of Accession</i> A.D.
		Leo III (the Isaurian)	718
731	Gregory III		
741	Zacharias	Constantine V (Copronymus)	741
752	Stephen (II)		
752	Stephen II (or III)	Leo IV	775
757	Paul I	Constantine VI,	780
767	(Constantine, antipope)	deposed by Irene	797
768	Stephen III (IV)		
772	Hadrian I		
795	Leo III		
816	Stephen IV	Louis the Pious	814
844	Sergius II		
847	Leo IV		
855	Benedict III	Louis II (in Italy)	855
855	(Anastasius, antipope)		
858	Nicholas I		
867	Hadrian II		
872	John VIII		
		Charles II, the Bald (W. Frankish)	875
887	Martin II	Charles III, the Fat (E. Frankish)	881
884	Hadrian III	<i>Interval from 888-962</i>	
885	Stephen V		
891	Formosus	Guido (in Italy)	891
		Lambert (in Italy)	894
896	Boniface VI	Arnulf (E. Frankish)	896
896	Stephen VI		
897	Romanus		
897	Theodore II		
898	John IX		
		Louis (<i>the Child</i>) ¹	899
900	Benedict IV	Louis III, king of Provence (in Italy)	901
903	Leo V		
903	Christopher		
904	Sergius III		
911	Anastasius III	<i>Conrad I</i>	911
913	Lando		
914	John X		
		Bérenger (in Italy)	915
		SAXON HOUSE. <i>Henry I (the Fowler) of Saxony</i>	919
928	Leo VI		
929	Stephen VII		
931	John XI		

¹ The names in italics are those of German kings who never made any claim to the imperial title.

POPES AND EMPERORS

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<i>Year of Accession</i>	<i>Bishops of Rome</i>	<i>Emperors</i>	<i>Year of Accession</i>
A.D.			A.D.
936	Leo VII	Otto I (the Great), crowned E.	
939	Stephen VIII	Frankish king at Aachen	936
941	Martin III		
946	Agapetus II		
955	John XII		
963	Leo VIII	Otto I, crowned emperor at Rome	962
964	(Benedict V, antipope?)		
965	John XIII		
972	Benedict VI		
		Otto II	973
974	(Boniface VII, antipope?)		
974	Domnus II (?) •		
974	Benedict VII		
983	John XIV	Otto III	983
985	John XV		
996	Gregory V		
996	(John XVI, antipope?)		
999	Sylvester II		
		Henry II (the Saint)	1002
1003	John XVII		
1003	John XVIII		
1009	Sergius IV		
1012	Benedict VIII		
		SALIAN HOUSE	
1024	John XIX	Conrad II (the Salic)	1024
1033	Benedict IX		
		Henry III (the Black)	1039
1044	(Sylvester, antipope)		
1045	Gregory VI		
1046	Clement II		
1048	Damasus II		
1048	Leo IX		
1054	Victor II		
		Henry IV	1056
1057	Stephen IX		
1058	Benedict X		
1059	Nicholas II		
1061	Alexander II		
1073	Gregory VII (Hildebrand)		
		(Rudolph of Swabia, rival)	1077
1080	(Clement, antipope)		
1086	Victor III	(Hermann of Luxemburg, rival)	1081
1087	Urban II		
1099	Paschal II	(Conrad of Franconia, rival)	1093
1102	(Albert, antipope)		
1105	(Sylvester, antipope)		
		Henry V	1106
1118	Gelasius II		

<i>Year of Accession</i>	<i>Bishops of Rome</i>	<i>Emperors</i>	<i>Year of Accession</i>
A.D.			A.D.
1118	(Gregory, antipope)		
1119	Calixtus II		
1121	(Celestine, antipope)		
1124	Honorius II		
		Lothaire II (of Saxony)	1125
1130	Innocent II		
		HOUSE OF SWABIA OR HOHEN- STAUFEN	
	(Anacletus, antipope)	Conrad III ¹	1138
1138	(Victor, antipope)		
1143	Celestine II		
1144	Lucius II		
1145	Eugenius III		
		Frederick I (Barbarossa)	1152
1153	Anastasius IV		
1154	Hadrian IV		
1159	Alexander III		
1159	(Victor, antipope)		
1164	(Paschal, antipope)		
1168	(Calixtus, antipope)		
1181	Lucius III		
1185	Urban III		
1187	Gregory VIII		
1187	Clement III		
		Henry VI	1190
1191	Celestine III		
		Philip (of Swabia), Otto IV ¹ (<i>House of Brunswick</i>) (rivals 1197-1208)	
1198	Innocent III	Frederick II	1212
1216	Honorius III		
1227	Gregory IX		
1241	Celestine IV		
1241	<i>Vacancy</i>		
1243	Innocent IV	(Henry Raspe, rival)	1246
		(William of Holland, rival)	1246-7
		Conrad IV ¹	

¹ Not crowned emperor.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

31 B.C.—A.D.	14	Organization of Roman Empire by Augustus.
27		Division of provinces into imperial and senatorial.
20		Campaign against the Parthians.
19		Subjugation of Spain.
16		Mœsia made a Roman province.
15		Rhætia and Noricum erected into provinces.
12—9		Organization of left bank of Rhine into Germania superior and Germania inferior.
A.D. 9		Defeat of Varus by the Germans in the Teutoberger Wald.
10		Pannonia made a Roman province.
14—37		Tiberius emperor.
14—16		Three expeditions of Germanicus against the Germans.
43		Beginning of Roman conquest of Britain.
58—63		War with Armenians and Parthians. Conquest of Armenia.
64		Burning of Rome.
69		Vespasian emperor.
70		Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.
81—4		Roman power in Britain extended as far as Scotland.
86—90		Unsuccessful war of Domitian with Dacians.
98—117		Trajan emperor.
{ 101—2		War with and
{ 105—7		Conquest of Dacia (Roumania and Transylvania).
105		Arabia (country south of Damascus to head of Red Sea) made a Roman province.
114—16		New war with Parthia. Roman conquest to Tigris river. Creation of provinces of Mesopotamia, Assyria.
117—38		Hadrian emperor. First wall between Britain and Caledonia (Scotland).
117		Abandonment of Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia. Euphrates made boundary.
132—35		Rebellion of the Jews in Palestine.
138—61		Reign of Antoninus Pius.
161—80		Reign of Marcus Aurelius.
162—5		War with Parthians. Part of Mesopotamia recovered.
166—80		Serious war with Marcomanni and Quadi in bend of Danube. Plague.
180—92		Commodus. First Roman Emperor to pay tribute to the Germans.
193—211		Septimius Severus. Pretender in east (Niger) and west (Clodius Albinus).
208		Expedition against the Caledonians. Second wall across Britain.
		Papinian, the great jurist, flourished. Drastic administrative reorganization.
		Reduction of powers of senate.
211—17		Caracalla. The Constitutio Antoniana confers Roman citizenship on all free provincials in order to increase the capitation tax.
214		Unsuccessful war against the Goths. Tribute paid them. First mention of the Alemanni. Vicious administration.
222—35		Alexander Severus. Mild but weak rule. Increase of German pressure. The jurists Ulpian and Julius Paulus. Great vogue of Oriental religions, especially the Syrian cult.
226		Dissolution of the Parthian monarchy of the Arsacids. Foundation of New

Persian Monarchy of the Sassanids, which lasted until 641, when it was destroyed by the Mohammedans in battle of Nehavend ("victory of victories").

- 231 War with New Persia.
- 248 Celebration of thousandth anniversary of founding of Rome.
- 249-51 Decius.
- 250 First formal persecution of Christians.
- 251 Defeat of Goths in Thrace. Decius is killed.
- 259 Sapor of Persia ravages Syria.
- 260-8 Gallienus. Period of the "Thirty Tyrants." Increasing menace of the Goths.
The Alemanni overrun the Decuman Fields and threaten Italy.
- 262 Goths in Macedonia and Asia Minor. Sack of Ephesus. Antioch taken by Sapor.
- 263 Franks invade Gaul.
- 267 Heruli invade Greece.
- 268 Claudius II defeats Goths in Mœsia.
- 270-5 Aurelian abandons Dacia to Goths. Defeat of Alemanni on Metaurus, Erection of great Aurelian Wall around Rome.
- 273 Conquest of Palmyra. Queen Zenobia. Introduction of sun-worship. Recovery of Egypt. Subjugation of pretenders and tyrants in provinces. "Restorer of universal empire." Contemplated persecution of Christians.
- 275 Tacitus defeats Alani in Asia Minor.
- 276-82 Probus drives back Franks, Alemanni, Burgundians, and Vandals threatening Gaul. Enormous increase of German mercenaries in army. Colonization of depopulated regions and waste lands by German settlers.
- 284-305 Diocletian. Conversion of government into absolute monarchy after Persian form. Orientalization of court. Administrative partition into prefectures and dioceses. Reorganization of finances and taxation.
- 297-8 Successful war against Persians. For last time Roman frontier extended again to Tigris. Repulse of German invasions in Gaul. Subjugation of insurrections in the provinces.
- 303 Last and greatest persecution of Christians begun.
- 305 Abdication of Diocletian. Eighteen years of civil war follow. Rise of Constantine.
- 312 Victory of Constantine at the Milvian Bridge ("*In hoc signo vinces*").
- 313 Edict of Milan granting religious toleration to Christians, in which policy Constantine had been anticipated by Galerius.
- 323-37 Constantine sole emperor.
- 325 Council of Nicæa. Nicene Creed.
- 330 Capital of Empire removed to Constantinople, begun in 324.
- 337-61 Constantine's three sons divide the Empire.
- 348 Ulfilas (died 388) missionary to Goths.
- 357 Victory of Julian over Alemanni near Strassburg.
- 361-3 Julian, "the apostate," attempts peacefully to restore paganism. Julian perishes in war with Persians.
- 364-75 Valentinian I in West.
- 364-78 Valens in East.
- 367-9 Theodosius in Britain.
- 375 Invasion of Huns into Europe. The West Goths enter Mœsia and Thrace.
- 378 Battle of Adrianople. Beginning of German supremacy in the Empire.
- 379-95 Theodosius the Great. Pacification of the Goths. Reform of administration.
- 390 Insurrection in Thessalonica terribly suppressed. St. Ambrose of Milan.
- 392 Proscription of paganism. Christianity made state religion of Empire. Triumph of Christian religious intolerance.

395	Division of Empire between Arcadius (East) and Honorius (West). Rise of Alaric, first King of West Goths, who ravages Macedonia and Greece. The Goths in Illyricum Orientale, whence they attempt to invade Italy.
401(?)	First effort to invade Italy repulsed by Stilicho.
402	Battle of Pollentia (near Milan). Alaric again defeated.
404-6	Inroads of Germans in Italy. Radagaisus. Stilicho annihilates them at Fæsulæ.
406	The "Grand Invasion" of Gaul by Vandals and Suevi. Terrible harrying of the provinces.
408	Murder of Stilicho.
	Alaric invades Italy successfully and makes first advance on Rome.
409	Second advance on Rome.
410	Sack of Rome by the Goths (August 23-4).
410-15	Athaulf, Alaric's brother-in-law succeeds him on his death. The West Goths settle in southwestern Gaul. Toulouse the capital.
420	Death of St. Jerome.
429-39	Vandal conquest of Africa.
430	Death of St. Augustine.
438-9	Theodosian code in East and West.
442	Attila in Macedonia and Thrace.
443	Burgundian kingdom established in upper Rhone and Saône.
449	Traditional date of Hengist and Horsa in Britain.
451	Attila invades Gaul. Battle in the Catalaunian Fields (near Châlons?). Council of Chalcedon.
452	Attila invades Italy. Pope Leo I, the Great.
	Traditional beginning of Venice.
453	Death of Attila. Dissolution of Hunnic Empire.
455	Vandal sack of Rome.
462-83	Euric, King of West Goths, defeats Suevi and puts an end to Roman domination in Spain.
476	Traditional date of deposition of Romulus Augustulus by Odoacer.
481	Clovis, King of Salian Franks.
486	Battle of Soissons. Frank domination extended over northern Gaul.
489-93	Theodoric the Ostrogoth establishes kingdom in Italy.
496	Battle of Tolbiac. Clovis defeats Alemanni and becomes Christian.
507	Clovis defeats West Goths at Vouillé and extends domination to Garonne.
	Capital of West Gothic kingdom removed to Toledo.
511	Death of Clovis. Kingdom divided between four sons.
526	Death of Theodoric.
527	Accession of Justinian.
529	First edition of the <i>Code</i> . Belesarius defeats Persians at Daras.
530	Frank conquest of Thuringia.
531	Chosroes becomes king of Persia.
533	Nika riot.
534	Belesarius conquers Vandals. Frank conquest of Burgundy.
536	Belesarius captures Rome.
537-8	Siege of Rome by Vitiges.
539	Milan sacked by Ostrogoths.
540	Ravenna taken by Belesarius. Persian capture of Antioch.
546	Rome captured by Totila.
547	Rome recovered by Belesarius.
549	Rome retaken by Totila.
550-1	Beginning of Avar and Bulgar pressure on lower Danube provinces.

- 552 Narses, successor of Belesarius in Italy, totally defeats Ostrogoths. Introduction of silk-worm culture into Europe (Morea). Frank conquest of the Bavarians.
- 558 Clotaire I unites Frank kingdoms.
- 561 Clotaire I dies and divides kingdom between four sons.
- 562 Peace between Justinian and Chosroes.
- 565 Death of Justinian.
- 568 Lombard invasion of Italy. Capital at Pavia. Exarchate of Ravenna.
- 569-86 Leovgild rules all Spain.
- 571(?) Birth of Mohammed.
- 572 War renewed between Eastern Roman Empire and Persia. Lombards take Pavia.
- 573 Beginning of Frankish civil wars.
- 579 Death of Chosroes.
- 590-604 Pope Gregory I, the Great.
- 596 Mission of St. Augustine to England.
- 602 Murder of Emperor Maurice by his successor Phokas.
- 603-20 Persian conquest of Syria and Palestine. Jerusalem taken in 614.
- 610-41 Heraclius emperor in Constantinople. He recovers Syria and Palestine (622-8).
- 613 Peace of Paris ends Frankish civil wars. Rise of Pepin of Landen.
- 615 Death of St. Columban.
- 616 Invasion of Egypt by Persians.
- 622 Flight (Hegira) of Mohammed from Mecca.
- 623 First victory of Mohammed at Bedr. Slavonic kingdom of Samo.
- 626 Attack on Constantinople by Persians and Avars.
- 629-39 Dagobert I, king of Franks.
- 630 Mohammed captures Mecca.
- 632 Mohammedan conquest of Syria. Damascus taken in 634.
- 638-40 Mohammedan conquest of Egypt.
- 641 Battle of Nehavend, Mohammedan conquest of Persia.
- 647-709 Mohammedan conquest of Africa.
- 648 Mohammedan capture of Cyprus.
- 653 Mohammedan capture of Rhodes.
- 654-8 Mohammedan attacks on Constantinople.
- 661-750 Ommeyad khalifs at Damascus:
- 667 First great siege of Constantinople by Mohammedans.
- 672-3 Second great siege of Constantinople by Mohammedans.
- 672-80 Disintegration of Visigothic kingdom under Wamba.
- 678 Mission of Wilfrid among the Frisians.
- 687 Battle of Testry. Establishment of dukes of Austrasia as mayors of the palace in the Frank kingdom. Pepin of Herstal.
- 692-3 Mohammedan destruction of Carthage.
- 711 Mohammedan conquest of Spain.
- 713-34 All Spain except the Asturias conquered.
- 717 Third great siege of Constantinople by Mohammedans. Accession of Leo the Syrian (Isaurian). Beginning of iconoclastic controversy.
- 718 Mission of St. Boniface in Germany.
- 719 Narbonne captured by Mohammedans.
- 721 First Mohammedan inroad into Gaul.
- 723 Sardinia taken by Mohammedans.
- 728 Ravenna taken by Lombards. Recaptured by exarch 729.

732	Charles Martel defeats Mohammedans at Tours (Poitiers).
735	Death of Bede.
739-57(?)	Alfonso I of the Asturias unites Galicia and Cantabria with his kingdom.
741	Death of Charles Martel. Accession of Pepin the Short.
744	Founding of abbey of Fulda by Boniface. His organization of many bishoprics in Germany.
750	Abul Abbas destroys Ommeyad dynasty in Damascus and establishes the Abassid khalifate. The capital removed to Baghdad, which he founds.
752	Pepin the Short with consent of Pope deposes Childeric III and becomes king of the Franks.
754	Pope Stephen II crowns Pepin.
755	Death of Boniface. Abd-er-Rahman, only surviving Ommeyad, flees to Spain and founds Ommeyad khalifate at Córdoba (756).
756	Donation of exarchate of Ravenna to papacy. Founding of temporal power of popes.
759	Frank capture of Narbonne from Saracens.
768	Death of Pepin the Short, who is succeeded by his sons, Charles and Karlmann.
771	Charles the Great sole king of the Franks.
772	Beginning of the Saxon war. First campaign against Lombards.
774	Charles extinguishes Lombard kingdom and assumes the iron crown.
778	Frank intervention in Spain. Roncesvalles. Roland and the rear-guard.
782	Massacre of Saxons at Verden.
786-809	Reign of Harun-al-Raschid in Baghdad. Height of the khalifate.
788	Fall of Tassilo of Bavaria.
791-9	War with Avars.
794	Council of Frankfurt.
800	Coronation of Charlemagne at Rome as emperor of the Romans.
801	Death of Paul the Deacon.
802	Great capitulary establishing the <i>missi dominici</i> .
803	Limits of the two empires settled by treaty between Charlemagne and Nicephorus.
804	Death of Alcuin. Completion of subjugation of Saxony.
805	Destruction of the Avar kingdom.
808-10	War with the Danes.
814	Death of Charlemagne. Accession of Louis the Pious.
816	Second (papal) coronation of the Emperor.
817	First partition of the Empire. Great church reforming council at Aachen. Purge of the court. Creation of a party of malcontents. Revolt of Bernhard of Italy.
822	Louis does public penance at diet of Attigny. Founding of New Corvey, first monastery in Saxony.
823	Birth of Charles the Bald. Mohammedan conquest of Crete. Ebbo missionary to the Northmen.
824	Roman constitution of Lothaire I.
826	Anskar begins preaching in Denmark.
827	Egbert in England. Collection made of capitularies of Charlemagne. The <i>Almagest</i> of Ptolemy translated into Arabic.
831(?)	Second partition of the Empire.

- Founding of archbishop of Hamburg (Bremen).
 833 Third partition of the Empire. Rebellion of Lothaire and Pepin.
 The Field of Lies.
 834 The Norsemen devastate Frisia.
 837 Fourth partition of Empire.
 838 Fifth partition of Empire.
 839 Sixth partition of Empire.
 840 Death of Louis the Pious.
 841 Battle of Fontenay.
 842 Strassburg Oaths.
 843 Partition treaty of Verdun (seventh partition of Empire).
 845 First attack upon Paris by the Norsemen.
 846-7 Mohammedan attacks upon Rome.
 849 Heresy of Gottschalk.
 855 Death of Lothaire I. Division of Middle Kingdom (eighth partition).
 857 Photius, patriarch of Constantinople.
 859 Swedes in the Ukraine.
 860(?) Reputed foundation of Kingdom of Navarre.
 862 Reputed date of Swedish foundation of Novgorod.
 863 Partition of kingdom of Charles, youngest son of Lothaire I, between Charles
 the Bald and Ludwig the German (ninth partition).
 865 First expedition of Russians to Constantinople.
 Southern Italy ravaged by Mohammedans.
 Nicholas I adopts the Forged Decretals.
 866 Death of Robert the Strong.
 868(?) Preaching of Cyril and Methodius among Slavs of Moravia.
 870 Partition treaty of Meersen (tenth partition).
 872 Harold Haarfagr of Norway (863-932) defeats the Jarls at Hafurstfjord.
 875 First Roman expedition of Charles the Bald.
 877 Capitulary of Kiersey.
 Second Roman expedition of Charles the Bald. His death.
 Syracuse captured by Mohammedans.
 879 Kingdom of Lower Burgundy.
 880 Reputed date of founding of Kiev.
 881-918 Albategni, the Arabian astronomer.
 886-7 Great siege of Paris by the Norsemen.
 887 Deposition of Charles the Fat.
 888 Kingdom of Upper Burgundy.
 891 Battle of the Dyle.
 893-927 First Bulgarian Empire founded by Simeon.
 896 Magyars in Hungary.
 900 Palermo sacked by the Mohammedans.
 901 Death of Alfred the Great. Accession of Edward the Elder.
 904 Sack of Salonika by Mohammedans.
 907 Second Russian expedition to Constantinople.
 909 Establishment of independent Fatimite khalifate in Egypt.
 910 Foundation of Cluny. Appearance of kingdoms of León and Asturias in Spain.
 911 Extinction of Carolingian house in Germany.
 912 Treaty of Clair-sur-Epte. Founding of Normandy.
 912-60 Abd-er-Rahman II. Height of Spanish khalifate.
 917 Defeat of Byzantine army at Achelous.
 919 Henry the Fowler, Duke of Saxony, king of Germany.

922-3	Rebellion of Robert of Paris.
929	Beginning of the Mark Brandenburg.
933	Henry the Fowler defeats the Magyars on the Unstrutt (Merseburg).
936	Accession of Otto I, the Great, in Germany.
	Union of Upper and Lower Burgundy.
941	Third expedition of Russians to Constantinople.
951	First intervention of Otto I in Italy.
955	Great defeat of Magyars near Augsburg (Lechfeld).
962	Otto I crowned Holy Roman Emperor.
963-75	Great victories of Nicephorus and John Zimisces over Mohammedans.
970	Paulican heretics settle at Philippopolis.
973	Death of Otto I.
982	Defeat of Otto II in southern Italy.
	Great uprising of the Slavs of the Elbe.
987	Accession of Hugh Capet. End of Carolingian dynasty in France.
988	Vladimir, Prince of Kiev, professes Greek Christianity.
997	St. Stephen, first Christian King of Hungary, comes to throne.
1000	Christian coronation of Stephen of Hungary.
	Foundation of bishopric of Gnesen in Poland.
1001-26	Mohammedan invasion of India.
1013	Conquest of all England by Sweyn of Denmark.
1014	Battle of Clontarf. Defeat of Danes in Ireland.
	Basil II conquers first Bulgarian Empire.
1016	Beginnings of Norman conquest of southern Italy.
1018	Second great Slav uprising in Germany.
	Brandenburg and Mecklenburg lost until twelfth century.
1031	End of Ommeyyad dynasty in Spain.
1032	Kingdom of the Two Burgundies (Provence) united to the Empire.
1033	Great famine in France.
1035	Death of Sancho the Great of Navarre. Appearance of Castile and Aragon in Spain.
1037	Union of León and Castile in Spain.
1038	Conquest of Persia by Seljuk Turks.
1043	Fourth expedition of the Russians to Constantinople.
1046	Synod of Sutri.
1053	Vassalage of Norman Italy to papacy.
1058	Supremacy of the Seljuk Turk chieftain Toghrul Beg, in Baghdad.
1059	Establishment of college of cardinals.
1060-90	Norman conquest of Sicily.
1066	Norman conquest of England.
	Third Slav uprising in Germany under Kruto.
1071	Battle of Manzikert. Terrible defeat of Byzantine army by Turks.
1072-1109	Great Christian conquests in Spain under Alfonso VI of Castile. Capture of Toledo (1085), Valencia by the Cid Campeador (1094), who dies (1099).
1073	Accession of Gregory VII.
1074-85	Turkish conquests in Asia Minor.
	Damascus captured (1075), Antioch (1085).
1075	Beginning of war of investiture.
1077	Henry IV at Canossa.
1080	Second banning of Henry IV. Frederick of Hohenstaufen made duke of Swabia.
1081	Alexius Comnenus becomes Byzantine emperor.

- 1082 Battle of Durazzo. Norman fleet destroyed by Venetians.
- 1084 Sack of Rome by Robert Guiscard and the Normans of Italy.
- 1085 Death of Gregory VII at Salerno.
- 1087-92 The Almoravides, a heretic Mohammedan host, invade Spain from Africa.
- 1090 Norman conquest of Sicily completed.
- 1092 Death of Sultan Malek Shah. Division of Seljuk empire.
- 1095 Council of Clermont.
- 1097-9 First Crusade. Siege of Nicæa. Battle of Dorylæum. Establishment of Christian principality of Edessa.
- 1098 Capture of Antioch after a long siege.
Founding of Cistercian Order.
- 1099 Capture of Jerusalem and establishment of kingdom in Holy Land by crusaders.
- 1101 Roger II of Sicily comes to throne.
- 1105-6 Deposition and death of Henry IV of Germany.
- 1107 Bohemond invades Eastern Empire.
- 1108-37 Louis VI of France.
- 1109 Tripoli in Syria captured by crusaders.
- 1111 Conflict of Henry V and Pascal II.
- 1113 St. Bernard becomes a monk at Cîteaux.
- 1115 Death of the Great Countess Matilda of Tuscany.
- 1116 Henry V seizes Tuscany.
- 1118 Order of Knights Templar founded.
Abélard begins to teach in Paris.
- 1120 Founding of the Order of Premonstratensian Canons by St. Norbert.
- 1121 Council of Soissons condemns Abélard's book on the Trinity.
- 1122 Concordat of Worms.
- 1123 First Lateran Council.
- 1124 The crusaders capture Tyre.
- 1125 Accession of Lothaire II in Germany.
- 1130-8 Schism in Rome.
- 1134 Death of Alfonso I of Navarre and Aragon. Separation of the kingdoms.
- 1137 Aragon and Catalonia (Barcelona) united.
- 1139 Conrad III of Hohenstaufen king in Germany.
Portugal made a kingdom.
- 1142 Death of Abélard.
Brandenburg is cut off from Saxony, and Austria from Bavaria.
Beginning of the Guelf-Ghibelline feud.
- 1144 Primacy of see of Toledo recognized by Pope.
- 1146-7 Second Crusade. Arnold of Brescia promotes insurrection in Rome.
- 1146-56 The fanatical sect of the Almohades from Africa overthrow the Almoravide power in Spain.
- 1149 Corfu recovered by Byzantine Emperor from Mohammedans.
- 1150 Compilation of canon law completed by Gratian. Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.
- 1152-90 Frederick I, Barbarossa.
- 1152 Eleanor of Aquitaine, divorced wife of Louis VII of France, marries Henry II of England.
- 1154 Accession of Henry II in England.
First invasion of Italy by Frederick I.
Noureddin, a Kurd chieftain, secedes from Baghdad khalifate and founds a new Mohammedan state at Damascus.
Hadrian IV driven from Rome by Arnold of Brescia.

1155	Diet of Roncaglia in Lombardy. Arnold of Brescia hanged.
1157	Besançon episode. Munich founded by Henry the Lion. Reputed date of Bank of Venice.
1158	Second Italian campaign of Frederick I. First siege of Milan.
1159	Henry II of England fails to capture Toulouse.
1162	Destruction of Milan by Frederick I.
1164	Becket controversy. Third Italian campaign of Frederick I.
1166	Fourth Italian campaign of Frederick I.
1167	Formation of the Lombard League.
1170	First mention of Waldo of Lyons.
1171	Conquest of Egypt by Saladin.
1174	Fifth Italian campaign of Frederick I.
1176	Great defeat of Frederick I at Legnano, near Como, by troops of Lombard League. Founding of Carthusian Order by St. Bruno. Disastrous defeat of Eastern Roman Emperor by Kilidy Arslan, Sultan of Iconium. John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres.
1177	Truce of Venice through papal intervention between Frederick I and Lombard cities.
1178	The Albigensian heretics begin to excite attention in Languedoc.
1179	Third Lateran Council.
1180-1223	Philip Augustus king of France.
1181	Fall of Henry the Lion and partition of duchy of Saxony.
1183	Treaty of Constance. Liberties of Lombard cities confirmed.
1185	Salonika captured by the Normans.
1186	Revolt of Bulgaria. Second Bulgarian Empire founded. Marriage of Henry VI with Constance of Sicily.
1187	Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin.
1189-92	Third Crusade. Death of Frederick Barbarossa. Siege of Acre.
1190	Founding of the Order of the Teutonic Knights.
1191	Death of Saladin. Richard Cœur de Lion made prisoner in Austria.
1192	Henry VI completes the conquest of Norman Italy and Sicily.
1195	Death of Alárcos. Defeat of Alfonso VIII of Castile by Mohammedans.
1197	Death of Château Gaillard.
1198-1213	Innocent III.
1200(?)	University of Paris.
1201	Foundation of Riga.
1202	John of England.
1202-4	Fourth Crusade. Latin Empire of Constantinople founded. Greek "empires" of Nicaea and Trebizond.
1204	Conquest of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine by Philip Augustus.
1205	Emperor Baldwin I of Constantinople defeated by Bulgarians.
1206	First mention of Gengiz Khan in Chinese annals.
1208	Crusade against Albigenses begun.
1209	Founding of Franciscan Order.
1210	Aristotle's <i>Metaphysics</i> condemned. Mongol invasion of China.
1212	Innocent III puts up Frederick II as emperor against Otto IV. Children's Crusade.

- Battle of Tolosa. Great defeat of Moors in Spain.
 1213 Second Mongol invasion of China.
 Battle of Muret.
 1214 Battle of Bouvines.
 1215 Magna Charta.
 Mongol capture of Peking.
 Fourth Lateran Council.
 1217 Fifth Crusade, under Andrew of Hungary.
 Michael Scot in Toledo.
 Founding of Dominican Order.
 1218 Battle of Jaxartes between Ghenghiz Khan and the Kharismians.
 Death of Simon de Montfort I.
 1219 Damietta taken by crusaders.
 1220 Founding of Nizhni Novgorod.
 1221 Mongol conquest of Persia. Death of St. Dominic.
 1222 Golden Bull of Hungary.
 1224 University of Naples founded.
 1226 Lombard League re-established against Frederick II.
 Battle of Bornhoeved.
 1226-70 Louis IX of France.
 1227 Death of Genghiz Khan.
 1228-9 Sixth Crusade, by Frederick II. Jerusalem recovered by treaty, which the Pope forbids.
 Teutonic Knights in Prussia.
 1229 Establishment of the Inquisition.
 1230 Union of León and Castile in Spain.
 1231 Constitution of Frederick II for Sicily.
 Charter of Frederick II to Swiss canton of Uri.
 1233 Dominican Order made sole executives of the Inquisition.
 1236 Mongol invasion of Russia.
 1237 Victory of Frederick II over Lombard League at Cortenuova.
 1238 Esthonia conquered.
 1239 Herman von Salza grand master of Teutonic Knights. Moorish Kingdom of Granada founded.
 1240-1302 Cimabue the artist.
 1240 Pope authorizes a crusade against Frederick II.
 Imperial charter to Swiss cantons of Uri and Schwyz.
 1241 Capture of Genoese fleet, with the college of cardinals.
 Emperor.
 Mongols invade Poland and Silesia.
 Battle of Wahlstatt.
 1244 Jerusalem lost.
 1245 Council of Lyons.
 1246 Extinction of Babenberg line in Austria.
 1248 Seventh Crusade, by Louis IX of France. Inquisition introduced.
 1250 Defeat and capture of Louis IX at Mansourah in Egypt.
 Mameluke power in Egypt.
 Death of Frederick II. Manfred ruler in Sicily.

